Concise History of Ancient India

Vol III
Hinduism : Society, Religion and Philosophy

A. K. MAJUMDAR

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This is the third and last volume of a series, dealing with the history and culture of ancient India, which is intended to fulfil the needs of the University student as well as of the general readers who desire to know the past history of India. The series consist of three volumes dealing respectively with (1) Political History (2) Political Theory, Administration and Economic Life and (3) Hinduism: Society Religion and Philosophy.

The present volume deals with religion, philosophy and society. Historians writing on Indian history are mostly content with devoting a single chapter to cover these three topics. This has created problems for those readers, who want to know more, but have no ready access to the vast number of books required for a thorough grasp of the subject. Dr. Majumdar has solved this problem by devoting an entire volume to these topics. Each and every aspect of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain religions and their philosophy have been thoroughly dealt with. Even remote and minor religious practices are not left out, the ripples and upheavals in society caused by the oscillating political fortunes are brought in sharp focus.

MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL
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Concise History of Ancient India

Vol. III

Hinduism: Society, Religion & Philosophy

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HINDUISM: SOCIETY, RELIGION & PHILOSOPHY

by
A.K. Majumdar

with a preface by
Dr. B.N. Mukherjee
Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta

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PREFACE

In the preface to volume I of his *Concise History of India*, the Late Dr. Asoke Kumar Majumdar clearly defined the scope of his work. His intention was to discuss in three volumes certain aspects of the history and culture of ancient India. Political history was to be the subject of volume I, volume II was to deal with the history of political theories, administration and economic life. Important features of early Indian society, religion and philosophy were to be indicated in volume III. The task was ably accomplished with the publication of the first volume in 1977 and the second in 1980 and with the completion of printing of the third volume by about May. 1982. It is a pity that he did not live to see the publication of the third and by far the best volume of the series.

Beside discussing the geographical factors in Indian history, sources of ancient Indian history and Harappa culture, volume I spans the gamut of political history of ancient India. Its pages bears out the author's deft and judicious handling of materials, the vastness and the varied character and often problematic nature of which tend to defy restriction on space invariably faced by a writer of a concise history of a large country. It is not claimed that all statements made in this volume have found universal acceptance in academic world. For an example, the theory of referring the known years of the Kshaharāta ruler Nahapāna to the Śaka Era of AD 78, accepted by the author (p. 215), may be considered by some other scholars as not bassed on incontrovertible evidence (B.N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 101f). Again, as it is natural, new discoveries and discussions since the writing of volume I may threaten to outdate some of its sections. For an example, we can refer to the evidence of an inscription from Siyan (in the Birbhum district of West Bengal), which indicates the authority of the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla or of his father and the first Pāla king Gopāla (I) over Samataṭa (v. 2 of the Siyan stone inscription; D.C. Sircar *Śilālekha-Tāmaraśāsanādi Prasaṅga*, (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1982, p. 104). In the latter case, this epigraphic evidence, like a testimony of Tāranātha about the rule of Gopāla in Bhaṁgala (i.e., Vaṅgāla) (*History of Buddhism in India*, ch. 28), may have a bearing on the question of determining the original kingdom of the Pālas, to which a reference appears in chapter XV (p. 309). However, such types of shortcoming, from which all historical writings are bound to suffer, do not minimise the value of the first volume, which contains an eminently readable as well as a scholarly and succint presentation of early India's political history.

Volume II contains brilliant chapters on political concepts, theories of government and administration. A few useful chapters are devoted to different

components of economic life including land, agriculture, revenue, crafts, professions, commerce and money. An added attraction of this volume is a long and critical discussion on the sources of our knowledge of the relevant aspects of Indian history.

The present volume (III) surveys early Indian society, religion and philosophy. All the salient features have been brought into relief against the mosaic background of sources. Discussions on the conditions in mediaeval age or in mediaeval and modern periods have been incorporated in several chapters to stress the bearing of the relevant subjects on the other phases of Indian history. For examples, we can refer to the chapters on Buddhism (pp. 467f), Vaishṇavism (pp. 607f), Advaita-Vedānta (p. 841), etc. At places, where happenings of present day (see p. 468) figure in the author's writing, history becomes living and living readers are in unison with history.

All the chapters are well written and it will be invidious to single out any one of them for citation. Nevertheless, we cannot help referring to the chapter on Buddhism, a world religion. Buddhism has been to millions of teeming population of Asia not only a way of truth, but also a way of life—a civilising and social as well as a religious force. The multilateral development of Buddhism through different centuries, as witnessed in the growth of its different schools (broadly divided into Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna) and its regional ramifications naturally gave birth to various religious thoughts and philosophical tenets, a few of which are even esoteric in nature. They sometimes apparently contradict one another, though all of them professedly strive for the elimination of cause of sorrow and attainment of *nirvāṇa*. The concept of *karuṇā*, (compassion), which has been a guiding spirit in the development of Buddhism throughout the centuries, is a much needed mental attitude in to-day's selfish and acquisitive society. Here lies the relevance of Buddhism to a human being—Buddhist or non-Buddhist. Historical developments of Buddhism (in India), admirably summarised by the author, will thus be beneficial to all interested persons including educated laymen as well as historians.

As indicated by the author himself, the *Concise History of Ancient India* does not deal with all aspects of early Indian history. For an example, art and architecture of early India have not been included within the purview of the present work. Perhaps the author thought of writing sometime later a companion volume to fill up the lacunae. We sincerely regret that he did not live long enough to do that.

The exclusion of certain topics from the scope of the present treatise does not, however, in any way affect its scholarly value. The *Concise History of Ancient India* is and will remain as one of the finest and most lucid interpretations of various aspects of history of early India. As a concise and dependable history, it is also eminently suitable as a standard text book for Honours and Post-Graduate students of Indian and also foreign universities.

As one goes through the three volumes of the *Concise History of Ancient India* as well as several other books (like the *Chaulukyas of Gujrat*, *Chaitanya: His Life and Doctrine*, *Economic Background of the Epic Society*, etc.), written

by the Late Dr. Asoke Kumar Majumdar, one marvels at the range of his scholarship. The sense of reverence to the great savant makes one sorry, shameful and indignant at the treatment meeted out to him by Indian universities and academic society. A man who had contributed so much to the growth of historiology, did not receive from the academic community the recognition and status richly deserved by him. The academic world of India cannot absolve itself of the sin already committed, but perhaps can think of mitigating it by honouring him posthumously in a suitable way.

Department of Ancient
Indian History and Culture,
University of Calcutta.
August 12, 1982

B. N. Mukherjee

ABBREVIATIONS

For abbreviations used in this series see Volume. I, p. xiv and Volume II, p. xi
Following is a list of additional abbreviations used in this volume:

ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*
AV	*Atharva-veda*
BP	*Bhāṣā-pariccheda*
Bhāsarvajña	*Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña* ed. by V. Abhyankar
Bhāsya	*Vyāsa-bhāṣya on Yoga-sūtra*
Bh. G.	*Bhagavad-Gītā*
Bh. P.	*Bhāgavata-purāṇa*
Br. S.	*Brahma-sūtra*
Caitanya	*Caitanya, His Life and Doctrine* by A. K. Majumdar
CHI	*Cultural Heritage of India* Published by Ramakrishna Mission, Calcutta, 2nd. edn.
DHI	*Development of Hindu Iconography by* J.N. Banerjea, 2nd edn. 1956
EBES	*Economic Background of the Epic Society* by A.K. Majumdar
HIP	*History of Indian Philosophy* by S.N. Dasgupta
HYP	*Hatha-yoga-pradīpikā*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JPTS	*Journal of the Pali Text Society*
JUB	*Journal of the University of Bombay*
Mbh	*Mahābhārata*
MS	*Mīmāṁsā-sūtra*
NS	*Nyāya-sūtra*
PMS	*Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-sūtra*
PTS	*Pali Text Society*
RV	*Ṛg-veda*
SBB	*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*
SDS	*Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha of Mādhava*
SK	*Sāṁkhya-kārikā*
SM	*Siddhānta-Muktāvalī*
SS	*Sāṁkhya-Sūtra*
SV	*Sāma-veda*
Tai. S.	*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*
VS	*Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*
YV	*Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*
YS	*Yoga-sūtra*
YV	*Yajurveda*
Yoga-vāsiṣṭha	*Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa*

CHAPTER I

VARṆA AND ĀŚRAMA

HINDU VIEW OF LIFE

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to define precisely the term 'Hindu *dharma*'. From a certain approved point of view, *dharma* is sixfold, as stated by the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya (1.1): 1. *dharma* of *varṇas* (injunctions based on *varṇa* alone, such as, 'a *brāhmaṇa* should never drink wine,' or 'a *brāhmaṇa* should not be killed'), 2. *āśrama-dharma* (such as, 'a *brahmacārin* should beg,' or 'a *brahmacārin* should carry a staff'), 3. *varṇāśrama-dharma* (rules of conduct enjoined on a man because he belongs to a particular caste and also to a particular stage of life, such as, 'a *brāhmaṇa brahmacārin* should carry a staff of *palāśa* tree'), 4. *guṇa-dharma* (conduct appropriate to a particular station of life, such as 'a crowned king should protect his subjects'), 5. *nimitta dharma* (conduct in consequence of certain acts, such as, expiation on doing a forbidden act), 6. *sādhāraṇa dharma* (conduct which is appropriate for all irrespective of caste or stage of life, such as, *ahiṁsā*, truthfulness, non-stealing, continence etc.).

The present chapter deals with *varṇa-dharma* and *āśrama-dharma*, and also with the *varṇāśraṃa-dharma*. The details of appropriate duty of each *varṇa* in each *āśrama* are available, but those details will be generally avoided.

Varṇa relates the individual to the society, and deals with his obligations to society, his duties, and his rights. The theory of *āśramas* lays down the pattern of life which an individual is expected to follow. According to the Hindus, there are four goals or ends of life called *puruṣārthas*. They are: *dharma*, (acquisition of) religious and spiritual merit, *artha* (acquisition of) wealth, *kāma* (satisfaction of) desires, and *mokṣa* (attainment of) liberation from the bondage of life. Life inflicts three kinds of *duḥkha* (pain): 1. *ādhyātmika* (mental), 2. *ādhibhautika* (natural, such as caused by rain, thunder etc., or inflicted by animals), 3. *ādhidaivika* (caused by fortuitous circumstances or fate). All schools of Indian philosophy held that escape from these three *duḥkhas* and liberation from the endless cycle of births and deaths were the highest goal. The *summum bonum* aimed at was *anāvṛtti*, or non-return to this world of pleasure and pain, both of which must be avoided by a *Yogin* as enjoined by Patañjali in his *Yoga-sūtra* (2.7-8). The doctrine of non-return was preached as early as the *Chāndogyopanishad* which concludes (6.15.1) with the words: 'He does not return hither again,—yea, he does not return hither again.' Kālidāsa ends the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* with

the prayer: 'May self-existent God Śiva destroy rebirth for me.'

Mokṣa was attainable by the very few, and after many births. Hence each birth must be a preparation for the next birth, and the present life must be spent in such a manner that it might lead to a higher or better state in the next life. The present life too has been determined by the past life or lives, hence certain aspects of the present life like family, parents etc., cannot be changed. In these categorical associations, the Hindus also include *varṇa* or caste. But the Dharmaśāstras, which lay down the Hindu way of life, also prescribe a course of determined effort which leads gradually towards *mokṣa*. In this journey, there are four *āśramas* or stages of life. There are appropriate duties of each *varṇa* and of each *āśrama*. We shall deal with the duties, obligations and rights of *varṇa* first.

The detail regulations of *varṇa* and *āśrama* are given in the Dharmaśāstras and in some other works like the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. As the nature of these texts has been discussed in the previous volumes, it is not necessary to reproduce them here. The Vedic texts have been described in a later chapter of this work.

VARṆA : CASTE

Introduction

The most distinguishing feature of the Hindu Society is the caste system. A sort of caste system prevailed in ancient times in some other civilizations like the Persian, the Roman, and the Japanese, but those social distinctions never reached the rigour and complexity of the Hindu caste system, gradually dwindled, and ultimately disappeared. In India on the contrary, the system developed into a bewildering proliferation of castes and sub-castes, which are in effective operation even today.

This unique system naturally attracted the attention of scholars, and an extensive literature is available covering all aspects of the subject. It is not possible to examine here the theories advanced even by distinguished scholars on the origin and development of caste system in India, and we must content ourselves by presenting a brief summary of the authoritative view.[1] At the end, an attempt shall be made to formulate an alternative explanation of the origin of the caste system.

The difficulty in explaining the caste system is that, its origin is unknown, the process of its development is obscure, and its present ramifications not properly understood. Secondly, the working of the caste system changed from time to time. Even during what is called 'the Vedic period' the system underwent modifications. Thirdly, the word 'caste' as used today, connotes the sub-castes as well, because the sub-castes have all the characteristics of a

[1]For details and references see *Vedic Index* under Varṇa, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra, and *HDK*, II, i, pp. 19-179. For a list of important secondary texts on 'caste,' see ibid., p. 19 fn. 50.

caste. To take the *brāhmaṇas* only: the Smārtas and the Vaiṣṇavas of south India may appear to a foreigner as two distinct castes, though both are orthodox *brāhmaṇas*. Similar distinctions are found in other regions also: Citpavan and the Gauḍa Sārasvata *brāhmaṇas* in Maharashtra, while in Gujarat there are the Nāgaras, Bhārgavas, the Anāvils etc., the Nāgaras being further split up into five separate groups, each in its turn being divided into two. In Bengal there are the Rāḍī, Vārendra, Vaidika etc. There are again degraded *brāhmaṇas* in every region whose services are indispensable at the times of cremation and *śrāddha* ceremony, but no other *brāhmaṇa* maintains any social contact with them. The distinguishing feature of the *kṣatriyas* is the clans, which cannot be dealt with here. Among the *vaiśyas* and the *śūdras* the tendency is not to refer to them as '*vaiśya*' or '*śūdra*,' but by their profession or the trade which they follow. Thus a *vaiśya* is referred to as 'goldsmith' 'trader of conch-shells,' 'perfume-trader' or *gandha-vaṇik*, from which the celebrated surname 'Gandhi.' Among the *śūdras*, there are for example the *kaivartas* or fishermen, weavers, potters etc. The *vaiśya* sub-castes are not divided into water-tight compartment like the *brāhmaṇas*, but for all practical purposes the *śūdra* sub-castes are 'castes,' and there is an internal gradation among the *śūdras* depending upon the respectability of the profession of the sub-caste and its general economic condition. The number of 'castes' among the *śūdras* run into several thousands, and they have grown even in modern times which can be studied from the successive Census Reports.

Some western scholars have spoken of the beneficent aspects of the caste system,[1] and undoubtedly there were some. But even a superficial study of the problem is stupefying, and raises the question: how has this nation survived? Aptly it appears did Swami Vivekananda once describe the caste-ridden society as 'a lunatic asylum.'

The present study is not intended to discuss the merits and the demerits of the caste system. Its survival and ramifications prove that it benefited the society at a period when they had different scales of social value. As a parallel it may be pointed out that today the caste barriers are still there, because they provide job opportunities and political advantages to certain backward groups. Formerly the gains were mostly economical. The economic factor almost ceased to operate with the development of modern industry, when political factors intervened. In the process the wheel has turned: the *brāhmaṇas* want to abolish the caste system, while the 'backward classes' and the Harijans are giving it a fresh lease of life.

Characteristics of the Caste System

The caste system has the following outstanding features:

(i) Heredity: a person is born into a caste; he or she cannot change it.

[1]For the views of Abbe Dubois, Sydney Low, and Meredith Townsend, all of whom have praised the caste system, see ibid, pp. 20-21.

(ii) Connubium: a. endogamy: a person must marry within his or her caste; b. exogamy: a person must not marry within his *gotra*.
(iii) Commensality: a person can eat food only with members of his or her own caste, and cooked by them.
(iv) Occupation: members of a certain caste must follow a certain profession.
(v) Hierarchy: *brāhmaṇas* are the highest caste, and the *pañcamas* or the 'out-castes' are the lowest. In between there are numerous castes each having one below it.[1]

Most of these features, which are now practically ignored, were discernible only when the system was fully developed, and certain permissible practices of an earlier age had become taboo. For example, a man could marry a woman of a lower caste, and even in the 7th century AD a *brāhmaṇa* is known to have married a *śūdra* woman. Later, such a practice was absolutely prohibited, and a *brāhmaṇa* who married a non-*brāhmaṇa* girl was turned out of his family and community.

Origin

The word '*jāti*' used in Pali texts and occasionally by Manu is invariably used today to mean 'caste.' This word however, seems to have been unknown in the Vedic age, for the Vedic texts use the word '*varṇa*' to denote 'caste.' Manu and other writers also use the word *varṇa* in the same sense.

In most passages of *Ṛgveda* (RV), the word '*varṇa*' means 'colour' or 'light', but in some verses the word is associated with groups of people having a dark or a light complexion or 'colour.' The phrases used several times in the RV (II. 12.4; III. 34.9) are *āryaṁ varṇam* and *dāsaṁ varṇam*, and Indra helped the former to defeat the latter. Sometimes the expression *asuryaṁ varṇaṁ* or '*asura* colour' has been used in the RV (IX, 71.2) to indicate the enemy whom Indra subdued. On the basis of these and similar passages of the RV, it has been concluded that, *āryas* and *dāsas* were two warring groups who were differentiated into *varṇas* on the basis of their complexions.

Other passages in the RV show that the words *dasyu* and *dāsa* were synonymous. RV, VII, 6.3, mentions the Paṇis who have been identified with the *dasyus*, and they are described as 'senseless, crooked, foul-mouthed,

[1]There is always 'a lower caste,' which provides the structural strength to the system. Sometimes the more well-to-do members of a 'low-caste' imitated the customs and behaviors of the upper castes, particularly in the matters of food, drink, and cleanliness, considered themselves a superior caste than their brethren, adopted a new name, and had themselves entered as such in the Census Report. This habit of climbing the ladder stopped when the Harijans were granted certain privileges. The *brāhmaṇas* sometimes became 'degraded' by following non-brahmanical professions. The Khorasa Inscription of VS 1445 (AD 1388) states that the royal family of Makvana originally belonged to the Brahma-kṣatri community, but was eventually considered to be one of the thirty-six *kṣatriya* sub-castes. D.K. Diskalkar, Inscriptions of Kathiawad, *New Indian Antiquary*, I, pp. 579-80.

faithless, who never support (the priests), nor perform a sacrifice,' and adds that Agni 'has rendered the non-sacrificers the hindmost (of all creatures).' One of the meanings of the word '*paṇi*,' as used in the RV, is 'avaricious' or 'greedy,' but in RV X.108 the word has apparently been used in the sense of a 'factious tribe.' The word *dāsa*, means, at least in later literature, a 'slave,' and *dasyu* means a 'robber.' Thus all the terms, or rather the epithets, used by the Vedic people to denote their opponents were pejorative, if these words are taken in their literal sense. Manu (10.45), however, states that *brāhmaṇas* and *kṣatriyas* who are outside or beyond the influence of the four *varṇas* are known as *dasyus* whether they speak the language of the *mlecchas* or of the *āryas* (i.e., Sanskrit). If this definition of *dasyu* is accepted as true for the Vedic age, then it would appear that the term indicated those who refused to follow the rules of the Vedic society.

From the literal meaning of the term *dāsa* it has been concluded that the *dāsa* tribes were conquered by the *āryas* and converted into slaves. In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and several Brāhmaṇa texts and also in Manu (8.413) the *śūdra* is said to have been created by God for service (*dāsya*) of the *brāhmaṇa*. Hence it is generally accepted that the *dāsas* or *dasyus* conquered by the *āryas* were gradually transformed into *śūdras*. Here it is important to remember that Kauṭilya (3.13.1-21) has used the word *ārya* to denote a 'free man,' in distinction to a *dāsa* or 'slave,' and it is evident that here the *śūdras* are included within the term *ārya*. Kautilya has also distinguished *ārya* from *mleccha* which leaves no doubt that by *ārya* he meant free-born Indians of all castes in distinction to *mleccha* or foreigner. Hence it is difficult to say positively as to the sense in which the terms *ārya*, *dāsa*, and *dasyu* were used in the early Vedic texts, though there is a consensus of opinion among scholars that *ārya* meant the conquering Aryans and *dāsa* and *dasyu* were the conquered 'native' population.

A solitary verse in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* (RV, X. 90.12), while describing the mythical sacrifice of the primeval Puruṣa, presents the earliest speculation on the origin of the caste. It states: 'When (the gods) divided Puruṣa, into how many parts did they cut him up? What was his mouth? What arms (had he)? What (two objects) are said (to have been) his thigh and feet? The *brāhmaṇa* was his mouth; *rājanya* was made his arms; the being (called) the *vaiśya*, he was his thighs; the *śūdra* sprang from his feet.'[1]

It will be observed that the *śūdra* has been given the lowest position, and while the other three castes form the limbs of the Puruṣa, the *śūdra* is said to have sprung from his feet. It is also apparent that, by the time the *Puruṣa-sūkta* was composed, the people had forgotten the origin of the caste system. What is even more noteworthy is that the *Puruṣa-sūkta* does not use the word *varṇa*, and uses the term *rājanya* for *kṣatriya*.

For very good reasons the *Puruṣa-sūkta* is considered to be a late hymn. Though it soon became authoritative, another origin of the castes is given

[1]J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, p. 10.

in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (1.4.11-15). It states that at first the Brahman being alone (i.e., there being only *brāhmaṇas*) did not prosper, so He created the *kṣatriyas*, and *kṣatriya* gods such as Indra, Varuṇa etc. Still He did not prosper, so He created the *viś* (*vaiśya*) and those gods that are mentioned in groups (*gaṇaśaḥ*), such as the Vasus, the Rudras etc.[1] As He did not yet prosper, He created the *śūdra varṇa*, and Pūṣan: 'This earth indeed is Pūṣan; for He nourishes everything that exists . . . . So that Brahman [appeared as] *kṣatra viś* and *śūdra* (*tad etat Brahma kṣatraṁ viṭ śūdra*.' Śaṅkara, commenting on this passage, says: 'Thus were the four *varṇas* created: *brahma*, *kṣatra*, *viṭ*, and *śūdra*,' which the Upaniṣad undoubtedly means.

It is evident that by the time the *Puruṣa-sūkta* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* were written, the *śūdras* had been assigned the lowest rank in the caste hierarchy, but they were part of the social fabric, and were not considered to be conquered slaves. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka's* reference to the caste division of the gods, and to Pūṣan as a *śūdra* indicates that the *śūdra* was not considered to be despicable, for Pūṣan is a Vedic deity. This attitude is also found in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (V.7.6.3-4) which says: 'Put light (glory) in our *brāhmaṇas*, put it in our chiefs (or kings, *rājasu*), (put) light in *vaiśyas* and *śūdras*.' In the *Gītā* (4.13) the Lord says that He has created the four castes corresponding to the different types of *guṇa* and *karma*, and elsewhere in the *Gītā* (9.32) He places women, *vaiśyas*, and *śūdras* at the same level.

Apart from the *Gītā*, several accounts of the origin of castes are found in the *Mahābhārata*.[2] Some of them follow the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, but once Viṣṇu in the form of Bāla-Mukunda (3.187.13) and once Kṛṣṇa (12.200.31-2) are substituted for Puruṣa. Entirely different accounts are given in 12.201.11-13, and in 12.181 and 182. In 12.181, *varṇa* is taken literally, and four colours are assigned to the four *varṇas*. It is also stated that since Brahman created all men, there was no difference in *varṇa* at the beginning. Later, men were separately grouped, based on their nature and aptitude. The *śūdras'* degradation is due to their having forgotten *Brāhmī-Sarasvatī* (Veda); but 'if the qualities of a *brāhmaṇa* are not found in a *brāhmaṇa* but in a *śūdra*, then that *brāhmaṇa* is not a *brāhmaṇa* and that *śūdra* is not a *śūdra* (12.182.8).' Apparently the *Mahābhārata* stories represent deliberate attempts to provide a new basis for the caste system. The position of the *śūdra* was not as degraded in the epic age as it became later, or as MM. Kane has said, 'there was a revolt against the caste system' in the *Mahābhārata*.[3]

[1]Commenting on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 1.4.12 Śaṅkara says: 'The *viśas* are usually grouped; usually people who are united are able to earn wealth, not those who (operate) alone.' This explanation gives the sense of the passage, which indicates that the *vaiśyas* were forming themselves into 'guilds' when the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* was written.

[2]For details see A.K. Majumdar, *Economic Background of the Epic Society* (*EBES*), Calcutta, 1977, pp. 72-77.

[3]*HDK*, II, i, p. 101. The *Mbh.* even allows *sannyāsa* to a *śūdra* see Nilakantha's commentary on *Mbh.* 15.33.32-33. All references to the *Mbh.* are to the Critical Ed. published by BORI, Poona.

It has been noted above that by *dasyu* Manu did not mean robbers, and by *dāsa* Kauṭilya did not mean *śūdra*. It is difficult to imagine that they had not read the RV, or had failed to understand the meaning of such simple terms as *dāsa* and *dasyu*. It is also peculiar that except for Gautama (10.69), the word *anārya* is never used for *śūdra* in the Vedic or in early literature though as noted later, Āpastamba distinguishes between *ārya* and *śūdra*. In the *Nirukta* it is said: '*Kikaṭa nāma deśo' nārya-nivāsaḥ*,' which is usually rendered as: 'In the country of Kikaṭa, *āryas* do not live.' Manu has used the word *anārya* several times, but not in the sense of *śūdra* except once (10 66).

We have now to consider the word *jāti*, which is derived from the root *jan*, and literally means 'birth.' Manu (2.148) has used the word in this sense, but has later used it to mean caste. However, the use of the word *jāti* as 'caste' can be traced to the Nirukta 12.13 (800-500 BC) and to Pāṇini (5.4.9). The phrase *jāti-dharma* occurs in several Dharmasūtras, as well as in Manu (1.118 etc.) and in Yājñavalkya (1.90 etc.). *Varṇa* and *jāti* are sometimes clearly distinguished as in Yājñavalkya 2.69 and 206, and Vijñāneśvara explains that *jāti* means the caste of the offsprings of mixed *anuloma* marriage, while *varṇa* means *brāhmana* etc. But this fine distinction is untenable, since Manu (10.27 and 31) has used the word *varṇa* in the sense of mixed castes.

The importance of the word *jāti* is that it emphasizes the birth of a man as the determining factor of his caste. As birth really determined the caste of a person, the word *jāti* was usually used to denote caste. The use of the word *varṇa*, however, was never given up, and the Hindus still describe their society as based on four 'castes' (*catur-varṇa*), when actually it is fragmented into thousands of castes.

Brāhmaṇas

In the RV, the word *brahma* generally means 'prayer' or 'hymn,' and when the words *brahma* and *kṣatra* occur in the same hymn (1.157.2), they probably mean 'prayer' and 'valour' respectively. The transition of meaning from 'prayer' to 'persons who recited the prayer' was natural, and in the AV, *brahma* seems to mean the class of *brāhmaṇas*. But, as we have seen, in the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, *brāhmaṇa* is recognized as the foremost class or a caste apart from the others.

The *brāhmaṇas* and the two other upper-castes, namely the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* were collectively known as the *dvijas* or 'twice-born.' They had certain common duties, namely, study of the Vedas, offering sacrifices, and giving gifts. The special duties of a *brāhmaṇa*, meant for earning his livelihood, were teaching the Vedas, officiating as priests at sacrifices, and receiving gifts. The *Dāna-stuti* hymns, sung in the praise of the donor, is a peculiar feature of the RV, and reveal the greed of the Ṛgvedic poets and the priests.

The gifts were fitful, and the *dakṣiṇā* (fee) was not always sufficient. Many *brāhmaṇas* were unable to master the massive Vedic texts necessary to enable one to officiate as a priest. Teaching called for even greater intellectual

effort. Therefore, from quite early days the *brāhmaṇas* took to the profession of arms. In the RV, the *brāhmaṇa purohita* is found accompanying a king to a battle, and there is nothing to indicate that some of them did not also participate in the fray. But later, there was temporary taboo, and the *Āpastaṁba Dharma-sūtra* (1.10.29.7) forbids a *brāhmaṇa* even to touch a weapon. Other Dharma-sūtra writers were less exacting and allowed a *brāhmaṇa* to take up soldiering in times of distress, for protecting himself, or for preventing the admixture of *varṇas*. Manu (8.348-49) gives a larger number of exceptions. The *Mahābhārata* shows that *brāhmaṇas* like Droṇa and Kṛpa became soldiers to earn money just like *kṣatriyas*. In historical times the famous *brāhmaṇa* royal dynasties were the Sungas and the Kāṇvas, the former established by a *senāpati* or commander-in-chief. Another *brāhmaṇa* dynasty was established by Mayūraśarman, who, for all practical purposes, began his career as a highway robber.[1] But his descendants adopted the surname '*varman*,' indicating that they considered themselves as *kṣatriyas*.

A *brāhmaṇa* in distress could also engage himself in trade but he could not deal in certain specified commodities. Usury was prohibited to a *brāhmaṇa*, though he could advance money at a low rate of interest. Regarding agriculture, the opinions of the Dharma śāstra writers were divided, but it appears that on the whole it was permissible for a *brāhmaṇa* to take up agriculture in times of distress.

On the whole, the *brāhmaṇas* were expected to live a simple and austere life, and devote themselves to the acquisition of spiritual merit. Though all the three upper castes were entitled to Brahma-vidyā, Manu (12.102-04) makes it quite clear that only the *brāhmaṇas* were capable of realizing the highest truth. In this he was right. For, though some *kṣatriya* princes are honourably mentioned in the Upaniṣads, later the *brāhmaṇas* alone followed intellectual pursuits and traversed the difficult path leading to spiritual summit. For good or bad, the *brāhmaṇas* were responsible for establishing and upholding the Hindu religion and society.

There were, exceptions. Some early Buddhist texts on *śīlas* mention *brāhmaṇas* working as physicians, sorcerers, architects, story-tellers, cattle-breeders, farmers etc. The *Jātaka* stories show the *brāhmaṇas* working as cultivators, cattlemen, traders, hunters, carpenters, weavers, guardsmen, archers, carriage-drivers, and even as snake-charmers. The *Vasettha-sutta* refers to *brāhmaṇas* working as cultivators, craftsmen, messengers, sacrificers, and landlords. The *Daśa brāhmaṇa Jātaka* shows the *brāhmaṇas* performing the following ten professions:

1. physicians; 2. servants and wagon drivers; 3. tax-collectors; 4. diggers of the soil in ascetic garb; 5. vendors of fruits, sweets etc.; 6. farmers; 7. priests interpreting omens; 8. armed guards of caravans and shops; 9. hunters in the garb of hermits; and 10. bathing attendant of kings in the garb of *yājñikas*.

[1]For history of these dynasties see above I, pp. 170, 175 and 295.

It should be noted that according to the Buddhists and the Jainas, the *kṣatriyas* were the highest among the four castes followed by the *brāhmaṇas* and their stories usually have an anti-*brāhmaṇa* bias. Even so, the Jaina and Buddhist works describe the normal *brāhmaṇa* either as a householder or as a hermit. The *brāhmaṇa* householder usually followed an appropriate profession like king's priest or sacrificer, or an honourable profession like a minister, ambassador, or an army officer. There is, however, no doubt that some *brāhmaṇas* took to trade. Definite evidence of this is not readily available for the early period, but the Nagara *brāhmaṇas* of Gujarat became a trading community as early as the 12th century, and made their stronghold Vadnagar a famous commercial centre. In south India too, there are instances of *brāhmaṇas* taking to trade, and they were treated along with other merchants as one group.[1]

There were also *brāhmaṇa* criminals. The *Daśa-kumāracarita* relates that there was a colony of *brāhmaṇa* robbers. The same work also refers to a *brāhmaṇa* magician, who also acted as a priest in a romantic marriage made possible by his trickery. In the previous volume we have given an example of a *brāhmaṇa* murderer based upon epigraphic evidence.[2]

It may be asked that since the *brāhmaṇas* were entitled to receive gifts, why then did they adopt non-brahmanical professions? The reason is that in ancient days, the qualification of a donee was scrutinized before making a gift as approved in the *Mahābhārata* (13.90.2 and 11-16). Secondly, the *brāhmaṇas* were forbidden to accept many types of gifts, and the ideal set before a *brāhmaṇa* in the matter of *pratigraha* (receiving gifts) was that non-acceptance was preferable, and that a *brāhmaṇa* should not accept gifts frequently. Actually, Manu (4.7-8) and Yājñavalkya (1.128) regard that more penurious a *brāhmaṇa* is, the more honourable and worthy of praise he becomes. Yājñavalkya thinks that a good *brāhmaṇa* should not store more rice than he might need during a year, and it seems that he preferred a *brāhmaṇa* not to have more grains than could be contained in a *kumbhi* which would last for three days, or even one day.

Many *brāhmaṇas* followed this precept, but it is evident that a large number failed. Even in the epic age, Droṇa, Kṛpa, and Aśvatthāman enlisted in the army for pecuniary advantages. Every *brāhmaṇa* did not possess similar aptitude and they were forced to adopt diverse professions, particularly because it was difficult for an uneducated *brāhmaṇa* to make any kind of living, and no one would have given such *brāhmaṇas* any gift. Actually Manu (4.188-191) forbids them in dire language to accept a gift. Then the rules of gift were slackened, and the *Mahābhārata* has nine chapters (13.60-68) on 'merits which a person derived from bestowing gifts upon a *brāhmaṇa*,' but

[1]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas*, Madras, 1975, p. 546.

[2]*Daśakumāracarita*, tr. by A.W. Ryder, Phoenix Books, Chicago, 1960, pp. 55-58. For *brāhmaṇa* murderers see above II, p. 268. For examples of *brāhmaṇas* being tortured by soldiers see ibid, p. 266. *Brāhmaṇas* also worked as *kāyasthas*, ibid, p. 221. The *brāhmaṇas* also enjoyed many advantages for which see ibid, for page references consult ibid, index.

it is said at the beginning, (13.60.5), that worthy *brāhmaṇas* do not accept gifts from sinners. So far as the donee was concerned, it appears that his only necessary qualification was that he should be a *brāhmaṇa*. In course of time, these rules were further relaxed, and the Purāṇas state that gifts should be made to any kind of *brāhmaṇas*, and they too accepted it from any and every donor. The *brāhmaṇas* were forbidden to beg, unless he was a *brahmacārin*, or in acute distress. Even a poor *brāhmaṇa* disdained to perform any manual work except cooking.

Even during the Vedic period, the *brāhmaṇas* were highly eulogized. The tendency in Smṛtis and Purāṇas was to glorify them even more and in most extravagant terms. However, Manu (8.349-351) and several other early writers prescribed that a *brāhmaṇa* assailant could be killed without incurring any sin. The *Mahābhārata* is of the same view, and Drona was killed by unfair means. The respect for *brāhmaṇas*, however, increased during the ages, and later law-givers and the Purāṇas practically forbid the killing of a *brāhmaṇa* under any circumstances. It is difficult to say as to how far this rule was observed, for *brāhmaṇas* (like the Peshwas) took part in warfare and did not expect to be spared. It was usual, however, not to execute a *brāhmaṇa* murderer.

For certain offences like abusing, a *brāhmaṇa* received a lesser punishment than members of the other *varṇas*, but in certain cases like theft, if a *śūdra* thief was fined 8, a *vaiśya* 16, and a *kṣatriya* 32, a *brāhmaṇa* was fined 64,100, or 128. Drinking intoxicating liquors was forbidden to a *brāhmaṇa*. Manu (11.93-95) forbids drinking by the three upper castes, but his dictum has been construed to mean that the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* could drink liquor prepared from molasses (*gauḍī*) or *madhuka* flowers (*mādhvī*), but not spirit prepared from distilling fermented rice and some other grains (*paiṣṭi*). Severe punishment was prescribed by Gautama (23.1), Manu (11.90-91), and Yājñavalkya (3.253) for drinking *surā* which seems to have been aimed at *brāhmaṇas* only. If a person, knowingly and frequently drank *surā* he would be purified only by death brought about by pouring in his mouth boiling *surā*, water, *ghī*, cow's urine, or milk. This must have been a pious wish, for non-*brāhmaṇa* is known to have performed this penance. It is a fact however, that drinking among the *brāhmaṇas* was very unusual. It may be noted that, intoxicants were not forbidden to the *śūdras*.

From the Vedic age onwards, the *brāhmaṇas* have occupied the most exalted position in society. It is undoubtedly true that they wrote the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas, and inserted the clauses on their privileges, immunities, and the verses highly eulogizing their merits. It is, however, a fact that, these pretensions to superiority were not only tolerated, but actually accepted by the other castes as religious dogmas. The reason was that the *brāhmaṇas* were not only the custodian of the Veda, but the creators of the vast complex of Sanskrit literature. Secondly, as we have pointed out, most of them led an austere life, and preferred poverty to adopting a forbidden avocation. A few among them actually fulfilled Manu's ideal. Their greatness and

nobility of character led to the glorification of the entire order to which they belonged.

The power and authority of the *brāhmaṇas* increased after the downfall of the Hindu kingdoms. When the political authority passed into alien hands, only the *brāhmaṇas* remained to preserve the society from the onslaught of the conquerors. This task they performed with conspicuous ability, and maintained the Hindu society free from alien domination. The social rules progressively became more stringent, the *brāhmaṇas* became more tyrannical, and more rapacious, still the people obeyed all their irrational dicta and unreasonable demands. The stability of the Hindu society meant general immobility: any social movement appears to be retrograde. Hence one may question if mere survival was of any value. The answer is the rapid rise of the Indian intellectual class in the nineteenth century. Most of the famous men were *brāhmaṇas*. The evils too were identified, but the society is still carrying the burden of centuries.

Kṣatriyas

The *kṣatriyas*, as we have seen, came next to the *brāhmaṇas* in the social hierarchy. In the RV, the word *kṣatriya* has been used in several senses, one of which is 'a king' or 'a nobleman.' It will be remembered that in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* the word *rājanya* is used to denote the warrior caste. Later the word *kṣatriya* was commonly used to denote the caste, but the word *rājanya* seems to have survived in '*rājaputra*' or '*rājput*.' It has been pointed out, however, that, 'neither in the Jātakas nor in the epic (*Mahābhārata*) is the term (*kṣatriya*) co-extensive with all warriors; the army contains many besides the *kṣatriyas*, who are the leaders or officers, rather than the rank and file.[1]

The *Mahābhārata* (1.127.11) says that it is difficult to trace (lit. to know) the source of rivers and *kṣatriyas* (*śūrāṇāṁ ca nadīnāṁ ca durvidāḥ prabhavāḥ kila*). Persons, tribes, or clans which effectively exercised political power over a sizeable territory were recognized as *kṣatriyas*. Thus the Pahlavas, Śakas, Hūṇas and other foreign tribes were absorbed into the Hindu society. There are instances of *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* becoming kings, but they seem to have married freely into the *kṣatriya* society. Even a Buddhist Pāla king married a Kalacuri princess at a period when it was usual to refer to the Buddhists as *pāṣaṇḍas*.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (1.4.11) is sometimes cited to show that the *kṣatriyas* were considered superior to the *brāhmaṇas*. Hence we quote the passage to show that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* maintained the supremacy of the *brāhmaṇas*:

> 'Verily, in the beginning this world was Brahman; He was alone. Being one, He did not prosper. He created (*aty-asṛjata*, lit. 'super-created') a

[1] *Vedic Index*, I, Delhi, 1958, p. 203.

noble form, the *kṣatriya* consisting of those who are *kṣatriyas* among the gods; Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mṛtyu, Īśāna. Therefore, there is none superior to the *kṣatriya*. Therefore at the *Rājasūya* ceremony, the *brāhmaṇa* adores the *kṣatriya* from a lower seat. Upon *kṣatriya* alone does he confer this honour. (But) the same thing (namely) *brāhmaṇa* is the source of the *kṣatriya*. Therefore, even if the king attains pre-eminence (in that sacrifice), at the end he places himself under the *brāhmaṇa*, who is his source. He, who insults him (*the brāhmaṇa*), destroys his own source. He fares worse in proportion (or, 'becomes more vicious') as he injures his superior.'

Vaiśyas

The words *viś* and *vaiśya* denote the third caste. In the RV, the word *vaiśya* is used only in the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, and it uses the word *viś* frequently meaning 'people.' From the later Vedic literature, it appears that the *vaiśyas* reared cattle, and supported the community by paying tax. They were more numerous than the *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas* from whom they lived apart. Though the *vaiśyas* were entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices, their status was lower than that of the *brāhmaṇas* or *kṣatriyas*. The three occupations open to and reserved for the *vaiśyas* were *kṛṣi* (agriculture), *go rakṣā* (lit. 'protection of cow,' i.e., animal husbandry), and *vāṇijya* (trade and commerce). They also had the exclusive right to practise usury.

From the *Rāmāyaṇa* it appears that the *vaiśyas* were respectable members of society. When Bharata was requested to ascend the throne, it was represented to him that all the ministers, relatives, and the merchant guilds (*śreṇis*) were waiting for the ceremony (2.73.4). During Rāmacandra's coronation, water and other materials were sprinkled on him among others by the *naigamas*, that is merchants (6.116.57). The *naigamas* are again mentioned when Rāmacandra consulted them along with his ministers when a *brāhmaṇa's* son died untimely. In the *Mahābhārata* (12.254 to 256), a *vaiśya* preached his own brand of religion.

The *Mahābhārata* (12.285.6) uses the phrase 'rich men' (*dhaninaḥ*), to designate the *vaiśyas* as a class, from which it appears that they were considered to be the wealthy community.

Śūdras

Śūdra was the lowest among the four *varṇas*. It has been shown above that the *śūdras* have been identified by eminent scholars with the *dāsas* and the *dasyus* mentioned in the RV. It has also been shown that such identification is not absolutely certain. For example the RV (VIII.46.32) say: 'The singer took a hundred (cows or some other gifts) from the *dāsa* Balbutha and from Tarukṣa.' This passage shows that there were rich *dāsas* whose gifts were acceptable to Vedic minstrels, but, the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* says: 'Therefore, a *śūdra*, though he may have many beasts is not entitled to perform sacrifice, he is godless as no deity was created after him (as in the

case of other *varṇas*), therefore he does not go beyond washing the feet (of the other three *varṇas*), since he was created from the feet.' Very rich *śūdras*, however, could bribe a sage and learn the highest knowledge or Brahma-vidyā. This is described in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (4.1-2) which relates how the sage Raivaka was induced to impart Brahma-vidyā by the lavish gifts heaped upon him by Jānaśruti, whom the sage refers to as a *śūdra*. The Br. S. (1.3.34) explains that *śūdra* here does not mean a caste, but that sorrow (*śuc*) arose in Jānaśruti on hearing some talk about himself and he was overcome (from *dru*) by that conversation. That is, the word *śūdra*, as used in this passage of the Upaniṣad, is derived from *śuc* and *dru*, meaning 'one who is overwhelmed with sorrow.' This far-fetched etymology has been accepted by Śaṅkara to explain the Upaniṣadic passage, but it merely shows that what was permissible, though unusual, in the days of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* had become prohibited by the time the Br. S. was written, probably on account of the prohibition of such intellectual intercourse by the *Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa* and similar texts. It is also significant that the *Chāndogya* nowhere mentions that Jānaśruti performed Vedic sacrifices, but states that he built rest-houses everywhere thinking that people would eat his food. This was *pūrta dharma*, permissible for the *śūdras* as has been explained in the previous volume.[1]

The *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* passage quoted above is wrong when it says that 'no deity was created after him (*śūdra*).' We have seen that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (1.4.13) says that Pūṣan was *śūdra* among gods. This is repeated in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (1.10.13), while the *Mahābhārata* (12.201. 22-23) states that among the gods, the Ādityas are *kṣatriyas*, the Maruts are *vaiśyas*, while the Aśvin twins are *śūdras*.

The position of the *śūdra*, even in the Vedic age, was certainly low. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII.29.4) in its account of the castes declares that the *śūdra* is 'the servant of another' (*anyasya preṣya*), 'to be expelled at will' (*kāmotthāpya*) and 'to be slain at will' (*yathā-kāma-vadhya*). With regard to these terms, Macdonell and Keith have observed: 'All these terms well enough describe the position of the serf as the result of a conquest: the epithets might have been applied to the English serf after the Norman Conquest with but slight inaccuracy, especially if his master had received a grant of jurisdiction from the Crown.'[2]

While dealing with the duties of various castes, Manu (1.90-91) says that a *vaiśya* should look after cattle, make gifts, perform sacrifices, study (the scriptures), and engage himself in trade, agriculture, and usury,[3] and the

[1] See above II, p. 321.

[2] *Vedic Index*, II, p. 389.

[3] It is significant that both Medhātithi and Kulluka in their comments merely state that a *vaiśya* should engage himself in trade, and usury. Kulluka adds '*paśu-pālanam*,' but both of them are silent about sacrifice, study etc. This silence means that by their time, the *vaiśyas* had discontinued the study of scriptures, and were not performing the Vedic sacrifices. Probably the *vaiśyas* had also given up agriculture. On Manu 10.119, Medhātithi says that the *vaiśyas* are very rich' (*vaiśyāḥ mahādhanā bhavanti*).

śūdras are assigned the single duty of serving their masters (explained by the commentators as 'the three higher castes') which is corroborated by Manu (10.121-122). Manu prescribes (10.125) that a *śūdra* servant must be given the left over food, old clothes, a share of the corn, and old beddings. Manu (10.121) says that if a *śūdra* fails to earn his livelihood by serving a *brāhmaṇa* he should approach a *kṣatriya*, and if the latter is unable to maintain him, he should take service with a *vaiśya*. If, however, a *śūdra* is unable to maintain himself by serving the upper castes, he should work as a cook, or as a craftsman (*kāru* and *śilpa*, Manu, 10.99-100). Medhātithi explains *kāru* as 'cooking, weaving, carpentry etc.,' and *śilpa* as 'painting,' while Kulluka explains *kāru* as carpentry, crafts, painting etc.

According to the *Mahābhārata* (12.60.31-33), the upper castes were practically under an obligation to a *śūdra* if he approached them for service. It is also laid down that a *śūdra* servant must be looked after properly, and should be provided with old clothes, umbrella, girdle, *auśīram*, shoe, fan and old clothes. The *Mahābhārata* (12.283. 2-5) agrees with Manu that a *śūdra* might engage himself in other vocations if he fails to find an upper-caste master. The permissible vocations were: trade, animal husbandry, and various crafts. Besides these, if it was a family tradition (and not otherwise), a *śūdra* could serve as an actor or live on the earnings of a harlot, or by selling spirituous liquors, meat, iron, and leather. The *śūdras* must have taken advantage of these provisions, and gradually they monopolized the crafts and industry, just as the *vaiśyas* had taken over the control of trade, commerce, and banking. The *vaiśyas*, however, had to leave to the *śūdras* trading in leather, meat, liquor, and iron. Thus economically the *śūdras* did not fare badly.

The *Mahābhārata* (Cr. ed. 12.86.7-8) provides that three *śūdras* along with four *brāhmaṇas* and one *sūta* (a mixed caste) should form the council of ministers. The Bombay edition and many MSS. have an additional verse providing for the inclusion of eight *kṣatriyas* and twenty-one *vaiśyas*. On the face of it, it seems improbable that the council of ministers should consist of only *brāhmaṇas*, *śūdras*, and one *sūta*. There can be no doubt, however, that a *śūdra* could be a minister, and that it was usual to have *śūdras* as ministers as Sāyaṇa states on the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (V.3.2.2). That the *śūdras* attained high offices is attested by Medhātithi on Manu (4.61), where Manu prohibits a *brāhmaṇa* to live in a country of which the king is a *śūdra*. Commenting on this verse, Medhātithi says that, the *brāhmaṇa* should leave a *śūdra* king's territory if all the seven highest officials were also *śūdras*. Thus while Manu envisages a *śūdra* king, Medhātithi contemplates *śūdras* also conducting the administration. Medhātithi's statement also indicates the possibility of the higher castes, not excluding the *brāhmaṇas*, serving under a *śūdra* king. Actually, the Pāla kings, who being Buddhists were no better than *śūdras*, were served by several generations of orthodox *brāhmaṇa* ministers. It is apparent that the position of the *śūdras* was not as low as it became later.[1]

[1]For details see *EBES*, pp. 102-5. For Medhātithi's attitude to the *śūdras*, see *HCIP*, IV, pp. 371-72.

Kauṭilya (1.3.7-8) states that the duties of a *vaiśya* are 'studying, performing sacrifices for himself, making gifts, agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade'. He then prescribes that, the duties of a *śūdra* are 'service of the upper three castes, *vārttā*, *kāru*, and *kuśīlava-karma*' (acting). Of these *kāru* has been explained above; *vārttā* has been explained by Kauṭilya (1.4.1) as *kṛṣi-pāśu-pālye vaṇijyā ca vārttā* (*vārttā* means agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade). Apparently, Kauṭilya has assigned common vocations to the *vaiśya* and the *śūdra*. Kauṭilya seems to have a high regard for the ability of the *śūdra*, for he says (2.1.2) that the king should settle the villages 'mostly by *śūdra* peasants,' and later (7.11.21) prefers lands to be settled with 'lower *varṇas*.' As regards soldiers, Kauṭilya deprecates the use of *brāhmaṇa* troops, and adds (9.2.24): 'A *kṣatriya* army, trained in the art of weapon, is better, or a *vaiśya* or a *śūdra* army, when possessed of great strength.[1] Thus according to Kauṭilya, the *śūdras* were entitled to follow almost all the gainful professions of that age, with which, as we have seen, Manu and the *Mahābhārata* agree.

The disabilities of the *śūdras* were that they could not study the Veda, nor perform the Vedic sacrifices. However, according to Medhātithi and Kulluka on Manu 10.123, the *śūdras* could perform the *pāka-yajñas*.[2] Though the *śūdra* could not study the Veda, he could listen to the recital of the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. Even Śaṅkara admits (on Br.S. 1.3.38) that a *śūdra* could develop spiritually and ultimately attain *mokṣa*. Though the *śūdras* were generally prohibited from performing Vedic sacrifices, the ancient authorities usually allowed them to perform religious rites without uttering the Vedic *mantras*.[3] A *śūdra* received heavier punishment for committing certain offences like rape, adultery (particularly with higher-caste women), and reviling members of the upper-castes. For similar offences against lower-castes, the *brāhmaṇa* escaped with lighter punishment, but a *śūdra* thief was awarded lighter punishment than a *brāhmaṇa* thief. Another advantage enjoyed by a *śūdra* was that he could eat and drink anything. Kauṭilya (4.10.13) provides that a *śūdra* calling himself a *brāhmaṇa* should be blinded or fined 800 (*paṇas*).

The position of the *śūdras* worsened with the passage of time. The *Āpastaṁba Dharma-sūtra* (II.2.3.1 and 4) says that '*āryas*, who are pure (by bath), should prepare the food for Vaiśvadeva;.....or *śūdras*, supervised by *āryas* should prepare it.' Manu (4.253), Yājñavalkya (1.166) and some other texts allow a *brāhmaṇa* to accept food cooked by a *śūdra* if he was the former's share-cropper, family friend, cowherd, slave, barber, or if he had voluntarily accepted service. It appears from Pāṇini 2.4.10 (*śūdrāṇām a-niravasitānām*), that by this time (*c.* 500 to 300 BC), the *śūdras* were divided into two groups *a-niravasita* (not expelled) and *niravasita* (expelled). The distinction between

[1] *Bahulasāram* or 'possessed of great strength' means 'having many brave men in it.'
[2] For *pāka-yajña* see Kulluka on Manu 2.143, and *HDK*, II, i, pp. 193-94.
[3] ibid, pp. 157-59.

the two, explained by Patañjali, is that the former could take food from the dish of a higher caste person without defiling it permanently, while the latter did so. Apparently, the higher castes married the girls of the former group only, for Vātsyāyana in his *Kāma-sūtra* (1.5.3) qualifies low caste (*avara-varṇa*) by *a-niravāsita*, when he declares that union with such a *śūdra* girl is neither recommended nor prohibited, but is for pleasure only.

The later Smṛti texts, however, forbid a *brāhmaṇa* to eat food cooked by a *śūdra*. Further, they enjoin upon a *brāhmaṇa* not to share the same seat with a *śūdra*, and ultimately certain texts declared that the touch of a *śūdra* would pollute the upper-castes. A member of the three upper-castes, in such a case of pollution, had to purify himself preferably by bathing or by ceremonial sipping of water. Thus for all practical purposes the *śūdra* became almost an untouchable, though this was never contemplated by the Vedic texts, nor by Manu and Yājñavalkya.

The later Smṛti texts gradually gained the upper hand, and they undoubtedly reflected the authoritative opinion of their times. It is, however, as difficult to determine their dates of composition as to say when their provisions became operative. Turning towards recorded history, we find a Kaivarta rebellion in Bengal, as result of which the Kaivarta chiefs, who are classed as *antyaja* in near contemporary Smṛti literature,[1] ascended the throne of Bengal and ruled for several years. As Divya, the Kaivarta leader was a high official in the Pāla administration, it is apparent that *śūdras* were not debarred from holding high offices. In the 14th century, Turkish invasion of Andhra was repulsed by *śūdra* chiefs like Prolaya Nāyaka and Vema Reḍḍi, and a Sanskrit inscription, undoubtedly composed by a *brāhmaṇa*, eulogizes Prolaya by describing him as, 'a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu.'[2]

These are, however, isolated examples, and may be called the exceptions rather than the rule unless more evidence of this nature can be found. Bengal was under the Buddhist Pāla kings, who did not have much use for the Smṛtis, and Turkish invasion had broken the backbone of the upper-

[1] *History of Bengal*, ed. R.C. Majumdar, I, Dacca, 1943, p. 577. The word *antyaja* literally means 'born of the lowest caste.' Manu has used the word several times. On Manu 10.110 Medhātithi and Kulluka have explained the word as '*śūdras*,' but on Manu 8.279 Medhātithi says that *antyaja* means all the castes from '*śūdra to caṇḍāla*,' while Kulluka says it means '*śūdra*,' On 11.59 Medhātithi explains *antyaja* as 'female Barbaras,' and Kulluka as 'female *caṇḍālas*.' On 11.171, Medhātithi explains *antyaja* as 'female *caṇḍāla*', *mleccha* etc.,' while Kulluka explains it as 'female *caṇḍāla*'. Another definition of *antyaja* is given by Yama, who includes the following seven castes and tribes as *antyajas: rajaka* (washerman), *carmakāra* (leather-worker), *naṭa* (actor), *varuḍa* (carpenters (?) or makers of bamboo or cane implements, see Kulluka on Manu 4. 215), *kaivarta*, *meda*, and *bhilla;* the last two are tribes. This verse is quoted in the *Prayāścitta-prakaraṇa* (118) of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva for whose identity see above I, p. 413.

[2] For details see above I, pp. 409-10, and p. 389. The Reḍḍis of Kondavidu played an important role in the history of this region during the 14th and the 15th centuries.

caste Hindus who would eagerly clasp the hand that afforded them protection from the ravages of the *mleccha* hordes.

The reactionary attitude towards the *śūdras* can be traced to a much earlier period. We have seen Medhātithi amplifying Manu 4.61 to enable a *brāhmaṇa* to live in a *śūdra* king's territory. Medhātithi was writing probably by the end of the 9th century when the Pāla kingdom was at its zenith. There were probably several *śūdra* kingdoms also. For, Kumārila, who flourished about a century earlier than Medhātithi, writes in the *Tantravārtika* (p. 580) that persons of all four *varṇas* are seen as rulers of kingdom. Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Br. S. (1.3.33) laments that in his days (AD 788-820) *varṇas* and *āśramas* had become disorganized. Kumārila in his *Tantravārtika* (p. 200) regrets that *brāhmaṇas* in his days chewed betel leaves that had been touched by persons of all *varṇas*, did not rinse their mouths at the end of chewing, and wore clothes washed by washermen, and brought on the back of asses. Apparently, during the ninth century there was a relaxation in the observance of caste rules,[1] which was the natural result of the tendency discernible in the *Mahābhārata* and the effects of Jainism and Buddhism. But Kumārila insisted on the strict observance of the Smṛti rules, to which Śaṅkara, who faithfully followed Manu in all social matters, added his authority. Indeed, Śaṅkara (on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3.5. and 4.5.15) restricted the right of *sannyāsa* only to the *brāhmaṇas*, though according to the older texts only the *śūdras* were ineligible to become *sannyāsins*. This interdiction, debarring the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* from monkhood, was possibly due to the fact, that they had too much social intercourse with the *śūdras*. However, the great Ācārya's opinion was contradicted by his own disciple, Sureśvarācārya in his *Vārtika* on Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (3.5.1).[2] Sureśvara's view prevailed, for which one may ascribe two reasons. Firstly, even a Śaṅkara could not brush aside certain social realities, and it was impossible to organise an order of monks exclusively from the *brāhmaṇa* aspirants. Secondly, the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* also were warned that they would lose their rights as *dvija* (twice-born) if they had social intercourse with the *śūdras*. They perforce had to adopt the conservative attitude dictated by Kumārila and Śaṅkara, and one may be justified in tracing the rigorous operation of caste distinction to have begun from the 9th century AD.

An example will illustrate the strict enforcement of caste rule as normal part of 11th century social life. Rāmānuja (AD 1017-1137) studied Tamil devotional literature under the guidance of his *guru*, Mahāpūrṇa. At his earnest request, Mahāpūrṇa and his wife came to live in Rāmānuja's house. One day, while both the disciple and the teacher were out, their

[1]Kulluka on Manu 11.96 states that according to some (unnamed) authorities *brāhmaṇa* women could drink wine, which he refutes on Yājñavalkya's authority. This controversy shows that there were some very permissive Smṛti writers.

[2]For conflicting opinions on this topic see *HDK*, II ,ii, pp. 942-44.

wives went to draw water from a well. A few drops of water fell from the pitcher of Mahāpūrṇa's wife on the pitcher of Rakṣakambal, Rāmānuja's wife. Rakṣakambal got wild with rage, and abused the *guru's* wife in most intemperate language, lamenting that she had lost her caste. When Mahāpūrṇa returned and heard this incident, he immediately left the place. Rāmānuja, on his return, understood what his wife had done, and immediately left her and his house never to return. But the point is, even with his great example before them, his followers, the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, are as conscious of their brahmanhood as the Smārtas, or the followers of Śaṅkara. So are the *brāhmaṇa* followers of Nimbārka, Maddhava, Vallabha, and Caitanya.[1]

It has to be pointed out that Ramanuja's discipleship under the *śūdra* Kāñcīpūrṇa was in accordance with Manu 2.238, which recommends that a *brāhmaṇa* should approach a *śūdrā* or even a lower caste (i.e., a *caṇḍāla*) for learning useful knowledge or the highest *dharma*.[2] This is corroborated by the *Mahābhārata* 12.159.29.

The general picture of the Hindu society as it presented itself at the beginning of the 19th century was that the *śūdras* were treated as untouchables. This may have been an offshoot of the Turkish conquest. With the political power of the *kṣatriyas* removed, the *brāhmaṇas'* sway over the society was complete, and their tyranny became unchecked. The bulk of the *brāhmaṇas* were poor, rustic, ignoramuses with a smattering of Sanskrit, just sufficient to overawe ignorant women and illiterate village folks. They could assert their supremacy over the *śūdras* only by trampling on their sentiments. Actually, a *brāhmaṇa* would not eat food cooked by a person of any other caste. The more orthodox among them, would not eat food unless cooked by a *brāhmaṇa* of the same sub-caste, and the most orthodox ate food only when cooked by his mother or wife, or preferably by himself!

The real untouchables were the other castes to be described below, but the *śūdras* were also objects of derision particularly those who were economically backward.[3] Why did they submit to the *brāhmaṇa's* stupid assertion of superiority? The *brāhmaṇas* had no political power to prop up their assertion, yet the rest of the society meekly and humbly paid them respectful obeisance. The reason, as we have said, was that some of the *brāhmaṇas*

[1]The idea propagated by some modern scholars that Caitanya abolished the caste system or attempted to do so is quite baseless. Even when on tour, Caitanya had his *brāhmaṇa* cook with him. It should be remembered, that all the Vaiṣṇavas are followers of Vedānta, and they follow Manu and the Pūrva-Mīmaṁsā school in social matters.

[2]The commentators have whittled down the provisions of this verse, but see Manu's attitude towards deserving *śūdras* (10.127-28) corroborated by *Mahābhārata*, 12.60.36-9.

[3]Pāṇini (2.4.10) mentions a class of *śūdras* as *anirvāsita* (not expelled from the communion of the higher castes). The commentators explain that 'a *śūdra* who can take food from the dish of a higher caste, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an "*anirvāsita śūdra*." Examples of such 'unexpelled *śūdras*' are the carpenter, the blacksmith, washerman, and the weaver. But the *caṇḍālas* and the *mṛtapas* do not belong to this class, hence they must be counted as *nirvāsita* or expelled.' Washerman was later degraded, see above.

were really extraordinarily gifted men of sterling character, who would earn respect anywhere. They established the basis of *brāhmaṇa* supremacy, which was stabilized by the general code of conduct natural to a *brāhmaṇa*, but which others found difficult to follow.

It should be remembered, however, that if Hindu religion and philosophy are the creation of the *brāhmaṇas*, Hindu art is the creation of the *śūdras*. All the crafts, including sculpture, architecture, and painting were the monopoly of the *śūdras*. The great temples, the visible symbols of India's past greatness, are the legacy of the *śūdras*. It was the *śūdras*, who evolved the process of metal casting, and have left us the splendid Naṭarājas in bronze, which now adorn the museums.

The *brāhmaṇas* created Sanskrit literature, and wrote dramas, but the actors and actresses were *śūdras*, for, to follow the profession of a *naṭa* was a *śūdra* monopoly. Their wives are derided as women of easy virtue, but they played the roles of Śakuntalā and Sītā. One may wonder whether Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti would have written their great plays had there been no *śūdra* to stage them. A convention of the Sanskrit drama is that while the male characters speak in Sanskrit, the females speak in Prakrit. A possible reason may be that while the male *śūdras* received formal education in Sanskrit, the females usually came from a strata of society which did not educate their girls well enough to enable them to pronounce Sanskrit words correctly.

Rathakāras and Niṣādas

The gradual deterioration in the status of the *rathakāras* and the *niṣādas* indicates the manner in which the caste structure progressively hardened with a bias against the manual workers and the tribal people.

The *rathakāras* or the 'chariot-makers' enjoyed a special status during the Vedic age. When the chariots were an important implement of war, their makers had to be kept satisfied. So the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (1.1.4) allowed a *rathakāra* the right to consecrate sacred fire, which was confined to the three upper-castes. The position was considered in the PMS 6.1.44-50, in which Jaimini concluded that, the *rathakāra*, though not a member of the higher castes, had a right to consecrate sacred fire. Now, if the *rathakāra* was not a member of the three higher castes, he must have been a *śūdra*, for, as Manu (10.4) and the *Mahābhārata* (12.285.7 and 13.47.18) say, there were only four castes. Kauṭilya (3.7.35) wriggles out of the difficulty by blandly stating that 'the *rathakāra* is a *vaiśya* by profession' (*karmaṇā vaiśyo rathakāraḥ*), but does not cite any authority for adding a supplementary profession to the *vaiśyas*.[1]

The fact is that in Kauṭilya's time, the *rathakāras* had not lost their importance. It was, however, on the wane, for the invasion of Alexander the

[1]Prof. Kangle's translation is slightly different. In the fn. p. 248, he quotes a commentator who remarks : 'According to some, a *rathakāra* is an *antarāla* (intermediate) community, but he is only a *vaiśya* called by this name because of his profession.'

Great had taught the Indians the superiority of cavalry over chariots. Kauṭilya had not given up the idea of fighting in chariots under certain circumstances, but he also contemplated horses for cavalry. Later, the practice of fighting in chariots was given up, but still the regard for old traditions sanctified by rules given in authoritative texts continued to allow the *rathakāras* certain privileges. Yājñavalkya (1.95) states that the *rathakāra* was born of a *māhiṣya* father and a *karaṇa* mother, and the *Mitākṣarā* explains that a *māhiṣya* was born of a *kṣatriya* father and a *vaiśya* mother, while a *karaṇa* was born of a *vaiśya* father and a *śūdra* mother. The *Mitākṣarā* then quotes Śaṅkha, according to whom, a *rathakāra* is entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices, and to wear the sacred thread, because he is 'almost like a twice-born' (*dvijāti-vat*).

This absurd explanation, though written in the 12th century, may have been believed in the 3rd century AD. An inscription issued by the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman (*c.* AD 265-275) records the grant of an *agrahāra* (village) to a certain *catuvejja* (one who has studied the four Vedas) of the *rathakāra* caste.[1]

At the time when Vijñāneśvara was writing his celebrated commentary, the *bhaṭṭas* of Rājāśraya-caturvedimangalam consulted the *śāstras* towards the close of the reign of Kulottuṅga I and laid down that the *rathakāras* should follow the following professions: architecture, coach and chariot-building, the erection of *gopuras* with icons on them, and the *maṇḍapas*, the manufacture of sacrificial instruments etc. From an inscription of AD 1169 the *rathakāras* are found to include blacksmiths, goldsmiths, stone masons, and carpenters.[2] Thus in spite of their being *dvijāti-vat*, according to the *Mitākṣarā*, the *rathakāras* were treated *śūdra-vat* in the 12th century.

In ancient days, the *niṣādas* were also allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. Jaimini recognizes that the *niṣāda* is beyond the pale of the three upper *varṇas*, but still the PMS (VI.1.51-52) allows the *niṣāda* to perform the sacrifices. The Smṛti texts give conflicting opinions, from which it appears that, during the early Vedic age, the *niṣādas* formed a powerful tribe or tribes, who had to be conciliated. After their complete subjugation, they were deprived of their former status and denied any recognized profession on the alleged ground that they were *varṇa-śaṅkaras*.

Varṇa-śaṅkara

Varṇa-śaṅkara means 'a child of mixed parentage who may or may not be united by marriage.' A mixed marriage is called *anuloma* when the husband is of higher caste, and *pratiloma* when the wife belongs to a higher caste, but children of both types of marriages are stigmatized as *varṇa-śaṅkara*. Medhātithi on Manu 10.31 says that each caste could produce 15 *varṇa-śaṅkaras*, which with the original four would produce 64, but by the intermingling of

[1] *EI*, XXXI, p. 1 ff.
[2] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., p. 549.

the 64 mixed-castes innumerable castes could be formed. This is perfectly true as an exercise in mathematics, but Mathātithi has not been able to name even the 60 mixed-castes.

The Dharmaśāstras give the names of a comparatively few mixed-castes. MM. Kane has compiled two lists of such mixed-castes. The first is a 'list of persons engaged in professions and crafts which had probably become castes or were in the process of becoming castes, before the close of the Vedic period.' This list includes the names of 60 professions or castes. The second list is of 'castes enumerated or mentioned in smṛti and other dharmaśāstra works from about 500 BC to 1000 AD,' and includes the names of about 125 castes.[1]

The first or the 'Vedic list' is silent about the origin of the sub-castes or mixed castes, and is just an enumeration of professional groups. But the second, or the 'post-Vedic' list, gives the origin of the enumerated castes, and prescribes their professions on the basis of caste. The second list shows that all the sub-castes sprang from the union of parents of different castes, but what is more surprising is that different texts give different accounts of their origin. One text may say that a particular caste was born of a *brāhmaṇa* male and a *śūdra* female, while another text may trace its origin to a *kṣatriya* male and a *śūdra* female.

For example, *bhiṣaj* (medicine man) is mentioned many times in the RV (II.33.4; VI. 50.7; IX.112.1 etc.) where nothing is said about his origin. There is no trace in the RV of the medical profession being held in disrepute; the Aśvins, Vaṛuṇa, and Rudra are all called physicians. In the *Yajurveda Saṁhitās*, however, the Aśvins are condemned for practising medicine, because it brought them too much among men, which according to Macdonell and Keith, 'is an allusion to the caste dislike or promiscuous conduct.' The *bhiṣaj* according to Uśanas, was the offspring of a clandestine union between a *brāhmaṇa* male and a *kṣatriya* girl. Uśanas, however, holds that the son of a *brāhmaṇa* by a *kṣatriya* wife is a *brāhmaṇa*.[2] Manu (10.47) prescribed the profession of medicine for an *ambaṣṭha*, who, according to him (10.8), Baudhāyana (1.9.3), Yājñavalkya (1.91), and Uśanas (31) was the offspring of an *anuloma* marriage between a *brāhmaṇa* male and a *vaiśya* female. Uśanas, having mentioned the *bhiṣaj* caste, says that an *ambaṣṭha* may subsist on agriculture, as a fire-dancer (*āgneya-nartaka*), as a herald, or by surgery. As we have seen from quite ancient times there was a dislike of the profession of medicine; hence it appears that his mixed parentage was invented to differentiate him from the *brāhmaṇas* who followed the prescribed vocations.

The *niṣādas* provide another and more well-known example. We have seen that according to the Vedic texts, the *niṣādas* were allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices like the *rathakāras*. From Yāska onwards they are downgraded. Manu (10.8) and Yājñavalkya (1.91) say that *pāraśava* is another name for

[1] *HDK*, II, i, pp. 49-50 and 69-103. For a Puranic list of mixed castes see *History of Bengal*, I, ed. by R.C. Majumdar, pp. 568-70. See also R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, I, Calcutta, 1958, p. 324; II, pp. 361, 428-48.

[2] *HDK*, I, 2nd ed., 1968, p. 271.

niṣāda. According to Manu (9.178) *pāraśava* is derived from the root *pāray* (to go across), and the word *śava* (a corpse) meaning 'though living he is like one dead.' Gautama, (4.14) however, distinguishes between a *niṣāda* and *pāraśava*, which is accepted by some other authorities who concern themselves with the parentage of *niṣāda:* that is, whether a *niṣāda* was a legitimate child or not, whether his father was a *brāhmaṇa* or a *kṣatriya* and his mother a *vaiśya* or a *śūdra*! These were belated excuses invented to deprive the *niṣādas* of their ancient right.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions many tribes. Of some of them including the Yavanas, Kirātas, Gandhāras, Cīnas, Śakas etc., it is said (12.65.13-15) that 'some of them were the sons of *brāhmaṇas* and *kṣatriyas*, while some others were *vaiśyas* and *śūdras*, though at present all of them are *dasyus* (lit. 'robbers'). Their religion, it is stated, was to look after their parents, teachers, preceptors, and kings, to perform Vedic rites (*veda-dharma-kriyāś-c-aiva*) *to* perform *śrāddha* for their ancestors, to dig wells, to provide drinking water, rest-houses, and to make gifts to *brāhmaṇas*. They should also observe the vows of non-violence, truth, non-anger, purity, non-rebellion (*adroha*), and properly maintain their wives and children. They should perform all sacrifices and give rich gifts to the *brāhmaṇas*. Particularly, all the *dasyus* (i.e., the tribes) should perform expensive *pāka-yajñas* (12.65.17-21). The permission given to the foreign tribes to perform Vedic rites and *pūrta-dharma* (i.e., *iṣṭā-pūrta*) indicates the process of their assimilation to the Hindu society on honourable terms.

The *Mahābhārata*, however, also says (13.33.20.21 and 13.35. 17-18) that several tribes, including the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Kāmbojas etc., were originally *kṣatriyas* but losing contact with the *brāhmaṇas* became *śūdra*. Manu (10.43-45) also gives the same reason for the degradation of certain tribes including those mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Apparently, these tribes had to be given a high status when they came as conquerors, or could fight back, but after they had lost their tribal cohesion, they either lost their identity and were totally absorbed in the Hindu society, or were relegated as *śūdras*.

MM. Kane, after an elaborate discussion of the problem of *varṇa-śaṅkara*, states,: '.....it must be admitted that the numerous castes mentioned in the smṛtis did exist at the time of the smṛtis, that the social status of the several castes might have varied from country to country or from epoch to epoch, that the particular avocations and means of livelihood assigned to the various castes reflected the real state of things. The element of hypothesis and speculation lies only in the theory of a particular sub-caste having sprung from the union of two persons belonging to particular *varṇas* or castes.'[1]

There is no doubt that the professional castes mentioned in the Dharmaśāstras existed. It is also equally certain that the accounts of their origin as given in the texts are fictitious. The *brāhmaṇa* writers knew little about the details of the complex caste system, and MM. Kane concludes his discussion of *varṇa* by stating: 'It is only in census reports prepared at great expense

[1]*HDK*, II, i, p. 51.

by the British Government after elaborate efforts and organisation that the great complexity of the caste system in modern India is laid bare to the eye.'[1]

The origin of the numerous castes, which are conveniently dubbed *varṇa-śaṅkara*, as given in the Smṛtis, may be fictitious, but since they exist, some logical explanation of their origin is called for. These castes or sub-castes could have originated in three different ways: (i) by admission of non-Hindu tribes; (ii) by dividing a caste into two groups, either the richer group being upgraded or the poorer being downgraded;[2] (iii) by monopolizing a new industry by an inter-related group. The professional castes were practically caste-guilds, to which admission was restricted to the children of the craftsmen only. A newly conquered tribe could not adopt a craft or profession which was already the monopoly of a certain group or caste. The king was expected to enforce the *cāturvarnya-dharma*, which meant that just as a *śūdra* could not pretend to be a *brāhmaṇa*, a *non-śūdra* also could not adopt a *śūdra's* profession. The king was also expected to uphold the *śreṇī-dharma* (guild law, Manu, 8.41).

The caste system protected the interests of the competing economic organizations and groups, and may have contributed towards early economic development of ancient India. But when the economic opportunities were exhausted, the late-comers to the Hindu fold found their paths to prosperity barred by the ubiquitous caste system which had created such deep-rooted vested interests that the system never ceased to thrive. Another reason for the survival of the caste system was that it had a built-in safety-valve: however low a caste might be, there was always someone yet lower, for even among the untouchables there were gradations. Thus the oppressed could never combine to challenge their so-called superiors.

Untouchables

There was no untouchability in the Vedic age. A *caṇḍāla*, derided in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (5.10.7), though a low caste, does not seem to have been an untouchable. The *śūdras*, as we have seen, could cook food for the *brāhmaṇas*. Manu (10.4) declares that there are four *varṇas* and adds that there are no fifth *varṇa*. Here Manu is corroborated by the *Mahābhārata* (13.47.18) but after describing the origin of the four castes from Prajāpati Brahmā, the *Mahābhārata* (12.285.6-7) adds that all other castes are *varṇa-śaṅkaras*, that is, it admits the existence of a fifth *varṇa* or 'caste-group,' whom Manu (10.5) calls '*jāti*.'

Untouchability did not depend on birth alone. People guilty of certain crimes, enumerated in Manu (9.235-239) became untouchables. Followers of certain heterodox religions became untouchables. The *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya (3.30) gives a list of 'temporary' untouchables, which includes a person who touches a *devalaka* (temple priest), but such untouchability

[1]ibid, p. 104.
[2]See above, p. 18 fn. 3.

could be washed off by a single bath with clothes on. A woman, even one's mother or wife, became untouchable during her period and a person touching her remained so till he or she had a bath. Similarly, everyone became untouchable during the period of mourning (10 days for *brāhmaṇas*), and those who had touched a corpse, or followed one to the cemetery. Anyone who touched such untouchables also became untouchable till he had a bath. Different lists of permanent untouchable castes are given by different authorities, but there was a consensus of opinion regarding the permanent untouchability of the *caṇḍālas*, usually supposed to have been the offspring of a *śūdra* father and a *brāhmaṇa* mother.

The notion of untouchability was born of a peculiar psychology, which placed exaggerated value on 'cleanliness,' and developed a horror of 'pollution.' There may have been some hygienic or prophylactic bases for this craze, but in its developed form the mania was crude and cruel. The Hindus, however, imposed this social stigma on their conquerors, who refused to be assimilated into their society. All Muslims and Christians were branded as *mlecchas*, and all *mlecchas* were untouchable to any Hindu. They served the Turks, Mughals, and the British but had no social contact with them, and the few that had, were expelled from the Hindu society. The Hindu soldiers would die for the Mughal or the Christian king, but would not eat the food touched by the King Emperor!

Conclusion

An account has been given above of the generally accepted theory that the *śūdras* were the conquered people, or that *śūdra* was the name of a large tribe which opposed the Aryan invasion.[1] The difficulties presented by such theories have also been pointed out. Whatever good reasons there may be for such theories, an alternative may be suggested.

The theories regarding the origin of the *śūdras* may not be irrational, but one cannot help feeling that the prototype of the theory was provided by the European conquest of Africa in the 19th century just when these theories were being formulated. Assuming this model to be correct, we are led to accept that the *śūdras* and the untouchables all over India were conquered people. This assumption would mean that the Aryans conquered the entire sub-continent by feat of arms and imposed semi-slavery on the native population, which no conqueror,—neither the Turks and the Mughals, nor the British,—had been able to accomplish. There are, however, reasons to believe that the steady progress of the Vedic religion was due to the peaceful penetration of a superior culture. But wherever the Hindus have gone, they have imposed the caste structure, as for example in South-East Asia, where it is definitely known that the Hindus gained ascendancy by peaceful means. The theories also does not account for the fact that, the rigours of the caste system progressively increased, while the reverse should have been the case,

[1] *Vedic Index*, II, p. 392.

if the *śūdras* had been conquered slaves or serfs, as it happened in England as the days of Norman Conquest receded into the background.

By the time the Ṛgvedic hymns were composed, the Vedic people had attained a high level of civilization, but no picture of their pre-Vedic civilization is available from the Vedic texts. In the RV, the *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas* may not have been hereditary castes, but they were certainly well-marked classes. But there must have been a prior stage of social development, which may be called a 'classless society,' composed only of *jana*, which in the RV denoted a 'people' or 'tribe,' and *viś*, which in the RV meant either 'a settlement,' or 'a sub-division of *jana* or whole people.' We may assume that by the time the RV was composed, class distinction had appeared, and the people who had adopted the Vedic religion were tentatively grouped into priests or the *brāhmaṇas*, warriors or *rājanyas*, while the rest of the people were called 'the *viś*.'

There were probably a large number of people who refused to adopt certain Vedic rites such as the custom of wearing the sacred thread. The *vrātyas* formed one such group. The origin of the word *vrātya* is, as MM. Kane has said, 'lost in the mists of antiquity,' and that 'originally *vrātyas* appear to have been groups of people who spoke the same language as the orthodox *āryas*, but did not follow their discipline and habits.'[1] While the AV (XV.1.1) glorifies them, the Dharmaśāstras give conflicting opinions about the status of the *vrātyas*. Some Dharmaśāstras lay down that the *vrātyas* became eligible for social intercourse after they had performed the prescribed *vrātyastoma* sacrifice. Śaṅkara (on *Praśna Upaniṣad*, 2.11) explains *vrātya* as one who has not undergone any *saṁskāra*. The *vrātyas* were, however, accepted within the Vedic fold, and in course of time completely assimilated.

What caste was allotted to the *vrātyas* is nowhere given, nor is any explanation available as to why they were at all accepted back in the fold when the tendency among the Hindus from ancient times has been to reject the renegades. One explanation may be that the Vedic society was more catholic than the later Hindu society, but then why did they degrade the *śūdras*. The answer that the *vrātyas* were Vedic Aryans while the *śūdras* were non-Aryans is not very convincing. It is, however, significant that from the Vedic texts it appears that the *vrātyas* formed a well-knit group, and 'on becoming consecrated, were expected to hand over their goods to the priest.'[2]

The *śūdras* may have been another group who refused to accept the new social rules of *saṁskāra*, and ultimately they were denied the right to *saṁskāra*. For, later the social conscience hardened, and there was no method to elevate the *śūdras* as there was found in the case of the *vrātyas*. The permission given to the *rathakāras* to perform Vedic sacrifice was the beginning of a process that was never completed. However, both the *Puruṣa-sūkta* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* definitely indicate that the Vedic people did not

[1] *HDK*, II, i, p. 386.
[2] *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 343-44.

think that the *śūdras* were an alien tribe like the Niṣāda, Śabara, Pulinda, Mutiba etc.

From the RV it is learnt that the Vedic princes were fighting among themselves, and great sages like Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra not only acted as royal priests, but helped their patrons by reciting charms and incantations. In the Dharmaśāstras too the kings are advised to conquer as many countries as possible. One of the reasons for such 'hawk' like attitude was that the *brāhmaṇas* stood to gain by a victory. For the kings were also enjoined to perform huge sacrifices with the spoils of war, in which most of the wealth passed into the hands of the priests. Thus it was to the advantage of the priestly class to form a small heterogenous group, and confine their knowledge of charms and incantations, and the methods of performing sacrifices within themselves. Next came the *kṣatriya* clans, forming the nobility which is a common feature of every civilization. Rest were the *viś*, later *vaiśya*, who performed the productive function of the rural society: agriculture and cattle rearing, to which trade was also added, for in early days trade was not too remunerative. That section of the *viś* which failed to perform the evolving Vedic *saṁskāras* and preferred to keep themselves busy with arts and crafts seems to have become *śūdra*. Their position in the Ṛgvedic age is difficult to determine. The *Puruṣa-sūkta* says that they sprang from the feet of the Puruṣa, and the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* says that since they sprang from the feet of the Puruṣa, they must wash the feet of the higher castes. This attitude was followed by Manu and other texts including the *Gītā*.

In course of time the picture changed. Traders and craftsmen prospered, and in the *Mahābhārata* we find a *śūdra* meat-seller preaching the essentials of true religion to a *brāhmaṇa*. In the *Mahābhārata* the caste system is seen as if in a melting pot, but it was retained.[1] For by that time the *vaiśyas* and the *śūdras* had formed themselves into various professional caste-corporations which were soon to become guilds. These guilds and their customs were given legal sanction by the Dharmaśāstras, thus creating a vested interest in the caste system. Each caste-corporation enjoyed the monopoly over a particular craft, and this right became hereditary following the traditional right of the *brāhmaṇas* to officiate as priests at Vedic sacrifices. The *vaiśyas* monopolized trade and commerce and the *śūdras* monopolized all the crafts and certain trades, and those people who were without a recognized hereditary craft were called the *varṇa-saṅkaras*, and various ingenious explanations of their origin were found.

As more centuries passed, Vedic sacrifices ceased to be popular, one of the reasons being that the greedy *brāhmaṇas* had made the Śrauta sacrifices inordinately expensive. Worship of images in temples became popular, and some needy *brāhmaṇas* became temple priests. The Vedic *brāhmaṇas* out of anger branded the *devalakas* or temple priests as 'unworthy *brāhmaṇas*.' If

[1]For details of the working of the caste system in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* see *EBES*, pp. 72-120. For *śūdra* meat seller who gave religious instruction, ibid, p. 103.

the *devalakas* were not thrown out of the brahmanical pale, it was because an ever-increasing number of the *brāhmaṇas* took to temple-priesthood which was the only means of livelihood left to them. The *vaiśyas* and the *śūdras* held monopoly in agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, commerce, and industry. The *brāhmaṇa* could adopt the warrior's profession, and many of them did.

Jainism and Buddhism challenged the supremacy of the *brāhmaṇas*. These two religions not only denied the efficacy of the Vedas, but popularized creeds preached by *kṣatriya* princes. Jainism and Buddhism, however, did not abolish the caste system, nor even attempted to do so. They merely altered the order of precedence, putting the *kṣatriyas* at the head followed by the *brāhmaṇas*. The caste system remained because of the vested interests of the professional castes. But the rigours of the system became lax.

Then came Śaṅkara. He not only established the superiority of the Vedānta over the heterodox creeds, but also of the *brāhmaṇas* over the other castes. It is significant that the earliest commentaries on Yājnavalkya (by Viśvarūpa) and on Manu (by Medhātithi) were written within about a century after Śaṅkara. Medhātithi's attitude towards the *śūdras* was liberal compared to that of the later commentators.[1] Thereafter, the position gradually hardened. The last stage was reached when Raghunandana declared in his *Śuddhitattva* (p. 268) that *kṣatriyas* existed till Mahānandi, and the so-called *kṣatriyas* of his day were *śūdras*, and that there were no *vaiśyas* either.[2] About the same time, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the last of the great Advaita-vedānta teachers, in his commentary on the *Gītā* (3.20; 18.55; 18.63) upheld Śaṅkara's views denying the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* the right to *sannyāsa* and deprecated Sureśvarācārya's liberal views as 'pompous declaration' (*prauḍhi-vāda*).

According to Raghunandana, there were only two castes: *brāhmaṇa* and *śūdra*. It would have been well for the society if this scheme were accepted. The proliferation of the sub-castes, however, made the word *śūdra* as meaningless as the divergence of creeds has rendered the word 'Hindu.' These sub-castes enjoyed the luxury of having some other castes below them, besides a hereditary occupation. So the caste system remained and flourished.

[1]For Medhātithi's liberal attitude towards the *śūdras*, see above II, p. 11.

[2]Raghunandana (AD 1520-1575) based his conclusion on *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 4.24 and Manu 10.43. The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (4.24.20-21) says: 'Mahāpadma Nanda, the son of Mahānandin born of a *śūdra* woman, will be extremely greedy and will destroy the whole *kṣatriya* race as if he were another Paraśurāma. Thereafter *śūdras* will be kings (*tataḥ prabhṛti śūdra bhūpālā bhaviṣyanti*).' The *Matsya* (272.18-19) and the *Bhāgavata* (12.1.6-10) repeat the same prophecy. Manu 10.43 says: 'The following *kṣatriyas* became *śūdras* due to non-observance of rites, and non-availability of *brāhmaṇas* (who could have purified them).' He then mentions (10.44) several tribes like Puṇḍra, Audra, Draviḍa, Kāmboja, Yavana, Śaka, Pārada, Cīna, Kirāta, Darada, and Khasa. Similar statements are made in the *Mahābhārata* 13.33.20, and 13.35.17-18. For Mahāpadma Nanda, see above I, pp. 87, 121-23.

ĀŚRAMA

Early History

The word *āśrama* is derived from the root *śram* meaning 'to exert,' 'to labour,' so that *āśrama* etymologically means 'a stage in which one exerts oneself.' In its most generally accepted sense, however, the word means 'the stages of man's life, and his duties in each stage.'

The word *āśrama* does not occur in the Saṁhitās or the Brāhmaṇas, nor in the early Upaniṣads. The *Śvetāśvatara* (6.21) uses the word *atyāśramī*,[1] meaning a class of monks who had risen above the mere observances of *āśramas*. The word *brahmacārin* however, occurs in the RV(X.109.5), while the AV in a laudatory hymn (XI.7.1-26) praises the *brahmacārin* and *brahmacarya*, which, as will be explained presently, is the first *āśrama*. In the famous marriage hymn in the RV (X.85.36) the husband says to the bride when taking hold of her hand, that the gods gave her to him for *gārhapatya* (that is, for attaining the status of a house-owner or householder), indicating that the second stage or *āśrama* was also known to the RV. There is no reference in the Saṁhitās to the other two stages, namely *vānaprastha* and *sannyāsa* though the term *muni* in the RV (X.136.2, 4, 5) denoted an ascetic with supernatural powers. The RV (VIII.17.14) calls Indra the 'friend of the *munis*,' and the AV (VII.74.1) refers to a 'divine *muni*' (*deva muni*). It appears therefore, that there were ascetics in the Ṛgvedic age, but it seems that the four *āśramas* had not been institutionalized. There is an apparent reference to three *āśramas* in *Chāndogya* 2,23.1, while in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (4.5.2) the sage Yājñavalkya leaves the householder's life to take up *pravrajyā*, which usually means the fourth *āśrama*.

There is an oblique reference to the four *āśramas* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which states (33.11): 'What (use is there) of dirts, what (is the) use of antelope skin, what (is the) use of (growing) the beard, what is the use of *tapas*. O ! *brāhmaṇas* desire a son, he is a world that is to be highly praised.' Here *ajina* (antelope skin) seems to refer to *brahmacarya*, *śmaśrūṇi* (beards) to *vānaprastha*, because the *brahmacārin* had to sit on an antelope's skin, and the *vānaprastha*, according to Gautama 3.33 and Manu 6.6, had to grow his hair, beards, and nail. *Tapas* evidently refers to *sannyāsa* and *mala* possibly indicates the householder (from the root *mal* 'to possess').

The theory of four *āśramas* became common from the days of the earliest Dharmasūtras, though there are slight differences in their nomenclature and sequences. These differences indicate that, though the institutions had emerged, they had not received their final form. Manu speaks of four *āśramas* the

[1]Sri Ramana Maharşi described himself as an '*atyāśramī*,' and explained the term as 'beyond the four known *āśramas*,' and added: 'There is no restriction for them, They may do what they please. Śuka is said to have married and begotten children also . . . Their conduct is not regulated by any rules or codes.' *Talks With Śrī Ramana Maharşi*, Tiruvanamalai, 1963, pp. 285, 304-5. See also *HDK*, II, i, 422.

last being called *yati* in 6.87 and *sannyāsa* in 6.96. The term *sannyāsa* later became the common appellation for the fourth *āśrama*. The four *āśramas* were: 1. *brahmacarya*, 2. *gṛhastha* or *gārhasthya*, 3. *vānaprastha*, and 4. *sannyāsa*. Manu (4.1 and 6.33) divides a man's life into four parts, each of which was to be spent in each *āśrama* in the order given above.

The general opinion of the Smṛtis is that the *āśramas* should follow in the order given above, and that a person could not break the sequence nor revert to an earlier *āśrama* after adopting a later one. For example, Manu (4.1; 6.1, 37-38, 87-88) holds that a man cannot take *sannyāsa* immediately after *brahmacarya*, while the Br. S (3.4.40) forbids a *sannyāsin* to revert to a householder's life. The Br. S's view gained general acceptance, but Manu's view in this regard was opposed by some who held that after *brahmacarya* a man might straightaway become a *parivrājaka* or *sannyāsin*. This view, which may be called the second view, was supported among others by Āpastamba (2.9. 21.7-8, 2.9.22.7-8) and Yājñavalkya (3.56). The *Jābālopaniṣad*, a late text, seems to combine both the views and states (4): 'After finishing the stage of studenthood (*brahmacarya*) one should become an householder (*gṛhī*) after being a householder one should become a forest-dweller (*vanī*), after being a forest-dweller, one should renounce the world (*vanī bhutvā pravrajet*). Or he may do otherwise, namely, he may renounce the world after the stage of studenthood, or after being a householder, or from the forest. The very day on which one becomes desireless, one should renounce the world (*yad-ahareva virajet tad-ahareva pravrajet*).' The third view was that there was only one *āśrama*.

The *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya* (3.56) gives these three views and says that each is supported by Vedic texts, and one may follow any one of the three. Āpastamba (2.9.21.2) says that whatever *āśrama* one followed, one attained happiness if one performed its duties properly as laid down in the texts.

It seems, however, that Manu's view was in consonance with the Hindu view of life. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (VI.3.10.5) says: 'Every *brāhmaṇa* is born with three debts (which are discharged as follows) by *brahmacarya* to the sages (*ṛsi*), by sacrifices to the gods (*deva*), (and by) procreation to the manes; he, indeed, is free from debts, who has a son, who sacrifices, and who dwells with the teacher as a *brahmacārin*.' Manu (6.35-37) says that, one who seeks *mokṣa* without discharging the three debts goes to hell. 'A man should strive for *mokṣa* after having studied the Vedas properly, having begotten a legitimate son, and having performed sacrifices to the best of one's ability. A twice-born man, who leaves his home for attaining *mokṣa* without having studied the Vedas, without producing a son, and without having performed sacrifices, goes to hell.' A *sannyāsin* could neither beget a child legitimately, nor perform a Vedic sacrifice, hence a person would not be discharging his three debts if he became a *sannyāsin* immediately after completing his *brahmacarya*. Indeed, these two functions were considered so important that Gautama (3.1 and 35) and Baudhāyana declare that, there is only one *āśrama*, namely that of householder, since in the other

āśramas one does not beget sons. Here Baudhāyana quotes a passage from the RV (V.4.10) repeated in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (I.4.46.1) which says: 'May we, O Agni, attain immortality through progeny.' Baudhāyana also quotes *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* VI.3.10.5 quoted above. The idea of the three debts was strongly held by the Hindus throughout the ancient period. We have quoted above Vijñāneśvara's view on Yājnavalkya 3.56, but Vijñāneśvara was writing about 400 years after Śaṅkara who in his commentary on the Br. S., established the view the *sannyāsa* could be adopted immediately after *brahmacarya*.

It is generally held that there are 108 Upaniṣads of which twenty are collectively known as *Sannyāsa Upaniṣads*.[1] The *Jābālopaniṣad*, mentioned above, belongs to this group. It appears, however, that ancient view did not favour *sannyāsa* except for old men. Kauṭilya (2.1.29-31) says: 'If one renounces home (to become an ascetic) without providing for his sons and wife, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed on him) and also if one induces a woman to renounce home. One, who has lost his capacity for activity, may renounce home, after securing permission from the judges. Otherwise, he shall be put under restraint.' As we shall see later, the *Mahābhārata* (Mbh) also denounces able-bodied ascetics. Ideas changed after Buddha and Mahāvīra organized their monastic orders. The brahmanical Hindus seem to have been unable to organize a well knit monastic order before Śaṅkarācārya (AD 788-820), as will be described later.

Brahmacarya: Studenthood

Brahmacarya means the period of studenthood which was obligatory for the youths of the three upper castes. During this period a student studied the Vedas and practised continence and celibacy (*brahmacarya*) hence he was known as a *brahmacārin*. After his investiture with the sacred thread, he lived with his teacher, where he had to perform the duties prescribed by his teacher till he had finished his studies. Then he returned home and could settle as a householder.

The word *brahmacārin* occurs several times in RV X, and in the AV there is a hymn (XI.4) in praise of the *brahmacārin*, indicating that the institution of studenthood had already taken shape during the Vedic period. The hymn describes the *brahmacārin* as invested by the teacher with the sacred thread, initiating him into a new life; as a student he wears an antelope skin, lets his hair grow long; he collects fuel, begs, learns, and practises penance. According to the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (2.23.1, 4.3.5; 4.10.2 ff) the *brahmacārin* lives in the teacher's house (*ācārya-kulavāsin*) he begs, looks after the sacrificial fires, and tends the house. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (6.3.7) calls him '*antevāsin*.'

The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra* (1.22.1.2) exhorts the student: 'Thou art a *brahmacārin*, eat water (*apo'śāna*): perform thy duty; sleep not in the daytime;

[1]*The Minor Upaniṣadas*, I, ed. by F. Otto Schrader, Adyar Library, Madras, 1912.

obedient to thy teacher study the Veda.' One duty specially mentioned in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (III.1.6) and the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (4.4.5) was the guarding of the teacher's cattle when they were on the pasture ground.

The *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (4.10.1) mentions twelve years as the period of studenthood, and later (6.1.2) fixes the studentship to begin at the age of twelve and end at twenty-four, which appears to be normal. Later, however, the *Chāndogya* (8.7.3) mentions thirty-two years of studentship. Various theories developed later, and it was held that twelve years must be spent on learning each Veda, and forty-eight years for the four. Twelve-years, however, seem to have been the common view. It should be remembered that learning the Veda meant committing it to memory, including the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, and the two principal Upaniṣads which are in prose. It is quite possible that a *brāhmaṇa* student learnt only the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa necessary for one of the priests for one Śrauta sacrifice; *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* students learnt even less, and gradually they gave up the study of Veda, which became a *brāhmaṇa* monopoly.

In course of time, distinctions based on *varṇa* intruded into various aspects of studenthood. The proper ages for initiation or *upanayana* were 8th, 11th, and 12th year respectively for the *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and the *vaiśya* student while the upper age limits for *upanayana* were 16th, 22nd, and 24th year respectively for the three *varṇas*. Distinguishing costumes based on *varṇa* were also prescribed. Manu (2.41) says that a *brāhmaṇa brahmacārin* should wear an upper garment (*uttarīya*) of black antelope skin and an under-garment of hempen cloth, a *kṣatriya* upper garment of the skin of *ruru* deer and under-garment of *kṣauma* (linen or silk), while a *vaiśya* should wear an upper garment of goat's wool, and a lower garment of sheep's wool. The length and the material of the staff (*daṇḍa*) which the students had to carry also depended on the *varṇa* of the student. There were also other distinctions among the *brahmacārins* based on their *varṇas*.

It was contemplated that all the three upper *varṇas* had a right to *brahmacarya* and to learn the Veda. However, as MM. Kane has pointed out: 'It is one thing to have a right and another to exercise it. Probably very few *kṣatriyas* cared to submit their sons to the rigorous discipline of *brahmacarya* as laid down in the Smṛtis and cared much less for Veda studies. In the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Kādambarī* it is said that the princes were taught in a special house constructed for the purpose and teachers were paid handsomely and brought there to teach instead of the princes going to the teachers.'[1]

This practice, however, may not have been universal. The *Harivaṁśa* (Cr. ed. chapter 79) relates that Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma went from Mathura to study under Sāndīpani, a native of Varanasi who lived at Avantī (Ujjayinī). There they learnt the entire Veda with its *aṅgas*, as well as *dhanurveda* (manual of

[1] *HDK*, II, i, p. 286. For the education of Khāravela see above II, p. 223. A school founded by a Hoysala official made provisions for teaching the RV, and Nagara, Kannaḍa, Tigula (Tamil), and Ārya (Marathi). The languages were most probably intended for the benefit of the *vaiśya* students.

archery). The story indicates that there were teachers who catered for the needs of the princes.

The end of the period of study was marked by the *samāvartana* ceremony, the essence of which was a ceremonial bath. The *brahmacārin* was thereafter called a *snātaka*. He could now return home, marry, and settle down as a householder, or, if he desired, continue to stay with his teacher. Elaborate rules were laid down for the guidance and the proper conduct of a *snātaka*. Gautama (9.2) says that the rules are meant for the *brāhmaṇa* and *kṣatriya snātakas* only, and the *vaiśyas* are not obliged to observe these rules.

Gṛhastha: Householder

Some authorities, like Gautama (3.1.ff. and 35) and Baudhāyana (2.6.29.ff), looked upon the stage of householder as the only *āśrama*, because the householder supported all the other *āśramas* and, unlike the other three, produced offsprings ensuring the continuity of the race. This view is elaborated by Manu (3.77-78, and 6.89-90). There is frequent eulogy of the householder in the Mbh, which gives the duties of the householder according to *varṇas* (5.40.23-26): 'A *brāhmaṇa* does not fall away from the abode of Brahmā (*Brahma-loka*) if he bathes daily, constantly wears the sacred thread, daily studies the Vedas, does not accept food from degraded person, speaks the truth, and serves his teacher. A *kṣatriya* goes to heaven (*svarga*) if, having studied the Vedas, he maintains the *agnihotra* fire, performs various sacrifices, looks after the people, and lays down his life fighting for the protection of cows and *brāhmaṇas* (*go-brāhmaṇ-ārtham*). A *vaiśya* enjoys divine happiness in heaven after death, if, after completing his studies, he helps *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, and his dependents from time to time by distributing wealth among them, and continues to smell smoke from three fires (*gārhapatya*, *dakṣiṇa* and *āhavanīya*). A *śūdra* enjoys the pleasures of heaven after death, if, by his services to the three upper-castes, he can please them.' Mbh. 12.261.6, which is practically the same as Manu 3.77, and Mbh. 12.284.39 which is the same as Manu 6.90 give the highest place to the life of the householder among the four stages of life. The householder's life is also praised in Mbh. 12.184.10-18. The pitfalls of a householder's life is also described in the Mbh. (12.284.2-8), where the sage Parāśara says:

'Usually a householder develops attachment to objects and affection for persons. He has cows, land, wealth, wife, sons, servants etc. Engaged with them and regarding them daily, he develops attachment and repugnance, losing sight of their transitoriness. A man under the influence of love and hate is dominated by material considerations, and is overcome by sexual passion (*rati*) born of delusion. A libidinous person (*rati-parāyaṇaḥ*) accepting enjoyment to be the end, considers that there is no greater pleasure than making love. He becomes greedy as his family increases, and to maintain them he desires money. He deliberately earns money by dishonest means. His mind is affected by his fondness for his children, and when one of them dies, he is overwhelmed with grief.'

The Dharmaśāstras give elaborate rules of conduct primarily meant for a *brāhmaṇa* householder, so that he may not be enmeshed in the web of worldly pleasures. The *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* were expected to increase their wealth by proper means, namely, warfare for the *kṣatriyas* and trade and usury for the *vaiśyas*. They were advised to spend one-third of their income in pious work, one-third for their enjoyment, and save the rest. The *brāhmaṇa* householder, however, obtained merit if he did not hanker after wealth. The *brāhmaṇa* householders were divided into two broad groups: *śālīna* and *yāyāvara*. The *śālīnas* were ordinary householders, with various worldly possessions, such as house, servants, cattle etc. The *Mitāksarā* on Yājñavalkya 1.128 says: '*Śālīna* is of four varieties, namely, (1) One who maintains himself by officiating as a priest, teaching Veda, accepting gifts, agriculture, trade, and breeding cattle; (2) one who subsists by the first three of the six mentioned above; (3) one who subsists by the first two of no. 1; (4) and one who subsists by teaching alone. The *Yāyāvara* did not officiate as a priest, he did not earn his livelihood by teaching, nor did he accept a gift. He subsisted on the grains picked up by him from the field after the ripe corn had been removed from the field, or from the threshing floor. Manu (4.7) divided the *brāhmaṇas* into three groups: 1. one who possessed enough grains to fill a granary; 2. one who possessed as much as would satisfy his needs for three days; and 3. one who made no provision for the next day. The Mbh. (12.235.2-3) adds a fourth group who picked up grains like a bird.

The general code of conduct of the householders of all *varṇas* is given in the Mbh. (13.128.25-27): '*Ahimsā*, truthfulness, compassionateness unto all beings, quiescence, charity according to one's ability, (constitute) the best *gārhasthya-dharma*. Non-contact with the wives of others, guarding one's wife and deposits (made by others), abstaining from touching what is not given (by the owner), avoiding honey and meat—this fivefold *dharma* has many branches, and gives rise to happiness, and should be followed by all good men.'

Vānaprastha: Forest Hermit

Vānaprastha is the third stage in the life of a person when he leaves home and retires to the forest. This *āśrama* was also known as the *vaikhānasa*, Baudhāyana (2.6.19) defines *vānaprastha* as one who follows the practices laid down in the *Vaikhānasa-śāstra*, implying thereby that at one time there was a treatise which dealt with the modes of conduct of this *āśrama*.

Manu begins this topic (6.1) by referring to persons who should adopt *vānaprastha* as *dvija*, which indicates that the three upper *varṇas* were entitled to adopt this *āśrama*. After describing *vānaprastha*, Manu discusses the rules for the next *āśrama*, that is *sannyāsa* (6.31-96) and ends the chapter (6.97) by stating that he has described the 'four *dharmas* i.e., *āśramas* for the *brāhmaṇas*.' From the last statement, Medhātithi concludes that *dvija* in the first verse also meant a *brāhmaṇa*. Kulluka merely says that only a *brāhmaṇa* had the right to *pravrajyā*, which literally means 'religious mendicanc,y'

but is usually applied to a *sannyāsin*, that is a member of the fourth *āśrama*. Medhātithi may have been right according to his contemporary usage, but the Mbh. relates stories of many kings who adopted *vānaprastha*. The *Vāmana-purāṇa* (AD 600 to 900; 14.117-118) states that a *brāhmaṇa* was entitled to adopt all the *āśramas*, a *kṣatriya* three, a *vaiśya* two, and a *śūdra* only one. That is, a *śūdra* could become a *gṛhastha*, a *vaiśya brahmacārin* and a *gṛhastha*, while a *kṣatriya* could in addition become a *vānaprastha* also. This seems to be the view of Kulluka.

Kulluka on Manu 3.50 quotes an authoritative saying which states that 'a man may resort to a forest after the age of fifty.' But the Mbh. (12.236.4) and Manu (6.2) in identical verse state that 'a householder may retire to forest when he sees his skin wrinkled, his hairs growing white, and the sons of his sons.'

Detailed rules of conduct of a *vānaprastha* are given in Dharmaśāstras.[1] Briefly stated the rules are:

A *vānaprastha* may retire to a forest with or without his wife. Even in a forest, he is to perform certain Vedic sacrifices for which he carries the three Vedic fires[2] and the *gṛhya* fire. He could eat once a day fruits, vegetables, roots, and wild corn. He had to take three baths (morning, noon and evening), wear a deer skin, or a garment of bark or *kuśa* grass, and allow his hairs and nails to grow. He should study the Vedas, but recite it inaudibly. He should live a life of complete continence. He might garner food for a day, a month, or for a year, but not for a longer period. He should practice severe austerities by standing in the midst of five fires (*pañcātapa*, four fires on four sides and the blazing sun above), by standing in the open when it rains, and by wearing wet garments during the winter. He should gradually give up residing in a house, and live under a tree. He should spend the day either sitting or moving about. He should practise *yoga*. He should not make any effort to enjoy pleasures and should lie on the bare ground during the night. He should study the Upaniṣads. When the *vānaprastha*, due to some incurable disease, cannot perform his duties, or feels death to be near, he should start on the great journey (*mahāprasthāna*) turning his face towards north-east, subsisting on air and water only till his body falls to the ground to rise no more. Here Manu (6.31) has used the word *yukta*, and both Medhātithi and Kulluka have explained the term as referring to *yoga*. The practice of *mahāprasthāna* was later forbidden by the Purāṇas.

A *vānaprastha* could also adopt the next *āśrama* and become a *sannyāsin*. In course of time, probably no one became a *vānaprastha*, and the later Purāṇas interdicted the adoption of this *āśrama*. Actually, the main differences between the third and the fourth *āśramas* were that in the former a man

[1]The important Dharmaśāstra texts which deal with *vānaprastha* are: Gautama, 3.25-34; Āpastamba 2.9.21.18 to 2.9.23.2; Baudhāyana, 3.3; Vasiṣtha 9; Manu 6.1-32; Mbh. 12.130, 12.236, 1-14, 13.130 (which according to the editor, Prof. Belvalkar, is a doubtful chapter), and 14.46.9-16; and Yājñavalkya 3.45-55.

[2]The three fires are the *āhavanīya*, the *dakṣina*, and the *sabhya*.

could be accompanied by his wife, and had to continue the performance of certain rites both of which were forbidden to a *sannyāsin*. Śaṅkara, in his commentary on Br. S. 3.4.20 says: 'Austerity (*tapas*) is a distinctive attribute of the *vānaprastha*, and the principal conventional meaning (*ruḍhi*) of the word "austerity" is mortification of the body (*kāyakleśa*). The distinctive attributes of a mendicant, restraint of the senses etc. (*indriya-saṁyam-ādi*), cannot be denoted by the term austerity.' A *vānaprastha*, could also retain some property like household effects, which a *sannyāsin* could not. The Mbh. (12.236.22) says that 'when a man has reached the fourth part of his life, and is overcome with age and disease, he should give up *vānaprastha*, and adopt *sannyāsa*, after performing a rite in which he should give away all his wealth as fees (*sarva-vedasa-dakṣiṇām*).'[1]

Sannyāsa: Life of a Mendicant

Sannyāsa is the last stage in a man's life. The problem was whether a man could adopt *sannyāsa* immediately after *brahmacarya* skipping the other two *āśramas*, or were the other two *āśramas*, particularly *gārhasthya*, obligatory. Various views in this regard have been discussed above. It is clear, however, that after the advent of Śaṅkarācārya, it became customary to adopt *sannyāsa* immediately after *brahmacarya*.

Śaṅkara divided his followers into ten orders with surnames such as Tīrtha, Giri, Āśrama etc. Of them Tīrthas and Āśramas were under the Sāradā Maṭha at Dwaraka; Vana and Araṇya under the Govardhana Maṭha at Puri; Giri, Parvata and Sāgara under the Jyotir Maṭha at Badari; and Sarasvatī, Bhāratī, and Puri under the Śṛṅgerī (ancient Sṛṅgapura) Maṭha. The *brahmacārins* under the Sārada Maṭha are known as Svarūpa, under the Govardhana Maṭha as Prakāśa, under the Jyotir Maṭha as Ānanda, and under the Sṛṅgerī as Caitanya. The four monasteries figuratively corresponded to the four Vedas, and the orders belonging to each Maṭha used to initiate their monks with their particular *mahā-vākya*, namely, Sāradā Maṭha: *tat tvam asi*, Govardhana Maṭha: *prajñānaṁ Brahma*, Jyotir Maṭha: *ayam ātmā Brahma*, and the Sṛṅgerī Maṭha: *aham Brahm-āsmi*.[2]

It is laid down in all texts that a *sannyāsin* must not have his wife and family with him, and this seems to have been the normal practice throughout the ages, Yājñavalkya left his wives and all his property when he left home to take up the life of a *sannyāsin* as related in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*

[1]The phrase *sarva-vedasa* has also been used in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 1.1, where Śaṅkara has explained the term as 'all wealth.' Yājñavalkya 3.56 also uses *sarva-vedasa-dakṣinām* which is explained by Vijñāneśvara as 'with all the Vedas as fees.'

[2]Śrī Rāmakṛishṇa Paramahaṁsa was initiated into *sannyāsa* by Śrīmat Totā Puri, hence all the monks of the Rāmakṛishṇa Mission belong to the Puri order. The Rāmakṛishṇa Mission does not allow an old householder to become a *sannyāsin*. Young boys are admitted as *brahmacārins*, and those who prove satisfactory are admitted into the order as *sannyāsins* after the performance of certain rites. This is the rule in almost all organized monasteries with a few notable exceptions.

(4.5.1-2). The *Rājatarangiṇī* (3.12) relates that Yūkadevī, a queen of Kashmir built a monastery, and 'in one half of it she placed those *bhikṣus* whose conduct conformed to the precepts (*śikṣācāra*), and in the [other] half those who being in possession of wives, children, and property, deserved blame for their life as householders.' It is evident that Kalhaṇa disapproved a married monk, but not Yūkadevī. An inscription from Gujarat mentions the name of an abbot's son, which shows that heads of monasteries were sometimes married men,[1] and that there were different types of monasteries.

Women could also adopt an ascetic's life. The *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya* (3.58) quotes Baudhāyana to the effect that according to the *ācāryas*, even women could become ascetics (*sannyāsinī*). Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāṣya* (Vol. II, p. 100) speaks of a women ascetic (*parivrājikā*), named Śaṅkara. Kauṭilya (4.13.36-37) imposes a fine of 24 *paṇas* for adultery with a *pravrajitā* which she was to receive if a willing party. This shows that Kauṭilya did not consider them much better than harlots, for he imposed a fine of 12 *paṇas* for ravishing a prostitute, and extremely drastic punishment on non-*brāhmaṇas* for having relations with a *brāhmaṇa* woman (4.13.38 and 32). Possibly in Kauṭilya's days most of the female ascetics were Buddhists or Jainas, and he had a poor opinion about these sects. He forbade non-brahmanical ascetics to settle in the country-side (2.1.32), and imposed a fine of 100 *paṇas*, for feeding Śākyas (i.e., Buddhists), Ājīvakas, and other heretical monks at rites in honour of gods and manes (3.20.16). This attitude is also reflected in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra*, written about five centuries later. Vātsyāyana (1.5.32) forbids carnal intercourse with *parivrājikās*, probably meaning female ascetics of all sects. This was his personal opinion, but from his work it appears that the reputation of ascetic women was low. For, Vātsyāyana (4.1.9) advises chaste matrons to avoid the company of *bhikṣukī*, *śramaṇā*, *kṣapaṇā*, and prostitutes etc. Of these *śramaṇā* is Buddhist nun, and *kṣapaṇā* Jaina nun, but the meaning of *bhikṣukī* is doubtful. *Bhikṣukī* is mentioned in 1.4.48 with *muṇḍa*, *vṛṣalā*, and old prostitutes as an intermediary between the *nāgaraka* and the harlot. Here the commentary explains *bhikṣukī* as 'wife of a *bhikṣuka*' that is, 'a beggar's wife.' According to Goṇikāputra, quoted by Vātsyāyana (5.4.42), the homes of *bhikṣukīs*, *kṣapaṇikās*, and *tāpasīs* could be used as houses of assignment. Here *bhikṣukī* is undoubtedly a Buddhist nun, while *tāpasī* is a female ascetic of a brahmanical sect. *Bhikṣukīs* as go-betweens are also mentioned in 5.4.62 and 5.5.25. In Sanskrit literature it is usual to introduce a Buddhist nun as the go-between in love-affairs, but these were written by *brāhmaṇas*.

There are references to female ascetics in the two epics. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (2.26.13), Sītā speaks of a *bhikṣiṇī* who had predicted her future. In the Mbh. there is the story of Princess Ambā, who under peculiar circumstances turned an ascetic (5.173 to 179 and 5.187). Then there is the story of Sulabhā, possibly the most erudite woman of ancient age, who preached her

[1]See Kaḍi Grants nos. 5, 6 and 7; *IA*, VI, pp. 199-204.

own brand of the Sāṁkhya philosophy. (12.308).[1] She was a *kṣatriya* maiden, who had adopted *sannyāsa*, and carried the *tri-daṇḍa*. The Mbh. (12.232.32) says that even a person of the lowest *varṇa* or a woman may reach the highest goal by following the path of *yoga*. This view may be linked with Manu (2.223) who states that a *brahmacārin* should learn virtuous action even from a woman or a *śūdra*.

In the drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* (1.14) Kalidāsa describes Paṇḍita Kauśikī as wearing the garb of an ascetic (*yati-veśa*), and she is referred to, as *Parivrājikā*. Bāṇa begins his list of motley friends with 'an ascetic widow Cakravākikā.'[2] For a later age, there is an inscription at Abu dated vs 1265 (AD 1207-1208), which records the activities of the superior of a Śaiva monastery, called Kedararāśi. He gives his spiritual genealogy which includes a woman named Yogeśvarī, described as *tapasvinī vijayinī*. Kedararāśi's sister, Mokṣeśvarī, who built a Śiva temple, is described as *brahmacarya parāyanā*, which indicates that she was either a *sannyāsinī*, or intent on becoming one.[3]

The duties of ascetics are given at length in many texts.[4] Briefly the rules were:

1. A person had to perform a sacrifice to Prajāpati to become a *sannyāsin*. Various other rites are prescribed in different texts.

2. A *sannyāsin* must give up his family and possessions, and retain nothing except his tattered garments, water jar, and begging bowl.

3. He should be homeless, dwell outside the villages, and stay under a tree or in an uninhabited house. Except during the rainy season, he should wander about from place to place.

4. He should wander alone.

5. He should lead a life of strict celibacy, contemplation, and, remaining unattached to worldly objects, he should seek spiritual knowledge.

6. He should so control his movements that he may not injure any creature. He should be indifferent to insults, never lose his temper, and bless even his malefactors.

7. He should not kindle fire, but subsist on food received as alms. He could enter a habitation only for begging. (Later an ascetic was forbidden to beg under Kalivarjya [to be avoided in the Kali age] rules.)

8. He should eat just sufficient to maintain his body, and should not feel elated when he received substantial alms, nor dejected when he received too little.

9. He should wear minimum garments, preferably of tattered cloth.

[1]For a summary of Sulabhā's doctrine see *EBES*, pp. 243-51.

[2]For a list of Bāṇa's friends see above I, p. 23 fn. In view of the professions of some of Bāṇa's friends, one may wonder if Cakravākikā was really a respectable woman.

[3]Abu Inscription of Bhīma II, *IA*, XI, p. 220.

[4]Gautama 3.10.24; Āpastamba 2.9.21.7-20; Baudhāyana 2.6.21-27, and 2.10; Manu 6.33-86; Yājñavalkya 3.56-66; Mbh. 1.110.7-21; 12.237 and 269, and 14.46.17-53. The proper conduct for an ascetic is also given in some Purāṇas like the *Kūrma* and the *Agni*.

Some authorities required the garment to be ochre coloured.

10. He must not use a metal vessel. His begging bowl and the plate from which he would eat should be of clay, wood, or of the shell of a gourd.

11. He should pare his nails, and remove hair and beard.

12. He should sleep on bare ground.

13. Illness should not worry him. He should neither welcome death, nor hail life, but should patiently wait for the end as a servant waits till his term of service expires:

nābhinandeta maraṇaṁ nābhinandeta jīvitam
kālam eva pratikṣeta nirdeśaṁ bhṛtako yathā. (Manu, 6.45)

14 He should generally observe silence, except when repeating the Vedic texts from memory.

15. He should be *tri-daṇḍī* (carry three staffs), indicating that he has control over speech, actions and mind.

16. He should purify his mind by *prāṇāyāma* and other *yoga* practices.

In many works, the ascetics are divided into four classes: The Mbh. 13. 129.29 says that there are four kinds of *bhikṣus*, namely *kuṭīcaka*, *bahūdaka*, *haṁsa* and *paramahaṁsa* in order of excellence, the following one being superior to the preceding order. The *kuṭīcaka* lives in his house or in a hermitage and begs food from his sons, wears the top knot and the sacred thread, but has three staffs and a water jar, and lives in the same hut. The *bahūdaka* has three staffs, a water jar, wears ochre coloured robes, but begs for his food and avoids meat and salt. The *haṁsas* do not spend more than a night in a village and not more than five nights in a city to seek alms. They fast for a month, and perform the *cāndrāyana* penance. They stay under a tree, in a cave, or on the bank of a river. The *paramahaṁsa* stays under a tree, in an uninhabited house, or in a cremation ground. They may or may not wear garments. They are beyond the contradictions of *dharma* and *adharma*, truth and falsehood, purity and impurity. They treat all alike, because they regard all as the Self. To them a clod of earth is the same as an ingot of gold.

In spite of all these rules and regulations, there were pseudo-ascetics even in the ancient age. It is said in the Mbh. (12.18.31-32): 'Many men with shaven heads and in ochre coloured robes move about to collect alms. As they are subject to various ties, they unsuccessfully seek objects of pleasure. Many foolish men give up the [study of the] three Vedas, [and other pursuits such as] agriculture, animal husbandry, and trade, forsake their sons, take up three staffs, and put the robes [of a *sannyāsin*]. Later, the Mbh. (12.161.15-17) declares that, even the ascetics desire wealth.[1] This extreme view was expressed by Arjuna, the great warrior prince, who seems to have been impatient of indolence. But his views must have had some basis in contemporary realities. However, almost all the great saints of India, with a few notable exceptions, were *sannyāsins*.

[1] For details see *EBES*, pp. 16 and 38.

CHAPTER II

SAṀSKĀRAS AND ŚRĀDDHA

SAṀSKĀRAS

Introduction

THE primary meaning of the word *saṁskāra* is 'making perfect,' 'refining,' or 'polishing.' Commenting on PMS 3.1.3, Śabara defines the word as: *saṁskāro nāma sa bhavati yasmij-jate padārtho bhavati yogyaḥ* ('*saṁskāra* is that, which, when performed, renders a thing fit'). The word is usually, but possibly not accurately, rendered as 'consecration.'

Though some of the *saṁskāras* were known in the Vedic age, the word itself was not in use at the period. The word is also not used in the Gṛhya-sūtras, but it occurs in the Dharma-sūtras like Gautama (8.8), Āpastamba (1.1.1.9) and Vasiṣṭha (4.1). The word has been used by Jaimini several times, and once (PMS 6.1.35) it stands for *upanayana*, one of the most important *saṁskāras*. The *Tantravārtika* (on PMS 3.8.9) says that *saṁskāras* are those actions and rites which impart fitness, and adds that 'fitness is of two kinds: it arises by the removal of taints (sins), or by the generation of fresh qualities, while *tapas* brings about the removal of taints.'

The Hindus consider almost all the permissible social acts as meritorious, and surround those with a halo of religious significance. On the other hand, all prohibited acts are considered to be sinful and irreligious. In such cases, the word 'religion' or *dharma* is very widely used. The religious factor involved in the *saṁskāras* was that during the performance of most of them, some Vedic *mantras* had to be chanted, and some Vedic rites performed.

The *saṁskāras*, which will be described below, were primarily meant for the male members of the three upper *varṇas*. Their women's right to *saṁskāra* was limited. The *śūdra's* right to *saṁskāra* was disputed among authorities. A late text resolved the conflicting views by observing that, the liberal views, which allowed a *śūdra* the right of several *saṁskāras* without Vedic mantras applied to good (*sat*) *śūdras*, while the opposite view, that marriage is the only *saṁskāra* permitted to a *śūdra* applied to low (*asat*) *śūdras*, or that the rules differed from one country to another.

The *saṁskāras* covered a man's life from his conception to death, but the authorities are not unanimous. For example, the last *saṁskāra*, *antyeṣṭi*, is mentioned only by Manu (2.16) and by Yājñavalkya (1.10). MM. Kane has given a list of twenty-seven *saṁskāras*, of which the following have been mentioned by all authorities or most of them: 1. *garbhādhāna*; 2. *puṁsavana*;

3. *sīmantonnayana*; 4. *jātakarma*; 5. *nāmakaraṇa*; 6. *annaprāśana*; 7. *caula* or *cūḍākaraṇa*; 8. *upanayana*; 9. *keśānta* or *godāna*; 10. *vivāha*.[1]

For a male child of the three upper *varṇas* the *saṁskāras* from *jātakarma* to *cūḍākaraṇa* were to be performed with Vedic *mantras*, but for the girls without *mantras*. *Upanayana* and *keśānta* were for boys only, while in marriage Vedic *mantra* was obligatory for the girls of the twice-born classes.

The *saṁskāras* from *garbhādhāna* to *upanayana* were obligatory for all male *dvijas*. However, some of them after completing *brahmacarya* might not marry and remain either a *naiṣṭhika brahmacāri* or become a *sannyāsin*. Hence the *saṁskāras* can, for the present study, be divided into three groups: 1. pre-natal; 2. post-natal; and 3. marriage.

PRE-NATAL SAṀSKĀRAS

Garbhādhāna

Garbhādhāna means 'impregnation.' It is a *saṁskāra* of the *garbha* (child in the womb) and not of the mother, though some works hold the opposite view. This ceremony is performed after the menses, and in a way represents the consummation of marriage. Details of *garbhādhāna* are given in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (6.4.19-23). These passages contain four verses of which two are from AV (V.25.5 and V.25.3) with slight modification, while the first three verses are loose quotations from RV X. 184. Sinīvāli invoked in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 6.4.21 is also invoked in RV II. 32.6-7, as a sister of the god, for offsprings. The invocation to Indra for successful parturition in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 6.4.23 is comparable to RV V.78.7-8. From these similarities, it appears that the *garbhādhāna* is a very ancient rite.

The ceremony consists in preparing a dish of rice and meat with *ghī* (*biriyani*?) with which libations are made to Agni, Anumati, and Savitṛ, after which the husband eats half and offers the rest to the wife. Then he fills a vessel with water and sprinkles her thrice and chants a few appropriate *mantras*. Then they unite, and he chants some more *mantras*. (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 6.4.21-23) to which reference has been made above.[2]

As MM. Kane has observed: 'To modern minds it appears strange that intercourse should have been surrounded by so much of mysticism and religion in the ancient sūtras. But in ancient times every act was sought to be invested with a religious halo.....[3] This was the peculiar trait of the Vedic

[1]For the list and references, see *HDK*, II, i, pp. 195-97.

[2]MM. Kane has given an English rendering of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 6.4.13, 19-22, but omits the passage which mentions meat, and for 'reasons of decency' has not translated *Brhadāraṇyaka*, 6.4. 21-22. *HDK*, II, i, pp. 201-02. For a complete translation, see *The Thirteen Principal Upanisads* tr. by R.E. Hume. It may be noted here that of the divinities invoked in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (6.4.19 and 21) Anumati and Sinīvāli mean, in astrological terms, *paurṇamāsī* mixed with the 14th *tithi*, and *amāvasyā* mixed with the 14th *tithi* respectively.

[3]*HDK*, II, i, p. 203.

culture, which distinguished it from the culture it replaced.

Puṁsavana

The *puṁsavana* is the first of the purificatory *saṁskāras* performed on perceiving the first signs of pregnancy so that a male child might be born. It is in this sense that the word has been used in the AV (VI.11.1). The ceremony consists of the wife fasting for one day and then eating three handful of curds, with two beans and one grain of barley in each handful of curds offered by her husband. After giving each handful of curds with two beans and barley, the husband asks twice: 'What dost thou drink?' The wife replies: '*Puṁsavana*,' three times. Alternative rites were also prescribed in which some powders had to be introduced into the wife's nostrils.

It may be noted here that in all *saṁskāras*, except *garbhādhāna*, a *homa* had to be performed. Another common feature was the feeding of learned *brāhmaṇas*.

MM. Kane, after giving an adequate description of *puṁsavana*, remarks: 'It would be clear that the *puṁsavana* rite has several elements, religious (*homa* and son's importance from ancient times), symbolical or suggestive (the drinking of curds with beans and grain or barley) and medical (inserting some substance in the woman's nostrils). For what purpose the placing of bile of a tortoise on the woman's lap was prescribed by Pāraskara alone (1.14) it is difficult to say.'[1] We would suggest that these peculiar customs were pre-Vedic which could not be totally banished even after the Vedas were composed.

Therefore it seems that these hocus-pocus or magical rites were pre-Vedic, to which the *homa* was grafted later. Similarly, the mediaeval works lay down that in all auspicious rites, Gaṇapati and the Mātṛs must be worshipped, for by then the popularity of this type of worship had practically superseded *homa*. The desire for a male child was almost universal in ancient days, and only the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (6.4.17) has a prescription for the birth of a female child.

There was another rite called the *garbharakṣaṇa* or *anavalobhana*, which was of the same nature as the *puṁsavana*, and seems to have been its part.

Sīmantonnayana

The word *sīmantonnayana* literally means 'parting of the hair upwards.' It is performed, according to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (1.14.1-9), in the dark fortnight of the fourth month of pregnancy, when the moon is in conjunction with a *nakṣatra* which is regarded as male. In this rite, the couple seats on a bull's hide and the wife takes hold of the husband's hand while he utters some lines and verses from the RV and the AV. The husband then parts the wife's hair upwards (beginning from the forehead and proceeding backwards) with a bunch of an even number of unripe fruits, and a porcupine quill that

[1]ibid, p. 220.

has three white spots (or rings), and three bunches of *kuśa* grass with the words, '*bhūr, bhuvah, svor, om*', four times. Then there is some music followed by festivities, but the details vary in different texts.

The *sīmantonnayana* was an ancient rite, but gradually it was given up, and Manu does not mention it though Yājñavalkya (1.11) does, and calls it *sīmanta*.

POST-NATAL SAṀSKĀRAS

Jātakarma

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (6.4.24-28) gives a detailed description of the *jātakarma*. The rite is performed soon after the birth of a son. The father takes the child on his lap, and, after uttering some *mantras*, feeds the child a mixture of curd, honey, and *ghī*, with a spoon of pure gold, uttering some more *mantras*. Then the father addresses the mother with some *mantras*. The Gṛhya-sūtras deal elaborately with this *saṁskāra*, but they differ on matters of details.[1]

Nāmakaraṇa

The *nāmakaraṇa* is the ceremony of naming the child. The authorities differ as to the day on which the ceremony is to be performed, and even the commentators find it difficult to reconcile their views. However, the Kamauli Grant of the Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra shows that the *jātakarma* ceremony of his son Hariscandra was performed on 10 August, 1175, and his Banaras College Grant shows that the *nāmakaraṇa* ceremony of the same prince was performed on 30 August, 1175,[2] that is the *nāmakaraṇa* took place three weeks after the *jātakarma* ceremony.

The RV (VIII, 80.9) mentions 'a fourth name,' and Sāyaṇa explains that the four names are: 1. *nakṣatra* name, derived from the *nakṣatra* on which a person was born; 2. a secret name; 3. a publicly known name (*vyavahārika-nāma*); and 4. a fourth name like 'Somayājī,' due to his having performed a Somayāga. But these rules were not usually followed, and in Vedic literature a name derived from a person's father and another from his *gotra* or a remote ancestor is usually added to a personal name. For example, Trasadasyu

[1]MM. Kane cites an instance 'where an old man jubilant over the birth of a son from the third wife entered upon the performance of *jātakarma* according to his *gṛhyasūtra*, and by the time the ceremony was over, the helpless child that had already little vitality was dead owing to exposure and cold.' ibid, p. 236 fn. This example confirms our doubt that many of the ceremonies described in the Gṛhya-sutras were compilations of different customs prevailing at that time or at various times. Very few children could have survived the rigours of the *jātakarma* ceremony.

[2]*EI*, IV, pp. 126-28; *IA*, XVIII, pp. 129-34; noted in *HDK*, II, i, p. 240. For Jayaccandra see above I, p. 399.

(personal name) was called Paurukutsya (son of Purukutsa) and Gairikṣita (descendant of Girikṣit). Another example is Indrota Daivāpa (son of Devāpi) Saunaka (a *gotra* name). It was common in Vedic literature to refer to a person by two names, his personal name and *gotra* name.

The Grhya-sūtras give detailed rules about naming a child—male or female—one of which is followed even now, namely, that a child should not be given his father's name. He could, however, be named after his grandfather or other ancestors, and this was done in royal families.

Manu ignores the Gṛhya-sūtra rules altogether and prescribes (2.31.32) that names of all the members of the four *varṇas* should suggest respectively auspiciousness, vigour, wealth, and lowness (or humility); and that the names of the *brāhmaṇas* should have an additional surname (*upapada*) suggestive of happiness (*śarman*), of *kṣatriyas* suggestive of protection (*rakṣā*), of *vaiśyas* prosperity (*puṣṭi*) and of *śūdras* service of or dependence on others (*praiṣya*). Commenting on Manu 2.32, Kulluka says that the names of the persons of the four *varṇas* should end respectively with *śarman, varman, bhūti,* and *dāsa.* Almost the same rule is given in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (3.10.9) only difference being that it prescribes the surname *gupta* for *vaiśyas.* The difficulty is that under this scheme Kālidāsa would have been a *śūdra,* and Bhavabhūti and the Gupta emperors *vaiśyas.* However, as the Mandasor inscription of Yaśovarman shows, the *upapadas datta* and *dāsa* were added to the names of the *brāhmaṇa* ministers Ṣaṣthidatta and Varāhadāsa. Actually, Medhātithi's circumlocutory comments on Manu 2.32 seem to indicate that *brāhmaṇa's* could have name-endings or surnames like *svāmin, āśraya, or datta.* But Medhātithi also reserves *dāsa* as an exclusively *śūdra* surname, though it seems improbable that he was not familiar with Kālidāsa's works. Apparently, since Manu wrote, the worship of cult deities became increasingly popular to which must be ascribed such names as Rāmadāsa, Haridāsa, Kālidāsa, Śivadāsa, Caṇḍīdāsa, Viṣṇudāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Durgādāsa, etc. *Śarman,* however, always indicated a *brāhmaṇa,* and *varman* a *kṣatriya.* It will be recalled that the descendants of Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, used the surname *varman,* evidently to signify their changed social status.

Annaprāśana

The *annaprāśana* ceremony (performed even now) marked the child's first eating of cooked food. The authorities, however differ as to the food which the child was to eat. Some favoured meat or fish, while others prescribed curds, honey, *ghī,* and boiled rice mixed together. As usual in all *saṁskāras,* some Vedic *mantras* were chanted by the father who fed the child. The mother ate the remnant of the food.

Caula

The *caula* is also known as the *cūḍākaraṇa* or the *cūḍākarma, cūḍā* meaning the lock or tuft of hair which is left on the child's head when the remaining

part is shaved.[1] This *saṁskāra* marks the first cutting of the hair of the child of which only a lock is left. The other associated rites were the performance of *homa*, feeding *brāhmaṇas*, and giving them *dakṣiṇā* (fee). The shorn hair was to be disposed in such a manner so that no one could find them.

The authorities differ among themselves as to the exact age of the child when the *caula* was to be performed, the majority preferring the third year from birth. Others were content to govern the age by family custom.

Upanayana

The *upanayana* is an Indo-Iranian rite, and the wearing of the sacred girdle is mentioned in Zoroastrian scriptures. This practice is followed by the Indian Parsis even today. Hence MM. Kane's suggestion seems quite plausible, namely, that RV III, 8.4 indicates that some of the characteristics of *upanayana* described in the Gṛhya-sūtras were well-known even then.[2] Āpastamba (1.1.1.19) says that *upanayana* is a *saṁskāra* laid down by revelation for him who seeks learning. Alternatively the passage may mean 'it is a *saṁskāra* brought about by imparting the *śruti* (i.e., the Gāyatrī *mantra*) to him who seeks learning.'

At present *upanayana* is performed practically by the *brāhmaṇas* only, but formerly it was the most important *saṁskāra* for all twice-born males. The word *upanayana* means 'leading' or 'taking near,' and originally seems to have meant 'taking near the *ācārya*' for instruction. The word can be derived and explained in two ways: 1. taking (the boy) near the *ācārya*; 2. the rite by which the boy is taken to the *ācārya*. MM. Kane suggests the meaning, 'introducing the novice to the stage of studenthood.'[3]

Originally *upanayana* seems to have meant taking the boy near the *ācārya*, but gradually rituals were developed, and the word acquired its secondary sense. It is clear that at the beginning it was a simple ceremony in which the aspiring boy came to the teacher with *samidh* (stick of wood for the sacrificial fire) and told the teacher that he desired to enter the stage of studenthood (*brahmacarya*). The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (XI.5.4) describes the procedure in which the boy says: 'I have come unto *brahmacarya*. Let me be a *brahmacārī*. Then the teacher asks him: 'What is your name?' On receiving the boy's reply, the teacher takes him near (*upanayati*). In the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (4.4.5), when Satyakāma revealed the truth of his birth, the sage Gautama exclaimed: 'Bring the fuel, my dear, I shall initiate you (*tvā upanesye*).' Again, the *Chāndogya* (5.11.7) describing another incident states: 'The king,

[1] 'We get "*cauḍa*" from "*cūḍā*" meaning "a rite the purpose of which is keeping a lock of hair," and "*ḍa*" and "*la*" often interchange places. So we get "*cauḍa*" or "*caula*" also as the name of the ceremony.' *HDK*, II, i, p. 260.

[2] *HDK*, II, i, p. 268. For a description of modern Parsi 'sacred thread' ceremony, see Appendix to this chapter.

[3] ibid, p. 268.

without receiving them as initiated pupils, spoke thus (*tān-h-ānupanīyair ev-aitad-uvāca*).'

In course of time, the *upanayana* developed into an elaborate ritual which is described in details in the Dharma-sūtras and the Smṛtis. The rules cover: i the proper age for *upanayana*; ii. rules about those whose *upanayana* has not been performed at proper age; iii. the materials to be used for the garments of the *brahmacārins* and for their girdles and staffs according to their *varṇas*; iv. the *yajñopavīta* (sacred thread); v. rites to be performed before *upanayana*; vi. imparting the Gāyatrī *mantra*; and vii. the duties of the *brahmacārin*.

The proper ages for *upanayana* were 8th to 16th year for a *brāhmaṇa*, 11th to 22nd year for a *kṣatriya*, and 12th to 24th year for a *vaiśya*. Further complications were introduced by the selection of the proper month, date, time etc. The regulation regarding dress has been noted above in connection with *brahmacarya*. The boys also had to wear a girdle tied round their waist during the period of their studenthood. A *brāhmaṇa* boy's girdle was made of *muñja* grass, a *kṣatriya's* of *mūrvā* grass, while hemp cords were used for the girdle of a *vaiśya* boy.[1]

For a long time, the main ritual of the *upanayana* ceremony has been the investing of the boy with a *yajñopavīta* or 'sacred thread.' Hence it may appear remarkable, as MM. Kane observes, that 'Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba, and several other *sūtrakāras* do not say a word about the sacred thread, while a few like Hiranyakeśin gṛ. (11.2.6) Bhāradvāja gṛ. (1.3), and Mānava gṛ. (1.22.2) say that the boy already wear the *yajñopavīta* before the *homa* begins...'[2]

It appears from the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (II.1) that in ancient days a strip of black antelope skin or of cloth was used as *upavīta*, which according to the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (II.5.11.1) is the *nivīta* slung from the left shoulder, that is, in the manner in which the sacred-thread is worn. No cord or thread is mentioned here, but only a strip of skin or cloth which apparently served as a *yajñopavīta* in the earliest days. After discussing this matter on the basis of various commentaries, MM. Kane concludes that 'originally *upavīta* meant an upper garment and not merely a cord of threads.'[3]

The *Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra* (1.2.1) permits the student to take as *yajñopavīta* 'a cord of threads, a garment, or a rope of *kuśa* grass.' Manu (2.44) says that 'the *upavīta* of a *brāhmaṇa* should be made of cotton, its strands should be twisted.....and it should have three threads.' Medhātithi, in his comments on this verse, says that, '*upavīta* means a particular mode of wearing a garment, or a particular position of it, and therefore here by *upavīta* is meant that which can be worn in that mode.'[4] From such conflicting statements, and

[1] *Mūrvā* grass was used for making bow strings. Hemp cords were used for suspending the pans of a balance.

[2] *HDK*, II, i, p. 284. For a detailed discussion on the history of the 'sacred thread' see ibid, pp. 287-97.

[3] ibid, pp. 289-90.

[4] We would suggest that Medhātithi is describing a *mirzā'ī* which is explained by

from the fact that 'no *mantra* is cited from the Vedic Literature for the act of giving the *yajñopavīta*.....while scores of Vedic *mantras* are cited for the several component parts of the ceremony', MM. Kane concludes that 'it is most probable, if not certain, that the sacred thread was not invariably used in the older times as in the times of the later smṛtis and in modern times, that originally the upper garment was used in various positions for certain acts, that it could be laid aside altogether in the most ancient times and that the cord of threads came to be first used as an option and later on exclusively for the upper garment."[1]

The fact seems to be that the Indo-Iranians used to wear a garment in the *upavīta* fashion as the Parsis do even now. The black antelope skin must have been adopted later by the Indians, and gradually it developed into the 'sacred-thread' of cotton as *brāhmaṇas* began to develop repugnance for animal skin. Also black antelope was not found in most parts of India.

The older texts show that, in ancient days women were divided into two classes, namely, the *brahma-vādinīs* (students of sacred lore), and *sadyo-vadhūs* (who straightway marry). The *brahma-vādinīs* performed the *upanayana saṁskāra*, maintained fire, studied Veda, and collected alms in her own house, that is, in her father's house. For the *sadyo-vadhūs*, the *upanayana saṁskāra* was performed just before their marriage. Women are also mentioned in the rules regarding the *samāvartana*. Even as late as the 7th century, Bāna, in his *Kādambarī*, describes Mahāśvetā as 'one whose body was rendered pure by (wearing) a *brahma-sūtra*' (i.e., *a yajñopavīta*). Later this practice was stopped altogether. (The Parsi girls, however, are still invested with the sacred thread, and like the boys they wear it for the rest of their lives).

It seems, therefore, that the *upanayana* is an ancient Indo-Iranian custom, which underwent various modifications in India. The Zoroastrian Parsis, who entered India mostly in the 7th and 8th centuries, retained their ancient custom, which is described in the appendix to this chapter.

The *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* also had the right to perform the *upanayana saṁskāra*, indeed it was obligatory, for they too were expected to enter the stage of studenthood. It seems that they neglected to wear the sacred thread constantly, so that by about AD 600 'the *yajñopavīta* had become the peculiar indicator of the caste of the *brāhmaṇas* only.'[2]

According to several Smṛtis, including Manu (10.41), some mixed castes, born of *anuloma* marriages, were eligible for the rites of the *dvijas*, from which it follows that they had the right to receive the sacred-thread.

F. Steingass (*Persian-English Dictionary*) as 'an under jacket with long loose sleeves and open cuffs.' As at present used in India, the *mirzā'ī* is used in the *upavīta* fashion, the left side of the garment being tied to the right side by fastening stitched-in strings. The word is derived in Persian from *mirzā* or *mīrzā*, meaning 'a prince' or 'a gentleman', indicating that the dress was meant for the upper class.

[1] *HDK*, II, i, p. 291.

[2] ibid, p. 296.

Keśānta or Godāna

Keśānta meant the tonsuring the head, shaving, and removing the hairs of the armpit. When a part of the hair near the top of the ear was removed, the ceremony was known as *godāna*. *Keśānta* was performed in the 16th, 22nd, and 24th year for *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, and *vaiśya* respectively (Manu 2.65), but authorities differ.

Snāna or Samāvartana

After the completion of studenthood or *brahmacarya*, the young man took a ceremonial bath (*snāna*), after which he returned home (*samāvartana*) with the permission and blessings of his teacher.

Till his marriage, the youth was known as a *snātaka*, and after marriage he became a *gṛhastha*. Those who preferred to remain celibate for the rest of their lives were known as *naiṣṭhika brahmacārins*.

Elaborate rules are given in the Dharmaśāstras for the guidance of the *snātakas*.

MARRIAGE

Marriage in Pre-vedic Society

The conception of Hindu marriage, duties of husband and wife, and purposes of marriage were formed as early as the RV. Verses from the famous 'Marriage Hymn' of the RV (X.85) are recited in a Hindu marriage even now, and, as will be shown later, several essential marriage rituals are as old as the RV.

The Ṛgvedic society had a high standard of morality and a man, who had been guilty of some misdeeds, prays (II.29.1): 'O impetuous Ādityas, O upholders of your laws, push away my crime from me, as (a girl) who is secretly delivered does hers.' It was in such an unfortunate situation that Kunti abandoned her eldest son floating in a box on a river, and she kept this incident a closely guarded secret for obvious reasons.

These examples and the eulogies bestowed on *pativratā* (chaste wife) in the Mbh. indicate a lofty ideal of conjugal fidelity, in which absolute chastity was demanded from the woman. It is therefore surprising, that the Dharmaśāstras, beginning from the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*, and the principal Smṛtis, including Manu and Yājñavalkya, make provisions for various kinds of sons, including the *gūḍhaja*, the *kānīna* and the *sahoḍha* sons.[1] Of these, the *gūḍhaja* or the *gūḍhotpanna* is the son born in a man's house, the child's father being unknown. The *kānīna* (maiden's son) is one whom his unmarried mother bears secretly in her father's house, while the child born of a woman pregnant at the time of her marriage is called *sahoḍha*. All such illegitimate children belonged to their mothers' husbands, and were considered to be the latters' sons.

[1]The nomenclature vary from one text to another. For various terms and their references see *HDK*, III, p. 645.

Besides, these Manu (3.174) mentions two other sons called *kuṇḍa* and *golaka*, the former being the illegitimate son of a woman whose husband is living, while the latter is the illegitimate son of a widow. Manu (3.156) included *kuṇḍa* and *golaka* among *brāhmaṇas* who were not to be invited at a *śrāddha*, and a later text quoted by MM. Kane prescribes that *kuṇḍa* and *golaka* should have *upanayana* performed in the same manner as for the deaf and dumb if it is known that both the parties to the adultery were *brāhmaṇas*.

This grudging acceptance of adultery as a not very abnormal social custom is in strange contrast with the Vedic ideal, where the girl is shown anxious to hide her illegitimate child. Hence it has to be concluded that the RV does not give the complete picture of the society, having been composed and compiled for the specific purpose of being used in sacrifices.

Nothing is known about this society before the composition of the Ṛgvedic hymns. Hence for the reconstruction of the 'earlier society' it becomes necessary to rely upon an incident narrated in the Mbh. and then attempt to correlate it with certain statements in the Vedas.

The Mbh. (1.113.8-26) relates that when Pāṇḍu became incapable of procreating a child, he asked Kunti to bear him a son by the system known as *niyoga* (levirate). Kunti at first refused to do so, whereupon Pāṇḍu related to her a story of the ancient days when no restriction was imposed upon women, and they could submit to any man of their choice: One day, the young sage Śvetaketu, son of the sage Uddālaka, was sitting with his parents, when a *brāhmaṇa* came, and at his request Śvetaketu's mother left with him albeit reluctantly. Śvetaketu was outraged at the wanton behaviour of his mother, and Uddālaka tried to pacify him by pointing out that, women, like cows, were uninhibited (*anāvṛtā*, lit. uninclosed), and free to follow their proclivities. This explanation failed to satisfy Śvetaketu, who thereupon ordained that henceforth free sex would not be permitted to women, and female transgressors would be guilty of the sin of abortion. An unmarried girl was to remain a virgin. But the sin of adultery would attach to a woman who refused to raise a child by a person other than her husband when ordered to do so by the latter. That is, *niyoga* was not only permitted, but obligatory if ordered by the husband.

Pāṇḍu also said (Mbh. 1.113.7) that the women of Uttarakuru[1] were free in matters of sex. The Mbh. (2.28.23-24) also states that the women of Māhiṣmatī, through the favour of Sun-god, did whatever they liked and could not be restrained. Lastly Karṇa gives (8.27.75-91; 8.30.15-88) a description of the manners of the women of Madra and Bāhlīka from which it appears that utmost licentiousness prevailed in those regions.

The Mbh. (1.98.6-19) also contains the story of the sage Dīrghatamas. While Dīrghatamas was in his mother's womb, his uncle (father's brother) forced his mother to relieve him of his concupiscence. Apparently at this age a

[1]For a discussion of the location of Uttarakuru, see *EBES*, p. 217, note 22.

brother-in-law (*devara*) possessed the right to cohabit with his sister-in-law. This conclusion is supported by the *Nirukta* (3.15), 'where in some MSS. the word "devara" is explained as "a second husband" (*dvitīya varaḥ*)'[1] while explaining RV.X.40.2. An echo of this usage is heard in the statement of the Mbh. (13.8.22) that, 'in the absence of her husband, a woman takes her brother-in-law as her husband.'

Thus it becomes difficult to deny that, while the Mbh. was projecting the ideal of the *pativratā* (virtuous wife), there were deviations, particularly in the regions on the periphery of Āryāvarta, where laxness of morals were held to be customary. It is significant that Uttarakuru included the region where polyandry still prevails.

The Vedas present a state of ideal married life, except that a woman possibly had relations with her brother-in-law, (RV.X,40.2). What is even more remarkable is that in the ritual of Varuṇa-praghāsa the wife of the sacrificer had to confess if she had paramours and their exact number, which she could demurely point out by showing an equal number of grass blades.

Regarding polyandry, the case of Draupadī is well known, and the Mbh. (1.188.14) cites the case of Jaṭilā, who had seven husbands. Yājñavalkya's doctrine in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (1.3.1.21) that no one cares if a wife is unchaste (*paraḥ-puṁsā*) has been explained by Macdonell and Keith as really meaning 'that no one cares if the wife is away from the men who are sacrificing, as the wives of the gods are apart from them during the particular rite in question. Monogamy is also evidently approved (RV.1.124.7; IV.3.2; X. 71.4 etc.) so that some higher idea of morality was in course of formation. On the other hand, no Vedic text gives us the rule well known to other Indo-Germanic peoples that the adulterer taken in the act can be killed with impunity, though the later legal literature has traces of this rule.'[2]

Śvetaketu's father explained the wanton behaviour of his wife by comparing her with a cow, but later the wife is invariably referred to as a *kṣetra* (land). This change in terminology indicates change from a nomadic or pastoral life, when cattle was the only form of wealth, to a settled rural life, when land had become the more important form of wealth, being the richest source of production. Cows were the only valuable and permanent form of wealth of pastoral nomads, who moved about seeking fresh pasture lands and leading a sort of communal life where the herd was the joint property of the community. Marriage in some form must have evolved even then, otherwise Śvetaketu could not have identified his father, but marital fidelity was not strictly observed.

The term *gotra* denoting consanguinity was probably evolved during this period. The word *gotra* has been used in the RV several times, meaning 'cow-stable,' or 'herd of cows.' Though it has also been used metaphorically, the RV has never used *gotra* in the later sense of the term. The *Baudhāyana-*

[1] *HDK*, II, i, p. 606. For a detailed discussion see *EBES*, pp. 202-15.
[2] *Vedic Index*, I, p. 480.

Śrauta-sūtra says: 'Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, and Kaśyapa are the seven sages and Agastya is the eighth; the progeny of these eight sages is declared to be *gotra*.'[1] It then adds that there are thousands, tens of thousands, and *arbudas* (millions of millions) of *gotras* but the *pravaras* are only forty-nine.[2] The Mbh. (12.285.17-8) states that original *gotras* were only four, namely, Aṅgiras, Kāśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, and Bhṛgu. Of these, Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras have not been included in Baudhāyana's list. Hence MM. Kane has observed that 'even Baudhāyana is not correctly stating the number of original *gotras* . . . . . So even Baudhāyana is not to be implicitly followed.[3]

The importance of *gotra* and *pravara* is that these determined to a large extent the selection of partners in marriage, for, there could be no legal marriage between persons of the same *gotra*, and *pravara*. Also *gotrajas* (persons born in the same *gotra* or agnates) succeeded to the property of the deceased in the absence of other and specified heirs. Thus *gotra* is linked with marriage and inheritance.

A feature of the *gotra* and *pravara* is that these groupings are primarily for the *brāhmaṇas*. This is the opinion of all the texts, which prescribe that the *kṣatriyas* may use the *gotra* and *pravara* of their *purohita*. Some inscriptions give the *gotra* of their kings, but it is quite possible that the kings were using the *gotra* of their *purohitas*. The *śūdras* had no *gotra* or *pravara*.[4] When a person, that is a *brāhmaṇa*, did not know his *gotra*, he was to call himself as 'Kāśyapa *gotra*.'

On the basis of the above evidence it may be tentatively concluded that in the earliest period a person was known by his name and the *gotra* or the community to which he belonged. In the Ṛgvedic age, the descendants of certain famous sages claimed ancestry from their illustrious ancestor, but the term *gotra* remained in use. The *ṛṣis* occupied an exalted position in the Ṛgvedic age, and they shall have enforced monogamy for women so that the family tradition could be maintained. Gradually the practice spread and at last

[1] *HDK*, II, i, p. 483. This is the earliest definition of *gotra* though Jāmadagniyas and Bhārgavas are mentioned in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. See ibid, p. 479.

[2] 'Each *gotra* is associated with one, two, three or five sages (but never four or more than five) that constitute the *pravara* of that *gotra*.' 'The connection of *gotra* and *pravara* may be stated thus: *gotra* is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family has been known for generations; while *pravara* is constituted by the sage or sages who lived in the remotest past, who were most illustrious, and who are generally the ancestors of the *gotra* sages or in some cases the remotest ancestors alone.' *HDK*, II, i, pp. 486 and 497. The word *pravara* does not occur in the *RV*, but the work *ārṣeya*, meaning 'related to a *ṛṣi*', or 'worth' which are equivalent to *pravara* occurs. *Ārṣeya* is used in this sense in other Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas from which MM. Kane concludes that 'the system of *pravara* goes back almost to the Ṛgveda.' *HDK*, II, i, pp. 486.

[3] ibid, p. 489.

[4] The Reddi king Allaya Vema, a *śūdra*, is said to have belonged to the Polvola *gotra*. *EI*, XIII, p. 237. MM. Kane says that in such cases, *gotra* was used as a surname.

became universal among the *brāhmanas*, and the number of *gotras*, which to begin with, were four or eight, became innumerable.

The story of the Mbh. given above indicates a society where the institution of marriage had not fully developed, and promiscuous mating was permitted. However, some sort of 'pairing family,' marking a transitional stage between group marriage and monogamy, must have been in vogue for a person to have recognized his father. The old customs did not die out, and as Macdonell and Keith remark, 'there is also abundant evidence (in the Vedic literature) that the standard of ordinary sexual morality was not high.'[1]

The AV (V. 17.8-9) states : 'When a woman has at first even ten husbands, who are not *brāhmaṇas*, if a *brāhmaṇa* takes hold of her hand (i.e., marries her), he alone is her (real) husband. A *brāhmaṇa* alone is (a real) husband, not a *kṣatriya* or a *vaiśya*—sun goes proclaiming this to the five (tribes of) men.' The AV (IX. 5.27-28) states: 'Whatever woman, having first married one husband, marries another, if they (two) offer a goat with five rich dishes they would not be separated (from each other). The second husband secures the same world with his remarried wife, when he offers a goat accompanied with five rich dishes and with the light of fees.'

MM. Kane has not attached much significance to these passages and points out that the reference to the first passage to ten husbands is a *prauḍhi-vāda* (pompous assertion). The passage, according to him, 'may at the most mean' that if a *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* widow marries a *brāhmaṇa* then the *brāhmaṇa* is to be considered her real husband. As an alternative, MM. Kane suggests that, the word *pati* (husband) may have been loosely used, and 'all that is meant may be that if a girl is promised to ten persons,' and then to a *brāhmana*, 'the latter is to be accepted as the best.' The word *punarbhū* occurs in the second passage, which MM. Kane holds to be decisive, and suggests that the reference here is to a betrothal, and after the death of the betrothed, marriage to another person.[2] It is presumption to differ from the Mahāmahopādhyāya on the interpretation of a Vedic passage, still we would venture to suggest an alternative explanation.

The first passage indicates a period when a woman could have more than one mate, known as 'husband.' Later, women were considered to be a kind of property, and the *brāhmaṇas* claimed preference in matrimony which resulted in the *anuloma* form of marriages. The second passage refers to the purchase of wife, the word *punarbhū* meaning a 'remarried woman.' These practices were becoming obsolete even in the Ṛgvedic age, hence their solitary references in later texts become difficult to explain if one presumes a strict monogamic society not only as the model but also as universal during the Vedic period.

It has been suggested above that in very ancient days, persons were grouped according to the 'herd' they belonged to. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* ends with two lists of teachers. In the first list, the descent of the teachers is

[1] *Vedic Index*, I, p. 480.

[2] *HDK*, II, i, pp. 614-15. Kulluka on Manu 9.176 explains *punarbhū* as 'remarriage.'

traced through their mothers, while in the second list, which ends with Yājñavalkya, only the names of the sages are given. The first list does not necessarily mean a matrilineal society, but a society in which it was difficult to trace one's father, presumably because there was no need to do so. Exact parentage became important when the question of inheritance came up. In early pastoral society, herds were common wealth, and belonged to all the persons who tended the herd and the herd was inherited by their progeny. For this purpose, it was sufficient to know if the mother belonged to the 'herd', or the '*gotra*'. Even in the RV cows and not lands are given to the sages as fees, though in inscriptions it is invariably land.

We have suggested above that when agriculture became the main productive occupation, the related problem of division of land and of ownership arose. Even so, at the beginning all sorts of illegitimate children were recognized, because under the prevailing conditions increase in heads would increase real income per head. The development of the caste system ushered in a socio-economic change. At the beginning, the *viś* denoted the common mass. Agriculture was allotted to them as their occupation, and still lower down were the *śūdras*, who were expected to serve the three upper-castes. The *brāhmaṇas* now took the study of the Vedas and the performance of sacrifices as their primary and exclusive concern. As the Vedic hymns were composed by the *ṛṣis*, establishment of a link through direct descent with one of them became a status symbol (with pecuniary advantages), for which the word *ārṣeya*, later replaced with *pravara*, was used.

How the word *gotra* came to possess its present connotation is not known. It is possible that in the early Vedic age, some sages, realized the evil effects of inbreeding. To this may have been added the desire to preserve the purity of their descendants as suggested above. Hence they formed *gotras* or groups and forbade marriage within that group. Marriage within the same *pravara* was also forbidden. This led to monogamy for women, and gradually the custom of not selecting a partner from the same group became universal, and ultimately received the sanction of law. The story of Satyakāma Jābāla (*Chāndogya* 4.4.1-4) shows that *gotra*, at that time primarily meant paternal lineage, but it was not very unusual for a man to be known by his matronymic.[1]

The position of the secondary sons now assumed a new character. So long agriculture remained the basic occupation, numerous sons could be an asset. But, so far as the *brāhmaṇas* were concerned, the situation had changed. They insisted on the purity of family descent, and absolute fidelity from their wives. The *kṣatriyas* were not so particular, and we find *niyoga* practised among them. It was extremely important to have a son and continue the family. As the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 1.11.1 says: '*Prajātantuṁ mā vyavacchetsīḥ*' ('Cut not off the line of progeny).'[2]

[1]Satyakāma's mother Jābāla had-served as a maid-servant in many houses which shows a considerably developed society. But Śaṅkara explains this passage differently.

[2]This was one of the instructions given to every student by the teacher when the former finished his period of studenthood.

In the RV marriage has become a mystique with socio-religious significance. The purpose of marriage was for a man to become a householder, so that he could perform sacrifices in honour of gods, and procreate sons. RV X 85.36 shows that the husband took a maiden for a wife so that he could perform the *gārhapatya*. The *gṛhya* fire was the nuptial fire, which was kindled by the newly married couple on the day of their wedding. It was carried from the bride's house to her new home. The theory was that the gods were pleased with the increase in the number of *gārhapatya* fires. Hence in the early Vedic days, the newly married couples were encouraged to set up their own house.

No Vedic sacrifice could be performed by a man unless his wife was sitting by his side, and the RV (V.3.2 and V.28.3) speak of the co-operation of husband and wife in the worship of gods. RV III.53.4 emphatically declares: 'A wife, indeed, is the home and the resting place, O Maghavan.' This sentiment is echoed in the Mbh. which declares:

na gṛhaṁ gṛhaṁ ity=āhur=gṛhiṇī gṛham ucyate
gṛhaṁ tu gṛhiṇī-hīnam araṇya-sadṛśaṁ matam[1]

The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (3.1.6) calls a wife '*jāyā*' because the husband is born in the wife as a son. Manu (9.8) gives the same derivation of *jāyā*, in different words and more elaborately.

Forms of Marriage

The Gṛhya-sūtras, Dharma-sūtras, Smṛtis, Mbh. and Kauṭilya have described eight forms of marriage. We are here quoting from Kauṭilya as he is precise and brief but agrees with the other authorities except that the order in which the eight forms have been placed differs from that given in other texts.

Kauṭilya (3.2.2-9) states:

i. Making a gift of the daughter, after adorning her (with ornaments) is the *brāhma* form of marriage.

ii. The joint performance of religious duties is the *prājāpatya* (*saha-dharmacaryā prājāpatyaḥ*).

iii. (When the father gives away his daughter in marriage) on receiving a cow and a bull, it is *ārṣa*.

iv. By making a gift (of the daughter) to the officiating priest inside a sacrificial altar, it is the *daiva*.

v. *Gāndharva* is the secret association (of lovers).

vi. (A marriage which takes place) on receiving a dowry, is the *āsura*.

vii. (Marriage) by forcible seizure (of a maiden) is *rākṣasa*.

viii. (Marriage) by the seizure of a sleeping or intoxicated (maiden) is *paiśāca*.

[1]'The abode is not called the house, it is the wife who is said to be the house. A home without the wife is considered to be like a forest.' Mbh. (Bombay edn.) 12.144.6. This verse is not included in the Critical Edition, but is found in most MSS.

According to Kauṭilya (3.2.10-11), 'the first four are lawful with the sanction of the father, and the remaining with the sanction of the father and the mother,' since they receive the dowry of the daughter.

The Smṛtis agree that the first four forms are 'approved forms' of marriage. Manu (3.23-25) first states that the first six forms are allowed to *brāhmaṇas*, the last four to *Kṣatriyas*, and the *gāndharva*, *āsura*, and *paiśāca* to *vaiśyas* and *śūdras*. He then states that *gāndharva* and *āsura* are approved for all *varṇas*, but *rākṣasa* and *paiśāca* are prohibited for all. However, Manu then states that the first four forms are approved for the *brāhmaṇas*, *rākṣasa* for the *kṣatriyas*, and *āsura* for the *vaiśyas* and the *śūdras*. This view agrees in the main with Mbh. 1.67.8-12, where Duṣyanta tells Śakuntalā that Svāyambhuva Manu has said that, the first four and six forms of marriage are approved for the *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas* respectively. The *rākṣasa* form is meant for the kings (*rājñā*, that is *kṣatriyas*), and *āsura* for the *vaiśyas* and *śūdras*, and of the last five forms, the first three are lawful, and the last two unlawful. No one should ever have recourse to *paiśāca* and *āsura* forms, and this is repeated in 13.44.3-9 and it is stated that *brāhma*, *kṣatra*, *gāndharva* are approved forms, which may be exclusive or mixed.[1]

It appears that of these eight forms of marriage some are really forms of securing a bride. Vātsyāyana states in his *Kāmasūtra* (3.5.11-13) that in a *gāndharva* marriage, when the girl has been brought to a secret place, proper nuptial rites should be performed before a sacred fire and *kuśa* grass, and adds: 'A marriage performed before fire as witness to the transaction can never be set aside, this is the rule approved by all teachers.' This is also the opinion of Devala, quoted by Kulluka on Manu 8.226. Vātsyāyana (5.18-27) has described the *paiśāca* and the *rākṣasa* forms, but in both the cases he has recommended the performance of some nuptial rites.

The Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa[2] relate that his ancestor Indra I had, 'seized in battle the daughter of the Cālukya king by *rākṣasa* form of marriage.' From the language of the inscription, it appears that Indra I had abducted the princess from the *svayamvara* hall. A few other instances of *svayamvara* in ancient India are known from historical chronicles. Bilhaṇa, in his *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* describes the *svayamvara* ceremony of Candralekhā, who selected the poet's patron in a *svayamvara*. In his other work, called the *Karṇa-sundarī*, he has described how a princess left her home and came to Gujarat because she had fallen in love with the handsome king of that country, and ultimately married him. Another *svayamvara* is described by Hemacandra in his *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya*.[3] It is difficult to say as to how far the

[1] Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary explains that *brāhma* here includes *brāhma*, *ārṣa*, and *daiva*, and *kṣatra* mean *prājāpatya*, *gāndharva* and the *āsura*, According to Nīlkaṇṭha, Damayantī's marriage represents a mixture of *brāhma* and *kṣatra*, Rukmiṇī's *gāndharva* and *rākṣasa*, and Subhadrā's *kṣatra* and *rākṣasa*.

[2] *EI*, XVIII, p. 235; see also I, p. 309.

[3] For details of the *Karṇasundarī*, see A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 60-65. For Hemacandra's account of a *svayamvara*, see ibid, pp. 40-41, and I, p. 354.

accounts of these *svayamvaras* are based on facts. In any case, the descriptions are exaggerated.

Svayamvara means 'the selection of the bridegroom by the maiden herself.' Vasiṣṭha (17.67-78), Baudhāyana (4.1-3), Gautama (18-20), Manu (9.90) and Mbh. 13.44.15 recommend a maiden to choose her husband if her father fails to do so on her attaining maturity, Yājñavalkya (1.64) recommends *svayam vara* to girls who have no parents or guardians who can find a suitable husband for them. The rationale of *svayamvara* was that, marriage was the only *saṁskāra* for women, and if their parents or guardians failed, they had the right to perform it themselves.

The reason for recognizing the last four forms of marriage was that, if a maiden was tricked into surrendering herself, or was abducted or ravished, the person responsible had to accept her as his wife.

Marriage Rules

Various rules and regulations covering marriage ceremony are given in the Dharmaśāstras of which the most important ones are:

i. Marriage between persons of same *gotra* and same *pravara* was forbidden. *Sapiṇḍa* agnates also could not marry. As explained by Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya 1.52, *sapiṇḍa* relation arose when two persons had the *piṇḍa* (particles of the body) of a common ancestor through father or mother, which terminated after the seventh generation on the father's and after the fifth generation on the mother's side, having regard to the parents of both the bride and the groom. The custom of marrying a maternal uncle's daughter, paternal aunt's daughter, and sister's daughter in some parts of south India was, however, recognized. In Rajasthan, and some other parts of north India, the custom of marrying maternal uncle's daughter was not unknown.

ii. The girl must be younger than the boy.

iii. Various rules are given regarding the age of the girl, from which it appears that the girls were married just before or immediately after puberty. Age limit for a man is not prescribed, apparently because it was not contemplated that a minor boy would marry. He had to complete his period of *brahmacarya* when he would be about twenty-four years old, before he could marry. However, Kauṭilya (3.3.1-2) says: 'A woman twelve years of age attains maturity (*prāpta-vyavahārā*), a man at the age of sixteen years. If after this, there is failure to carry out the marital duties, the woman will be fined twelve *paṇas*, the man double the amount.'

iv. Manu (3.7-11) lays down that one should not marry into a family which produces daughters only, whose members have profuse hairs on their bodies, suffer from piles, phthisis, indigestion, epilepsy, white leprosy, or leprosy. One should not marry a girl with brown hairs, with an extra limb (like six fingers), is always ill, has no hairs or too much hair on her body, speaks harshly, or has brown eyes etc. Commenting on Manu 3.7, Kulluka explains that according to physicians these diseases are transmitted from one generation to another, and that all contagious diseases are to be avoi-

ded. Though these prohibitions are not based on Vedic texts, these too are authoritative, because their results are perceptible. He then refers to Śabara's commentary on the PMS, which establishes the well-known canon that if there is a 'seen' (*dṛṣṭa*) or easily perceptible reason for a rule stated in a sacred text, it is only recommendatory, and that breaches of such rules do not nullify the principal act. But if there is an 'unseen' reason for a rule, and there is a breach of such a rule, the principal act is rendered invalid and nugatory thereby, for all such '*adṛṣṭa*' rules must be assumed to have been based on some Vedic text, which may or may not be available now. Hence if a man married a girl with six fingers or with some other physical defects, the marriage would be perfectly valid. But the rules regarding *sagotra*, *sapravara*, and *sapiṇḍa* marriage have no *dṛṣṭārtha* or perceptible purpose, hence a marriage between *sagotras*, *sapravaras*, and *sapiṇḍa* relations would be invalid. This rule governed all Hindu marriages, till an Act was passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly permitting *sagotra* marriage.

v. A younger brother should not marry if his elder brother is unmarried, nor a younger sister if her elder sister is unmarried. Such marriages were not invalid, but deprecated.

Inter-caste Marriage

The Dharmaśāstras permitted *anuloma* marriage, that is, between a male of higher caste and a woman of lower caste. *Pratiloma* marriage, that is, between a female of higher caste and a male of lower caste was forbidden. Thus a *brāhmaṇa* could marry even a *śūdra* woman, but Manu (3.19) lays down the impossible condition that the *brāhmaṇa* must not kiss his *śūdra* wife nor be contaminated by her breath. However, Manu (9.23) mentions the famous *śūdra* wives of two sages. *Brāhmaṇas* married *śūdra* women at least up to the 7th century, and Bāṇa unreservedly speaks of his two step-brothers born of his *śūdra* step-mother. The *śūdra* wife, however, could not take part in a religious ceremony, and her children received a smaller share of their father's property than their step-brothers born of higher-caste mothers. The practice of *anuloma* marriage seems to have ceased to operate after about the 10th century AD, though hypergamy or *anuloma* marriage is said to be still prevalent among Rajputs, Jats of north India, and Maithili *brāhmaṇas* of Bihar and some other groups. It is difficult to say anything about the validity of the *pratiloma* marriages which were no doubt considered reprehensible. Children of *pratiloma* marriages were counted among *śūdras*, except that a child born of a *brāhmaṇa* mother and a *śūdra* father was a *caṇḍāla*. In the *Jñanapancamīkathā* I, a *vaiśya* merchant, when approached for his son's marriage with the king's daughter, remarks that marriage relation between a *rājā* and a *vaṇik* would be an object of ridicule. To this objection the king replies that the differences between castes were due to differences in their avocations. In the beginning all the castes were one. Hence Dr. Sarma observes that 'of *pratiloma* marriages there might have been a few now and then though the society did not generally approve of them.'[1]

[1]D. Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, Bikaner, 1966, p. 454 fn.

Marriage Rites

There were no universal rites, and the *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-sūtra* (1.7.1-2) says: 'Various indeed are the observances of (different) countries and villages; one should follow those in marriage;.....' Similarly *Āpastamba-Gṛhya-sūtra* (2.15) declares: 'People should understand from women (and others) what procedure is (to be observed according to custom).' The Gṛhya-sūtras usually describe those rites which were common all over the country, but it is not possible to describe them here. Basically there were three types of rites: 1. preliminary rites; 2. essential rites; 3. concluding rites. The essential rites were *a. pāṇi-grahaṇa* (accepting the hand,' bride's hand is placed in the palm of the bridegroom); *b. homa*; *c.* going round the fire; and *d. sapta-padī* (bride and bridegroom walking seven steps together). Among the concluding rites was the seeing of the Pole star, which completed the wedding. The essential rites are described in all the Gṛhya-sūtras, though they differ regarding the sequence. As to the subordinate rites, there are great differences regarding the details.

Wedding ceremony was completed by the *sapta-padī*, after which the union became indissoluble, and as Manu (9.45) says, husband and wife become one for religious purposes. Even in the case of adultery, the wife was not to be forsaken. An adulterous woman was deprived of her rights, but she had to be maintained, though at a semi-starvation level, till she performed the requisite penance when her rights had to be restored. Yājñavalkya (1.76) provides that if a person renounces or abandons 'a wife, who carries out his orders, is skilful in work, who has given birth to heroic sons, (and) is sweet speeched, should be given one-third of [her husband's] property, and maintenance (if he is poor).' Narada (12.95) says that 'the king should inflict heavy punishment on a person who forsakes an obedient wife, whose speech is free from blemishes, who is skilful, chaste, and who has children.' The clause about 'sweet speech' is probably due to Manu (9.81), who has recommended the immediate abandonment of a wife who speaks harshly (*apriya-vādinī*). The husband and wife relation does not cease even if the wife is abandoned or sold (Manu, 9.46). It was also laid down that the wife should obey her husband implicitly, and look upon him as a god.

Polygamy

Monogamy seems to have been the ideal and generally observed, but polygamy was prevalent even in the Ṛgvedic age. RV. X. 145 (=AV, III. 18), is a charm for weaning the husband's affection from a co-wife. Other hymns in the RV and other Vedic literature indicate the prevalence of polygamy, and the jealousy between co-wives. Even the great sage Yājñavalkya had two wives (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 2.4.1. and 4.5.1-2).

Āpastamba (2.5.11.12-13) declares that, when a man has a wife, who is endowed with *dharma* and progeny, he should not marry again, but otherwise he may. Manu (9.80-82) recommends that a man may marry again if the first wife is addicted to drink, is of vile habits, acts against the interests of her husband, suffers from leprosy etc., is cruel and a spendthrift. He can

also take another wife, if the first wife does not give birth to a child for eight years after marriage, if she gives birth only to girls after eleven years, if her children are stillborn after ten years, and if she speaks harshly immediately. If the wife is an invalid, but is amiable and agreeable, the husband must take her permission before marrying again. Yājñavalkya 1.73 practically follows Manu, but adds (1.74) that, even if the wife has all the faults (i.e., drunkenness etc.), the husband must maintain her even if he takes another wife.[1]

Kauṭilya (3.2.38) is similar to Manu 9.81, except that the former does not provide for the abandonment of the *apriyavādiṇī* wife. Kauṭilya then adds (3.2.39-41) that if a man takes a second wife in violation of the above rule (i.e., if the wife has given birth to a son) he shall hand over to the first wife 'the dowry, the woman's property, and half [that] as compensation for supersession, and [pay] a fine of 24 *paṇas* maximum.' By making such payments, he might marry a number of wives. Kauṭilya then states (3.2.45) that the husband 'may not approach a [wife] who has sons, who is desirous of a pious life, who is barren, who bears dead offsprings, or whose menstruation has stopped, if she is unwilling.' A [wife,] according to Kauṭilya (3.2.48) may abandon a degenerate or impotent husband, or one who has gone to foreign land, has committed an offence against the king, or is a danger to her life.

Polyandry

The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (VI.6.4.3) and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (12.11) emphatically declare that though a man can have several wives, a woman cannot have more than one husband, and there is no reference to polyandry in the Vedic texts. However, Draupadī married five Pāṇḍava brothers, but this action was severely criticized. When Yudhiṣṭhira proposed that he and his brothers would marry Draupadī, king Drupada and Dhṛṣṭadyumna objected, saying that one man may have many wives, but plurality of husbands for one woman is unheard of, such a union being opposed to custom, usage, and Veda (Mbh. 1.187.26-27). In reply Yudhiṣṭhira cited the case of Jaṭilā Gautamī (Mbh. 1.188.14) who is mentioned also in (12.39.5) as a woman who had married seven sages.[2] The Mbh. (13.72.2) has mentioned *eka-ptayaś-ca yāḥ strīyaḥ* ('women who have one husband each') indicating that there could be women with more than one husband. This view is supported by two texts. Āpastamba (2.10.27.2-4) states: 'One shall not make over (his wife) to strangers (for a son by *niyoga*), but only to one who is a *sagotra*: for they declare that a bride is given to the family (of brothers and not to one brother alone); that (*niyoga*) is forbidden on account of the weakness of men's senses.' Bṛhaspati, while illustrating the proposition that a king should not disturb popular usages though improper, says: 'In some other countries there is the

[1]For details see *HDK*, II, i, pp. 571-72.

[2]The vulgate editions of the Mbh., 1.195.15 mentions another woman called Vārkṣī who was married to ten Pracetas brothers. This verse is not included in the Critical Edition.

most reprehensible practice of a brother taking (as wife) the wife of his deceased brother, and the practice of delivering a maiden to a family; similarly among the Pāraśikas (Persians) matches with a mother are seen.'[1]

Evidently there were polyandrous people in ancient India. At present, polyandry is practised by certain Scheduled Tribes like the Todas in the Nilgiris, the Khasas in the Jaunsar Bawar District of U.P., and among the people of Lahaul, Kinnaur, and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh. The Dharmaśāstra writers may have had their ancestors in mind.

Divorce and Remarriage

It has been stated above that Hindu marriage was indissoluble. On the whole this was the position so far as the legal rights of the wife were concerned.

Divorce is not mentioned in Vedic texts or the Dharmaśāstras. Manu 9.46 and 9.101 is positive that marriage is indissoluble. However, later Manu (9.176) expressly allows the *saṁskāra* of remarriage of a girl a. whose first marriage has not been consummated, b. who left her husband because he was too young, and c. went to live with another and later returned to the first husband. Medhātithi has not commented on this verse, but Kulluka explains that the wife may have left her husband because of his young age (*kaumāra*). The second alternative does not raise the question of marriage but it appears that in the first example, the nullification of the first marriage amounts to a divorce.

Kauṭilya (3.3.15-19) provides for divorce as follows: 'A disaffected wife is not to be granted divorce from the husband who is unwilling, nor the husband from the wife. By mutual disaffection (alone) a divorce (takes place). Or if the husband seeks divorce because of the wife's offence, he shall give to her whatever he may have taken. Or if the wife seeks divorce because of the husband's offence, he shall not give her whatever may have been received. There is no divorce in a sacramental marriage (*amokṣo dharma-vivāhānām*).' By '*dharma*' or 'sacramental' marriage Kauṭilya (3.2.10) meant the first four forms of marriage mentioned above. In the absence of a commentary, it becomes difficult to say as to why Kauṭilya made this distinction. One reason may have been that Kauṭilya's *dharma-vivāha* involved the rite of *kanyā-dāna*, or 'gift of the daughter,' in which the father terminated his rights on his daughter and transferred the right to the bridegroom; and this right was supposed to be irrevocable. The wife's right to maintenance was due to the fact that the husband had accepted her voluntarily, terminating her claims on her father.

Kauṭilya has provided for remarriage in case of desertion even when the marriage was sacramental. He states (3.4.31-35): 'After a sacramental marriage the maiden shall wait for her husband, who has gone away without informing her, for seven periods if no news is heard about him, one year if

[1]Medhātithi on Manu 8.41 while explaining local customs condemns the custom of marrying one's mother, but does not mention the country where this custom prevailed.

news is heard. If he has gone away after informing her, she shall wait for five periods when no news is heard, for ten if news is heard. If he had paid only a part of the dowry (*śulka*), she shall wait for three periods if there is no news, seven periods if there is news about him. If he had paid the dowry (in full), (she shall wait) for five periods if there is no news, ten if there is news. After that, she may remarry as she desires, with the permission of the judges.' The basis of these regulations was he says (3.4.36): '*Tīrth-oparodho hi dharma-vadha iti Kauṭilya*' (Kauṭilya says: "Obstruction of (or impediments to) period is indeed destruction of a religious duty)."

Manu concedes this position when he says (9.76): 'If a man has gone to a foreign land for performing some religious duty, the wife should wait for him for eight years, six years if he has gone for acquiring knowledge, or fame, or three years if he has gone on a love affair (or for another wife).' Manu does not say what the wife is to do if the husband did not return. Medhātithi explains that in such cases, the wife should earn her livelihood by adopting some crafts even if those are not recommended. Kulluka explains the same verse by quoting Vasiṣṭha (17.75-76) who recommends that after waiting for five years, the wife should go to her husband. This was of course almost impossible, and it seems that much against his inclination Manu was registering the custom which allowed a deserted wife to remarry after waiting for a certain period. This conclusion is supported by Nārada (12.98-101), who prescribes different periods of waiting for women of different *varṇas* and supports his views on the grounds advanced by Kauṭilya. The story of Nala and Damayantī who proclaimed her desire to remarry after she failed to find out Nala (Mbh. 3.68.21) show that such a custom was not unusual, for a suitor responded to her call for a second *svayamvara*.

A formal dissolution of marriage was not contemplated by any of our authorities, excepting Kauṭilya, who does not give any detail. However, a *Ḍhaukana-patra* (permission of divorce) is reproduced in the *Lekhapaddhati* from which it appears that, a divorce was first decreed by the court and thereafter sanctioned by an assembly of relatives. This particular divorce affected a Mehara (Mer) couple, and it is difficult to assume that the same custom prevailed among the higher castes.[1]

An interesting example is provided by the history of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa relates (4.11-40) that king Durlabhaka of Kashmir fell in love with a merchant's wife, and out of consideration for the king, the merchant induced him to accept her as the Queen. She was the mother of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the greatest king of Kashmir.[2] It is evident from Kalhaṇa's narration that such unions had no legal sanction, but the subsequent history shows that this particular union at least was as good as a valid marriage.

It has been stated above that the progress of ancient Hindu society was from a stage of promiscuity towards monogamy, particularly for women.

[1]For details of the *Ḍhaukana-patra* see A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 338-39.

[2]See above I, pp. 301-03.

The Dharmaśāstras recognized certain customs which persisted from an earlier age, and attempted to give such disagreeable customs a vestige of legal sanction. This is best illustrated by Nārada's classification of unchaste women who were not harlots. Nārada (12.45-52) says that there are seven grades of women who have been previously married (*para-pūrvā*). Of them *punarbhū* is of three kinds and *svairiṇī* is of four kinds. The three *punarbhūs* are: i. a maiden whose marriage was not consummated (cf. Manu 9.176); ii. a woman having discarded her young husband returns to him after having lived with another man (cf. Manu 9.176); iii. a widow, who is given by her dead husband's relatives to one of his *sapiṇḍas* or a person of the same caste, in case there is no brother-in-law (this is *niyoga* explained below). The *svairiṇī* (lit. 'wanton woman') are: i. a woman, childless or not, who deserts her husband and lives with another man; ii. a widow who rejects her deceased husband's brothers etc. and unites with the man she loves; iii. a woman coming from a foreign country, or purchased, or overcome by hunger and thirst gives herself to a man saying 'I am yours'; iv. a woman who is given to a stranger by the elders relying on the usages of the country, but she incurs the blame of wantonness (as the Smṛti rules were neither observed by them or her).[1]

These irregular unions were strictly prohibited at a later age, but there is no doubt that at one time such irregular unions took place with such frequency as to gain legal recognition. But since there was no provision for divorce, the *punarbhūs* and the *svairiṇīs* could not attain the status of *dharmapatnī* or 'legally married wife,' and a stigma attached to them.[2]

Remarriage of Widows

It has been held by several scholars on the basis of RV. X.18.8 and *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* (4.6.11-12) that widows were married in the Vedic age. MM. Kane, having thoroughly considered the implications of the two passages, concludes: '. . . . . They at the most might lead to the inference that the woman had either to marry the deceased husband's brother or go in for *niyoga* because the husband died sonless. The latter appears to me to be the more probable of the two hypotheses.'[3]

We have given above a rendering of AV V.17.8-9 and MM. Kane's views. In the same connection MM. Kane has also considered AV, IX. 5. 27-28, which also refers to the marriage of women, and remarks: 'But it must be admitted that remarriage of women, was not prohibited in the times of the Atharvaveda. In the *Taittiriya Saṁhitā* III. 2.4.4. "*daidhiṣavya*" (widow's son)

[1]According to Mbh. 1.114.65, a woman who has known more than three persons is a *svairiṇī*, and one who has lived with five is a *bandhakī*. Karṇa calls Draupadī 'a *bandhakī*', Mbh. 2.61.35. Yājñavalkya 1.67 gives a different definition of *svairiṇī*.

[2]The Smṛtis grant the right of maintenance even to concubines after her paramour's death, which was upheld by the High Courts and the Privy Council. See *HDK*, III, pp. 810-15.

[3]*HDK*, II, i, p. 619. See also *Vedic Index*, I, p. 477 under Pati, Patni.

occurs. The Gṛhya-sūtras are silent about remarriage; so probably by that time it had come to be prohibited generally, though sporadic instances may have occurred.'[1]

Nārada (12.97), Parāśara (4.30), and *Agni-purāṇa* (154-5-6) declare in identical language: 'Another husband is ordained for five calamities, namely, when the husband is lost (i.e., unheard of), dead, has become a *sannyāsin*, is impotent, or is a *patita* (fallen).' It has been shown above that remarriage of a woman whose husband is 'lost' is sanctioned by Kauṭilya, and Manu and also by other authorities. Remarriage in the case of an impotent husband is also contemplated by Manu and others, when they say that a woman whose marriage has not been consummated may marry again. However, it seems that Manu 5.162, 9.65, 9.47 and 8.226 taken together indicate that he was opposed to the remarriage of widows. He has not, however, stated his opinion explicitly, and as we have seen, is silent as to what a woman should do if her husband deserts her, Medhātithi on Manu 5.157 and 9.76 refers to Nārada 12.97, but explains the word *pati* in that verse to mean *pālaka* (guardian).

It is clear, therefore, that whatever may have been the earlier view, by Medhātithi's time (about 9th century AD), widow remarriage among the three upper castes was frowned upon, if it had not stopped altogether. The only historical example of widow remarriage is that of Dhruvādevī with Candragupta II.[2] Another example comes from the 13th century Gujarat. Āśarāja married a child widow at the instance of his preceptor. Their children were the famous ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the builder of the second temple at Abu. But they were Jainas. A Gujarat, chronicle; written between c. AD 1350-1450 relates that a rich merchant, called Jagadu, wanted to remarry his daughter, a young widow. For this he asked permission of his relatives which was given by all but two widows. They wanted Jagadu to arrange for their re-marriage also if he wanted to have his daughter remarried. Jagadu then gave up the idea. He also was a Jaina. These examples show that widow re-marriage had become very rare among the Hindus in general. Hemacandra, the great Jaina monk (AD 1088-1168) writes: 'What *dharma* is there of those women who marry again in case of five calamities.'[3] He was evidently condemning the views of Nārada and Parāśara.

Niyoga

Niyoga (lit. 'employment') means 'the procreation of a son by a wife or a widow through union with an appointed male (called *niyogin*).' This practice is probably referred to in RV X. 40.2, and was held by ancient Smṛtis as the authority for *niyoga*.[4]

We have seen above that, though Śvetaketu prohibited promiscuous mat-

[1]ibid, p. 615. See also *HCIP*, I, 1952, p. 408.
[2]For details see above I, pp. 240-41.
[3]For details see A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 337-38.
[4]*HDK*, V, ii, p. 1268 fn. 2066.

ing, he approved *niyoga*. The Dharma-sūtras and the Smṛtis, including Manu and Yājñavalkya, lay down rules for *niyoga* which was permitted under the following conditions:

i. The husband, whether alive or dead must have no son; ii. The elders (*gurus*) in a family council should decide to permit the widow to raise a son; iii. The *niyogin* (also called *bījin*, 'one who sows the seed') must be either the husband's brother, or a *sapiṇḍa*, or a *sagotra*, and, according to Gautama, or a *sapravara* or of the same caste; iv. the person must not talk with, nor kiss, nor engage in sportive dalliance with the woman; v. their relationship was to continue till one son (or two sons according to some authorities) was born; vi. their relation would terminate after the birth of the son and they would regard each other as father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Breach of these rules by the brother-in-law would amount to incest, and any other *niyogin* indulging in breach of these rules would be severely punished by the king.

Though Manu 9.59-61 describes *niyoga*, he later (9.64-70) condemns the practice, and explains that ancient texts regarding *niyoga* refer to the cases where, after a maiden is betrothed, the selected bridegroom dies. In such a case, the brother of the deceased is to marry the girl and cohabit with her till the birth of a son, who would be the son of the deceased. However, Manu (9.120-121, 145) makes provisions for *kṣetraja* sons, that is, those born of *niyoga*.

Niyoga is mentioned several times in the Mbh. Dhṛtarāṣṭra Pāṇḍu, and Vidura, as well as the five Pāṇḍava brothers were born of *niyoga*. But no reference to *niyoga* is found in historical times, when it was prohibited.

ANTYEṢṬI

Antyeşţi means 'the last rite' or the 'funeral oblations,' sacrifices, and rites. The *Baudhāyana-pitṛ-medha-sūtra* (3.1.4) states that there are two *saṁskāras* of every human being, and they are like a debt (i.e., they must be performed just as a debt must be discharged), namely, the *saṁskāra* at birth, and the one on death (*mṛta-saṁskāra*).[1] Manu 2.16 and Yājñavalkya 1.10 include *antyeşţi* as one of the sixteen *saṁskāras* of a twice-born person to be performed with Vedic *mantras*.

The details of the funeral rite varied according as the deceased was a male, female or a child. Different rites were also prescribed for *gṛhastha* and *sannyāsin*, for those who died in a distant land, died in an accident, or by committing suicide. Among *gṛhasthas* different rites were prescribed for the *āhitāgni* (one who had consecrated the *śrauta* fire), one who had kindled only the *smārta* fire, and one who had done neither. The Śrauta-sūtras and the Gṛhya-sūtras differ among them on matters of detail when dealing with the same topic, and later the procedure became quite elaborate and complicated.

[1]ibid, IV, p. 190.

Five hyms of the RV. (X.14 to 18), intended to be recited at the time of cremation, give an idea of the earliest funeral rites. RV. X.14 begins by invoking Yama, the king of death, and wishes the departed one to 'be united in the highest heaven with the *pitṛs*, with Yama, and with his *iṣṭā-pūrta*; leaving here blameable acts.' The departed is asked to 'come back to his home' with a bright new lustrous body (X.14.8).

After the cremation is complete, RV. X. 18.7 says: 'Let those women whose husbands are worthy and are living enter the house with *ghī* (applied) as collyrium (to their eyes). Let these wives first step into the house, tearless, without any affliction, and well adorned.' This verse was employed in the procedure for *satī* or 'widow burning' by medieval writers, who substituted the word '*agneḥ*' for '*agre*.'[1] The next verse (X.18.8), however, says 'O wife (of the dead)! Raise yourself up towards the world of living. You lie down near one (your husband) who is now lifeless; come! You have kept true to this your wifehood of the husband who held your hand (formerly in marriage) and who loved you passionately.' This verse possibly contain an invitation to the widow to either marry her late husband's brother, or go in for *niyoga* if he had died sonless.

The Dharmaśāstras give different directions for cremation rites. In modern times the procedure given in the *Āśvalāyanagṛhya-sūtra* is generally followed. There were also rules for carrying the body, and for the purification of those who did so, which are more or less followed even now. After cremation, water mixed with sesame had to be offered to the deceased. This offering was very important, and it was on this occasion that Kunti divulged the secret of. Karṇa's birth to her sons to induce them to offer water to the dead Karṇa (Mbh. 11. 27. 7-22; 12.1.22). According to Yājñavalkya (3.16), a *piṇḍa* (ball of rice) was to be offered for three days after death, but some authorities differ from him on details.

Several texts lay down that after a person's death, the sacred fire set up by him is to be carried to the cremation ground together with his dead body. Only a married householder was permitted to set up a sacred fire. Now, the Mbh. (13.153.11) states that when Yudhiṣṭhira set out for Kurukṣetra to be present at Bhīṣma's *nirāyaṇa* he took with him Bhīṣma's sacred fires, which indicates that Bhīṣma was married, as indeed Nīlakaṇṭha says in his commentary.

The practice of burial was known in the early days as shown by AV, V. 30.14, and XVIII. 2.34. Later, cremation became the rule, but children, under two years according to Manu (5.68-69) were to be buried, for which

[1]'This is perhaps the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood. Here have thousands and thousands of lives been sacrificed, and a fanatical rebellion threatened on the authority of a passage which was mangled, mistranslated, and misapplied.' Max Müller, *Selected Essays*, 1881, I, p. 335 quoted by R.C. Dutta, Bengali translation of the RV, 1886. However, as MM Kane has shown, 'even without this change Aparārka (p. 111) and others rely for the practice of *satī* on this verse'; *HDK*, IV, p. 199 fn. See *HDK*, II, i, p. 619 quoted above where MM. Kane discusses the implication of this verse. See also *HDK*, IV, p. 207.

detailed rules are given in the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya 3.2. A *sannyāsin* was also to be buried, because he had kindled neither the *śrauta* nor the *smārta* fire (with which the funeral pyre would be kindled for an adult male) and since he was prohibited from cooking food, had not even kindled ordinary fire.

The last rite is *asthi-sañcayana*, which means collection of charred bones of the cremated body, and immersing them preferably in the Ganges. The Mbh. (13.7.32) says, that a man dwells in heaven for as many thousand years as the number of particles of bones immersed in the river Ganges.

ŚRĀDDHA

Aśauca

Śrāddha is not a *saṁskāra*. Several rites are included in *śrāddha*, but the term now means principally the offering of *piṇḍa* or ball of rice to the departed soul about ten days after death. The intervening days are known as *aśauca* or 'days of impurity.' The period of *aśauca* depends on the *varṇa* of the deceased. For *brāhmaṇas* the period of *aśauca* is ten days, for *kṣatriyas* twelve days, for *vaiśyas* fifteen days, and for the *śūdras* one month. However, Yājñavalkya (3.22) permits the 'good *śūdras*' to observe *aśauca* for fifteen days only. However, Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya 3.22, after quoting the views of Parāśara, Śātātapa, Vasiṣṭha, and Aṅgiras on the periods for which *aśauca* had to be observed by persons belonging to the four *varṇas*, forbears from reconciling their views, and remarks that usages in his days were different from the dicta of those sages. Apparently, even in Vijñāneśvara's days, the period of *aśauca* depended on local customs. It is, however, usual for *brāhmaṇas* all over India to observe ten days *aśauca* on the death of a *sapiṇḍa* relation.

Definition

The word *śrāddha* is derived from *śraddhā* or 'faith': whatever is offered with faith and devotion is *śrāddha*. The *Brahma-purāṇa* defines *śrāddha* as 'whatever is given with faith to *brāhmaṇas* intending it to be for the (benefit of) *pitṛs* at proper time, and in a proper place, to deserving persons and in accordance with the prescribed procedure is called *śrāddha*.' The *Mitākṣarā* in its introduction to Yājñavalkya 1.217 defines *śrāddha* as 'abandonment with faith of an article of food or some substitute thereof, intending it for (the benefit of) the departed.'

Conceptual Basis

The performance of *śrāddha* mainly consists in the act of offering balls of rice called *piṇḍa* to the three deceased paternal ancestors for their gratification. According to some Purāṇas and mediaeval digests,[1] after death the

[1]For references see *HDK*, IV, p. 265 fn.

soul sheds two of the five elements constituting the gross body, namely, *pṛthvī* (earth or solidity) and *ap* (water or liquidity), but retains the other three, namely, *tejas* (fire or heat), *marut* (air) and *ākāśa* (space). A new body, called the *ātivāhika*, is created out of these three elements by human beings only, and not by animals. After cremation, the soul secures another body called *bhoga-deha*, which enjoys the *piṇḍas* offered. After the end of a year, when the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa* is performed, the soul secures a third body with which it reaches heaven or hell according to its actions. Unless proper *śrāddhas* were performed after death, the departed soul remained for all time in the condition of a *piśāca*, from which he would not be freed even if numerous other *śrāddhas* were later offered to him.

MM. Kane has traced the conception of the transformation of the gross body to a subtle body after death to RV, X 15.14 and X. 16.4-5, and is of the opinion that, 'it need not be necessarily supposed that feeding the *brāhmaṇas* at *śrāddha* was a later idea and offering food to the dead was the original idea.'[1]

The doctrine of *śrāddha*, as MM. Kane points out, conflicts with the doctrines of *karma*, *punarjanma*, and *karmavipāka*, which have to be suffered or enjoyed in the next life. 'According to the doctrine of *punarjanma* (as very clearly and succinctly put in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4.4 and *Bhagavad-gītā* 2.22) the spirit leaving one body enters into another and a new one. But the doctrine of offering balls of rice to three ancestors requires that the spirits of the three ancestors even after the lapse of 50 or 100 years are still capable of enjoying in an ethereal body the flavour or essence of the rice balls wafted by the wind. Further, Yājñavalkya 1.269 (which is the same as *Mārkaṇḍeya* 29.38, *Matsya-purāṇa* 19.11-12, *Agnipurāṇa* 163.41-42) provides that the grandfathers (i.e., the *pitṛs*) being themselves gratified (by the offerings of food in the *śrāddha*) bestow on men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa* (final beatitude), all happiness and kingdom .....[2]

A lengthy answer to this problem is given in the *Śrāddha-kalpalatā* quoted by MM. Kane, which need not be reproduced here. We shall only point out that in his objections, quoted above, MM. Kane assumes that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Gītā* presumes that the rebirth will be immediately after death. However, Śaṅkara, in his introductory remarks on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 4.4.3, states that, 'after death (the *jīva*) may leave one body and adopt another just as a bird flies from one tree to another. Or with (the help of) the *ātivāhika* body (the *jīva*) is taken to the region of the origination of the results of action (i.e. heaven etc.) (*athavā, ātivāhikena śarīr-āntarena karma-phala-janma-deśam nīyate*).' On *Gītā* 2.22 Rāmānuja writes that 'by dying in a righteous war a man will give up this body and obtain a more blissful one as the scriptures say' (*tyakta-śarīrād-adhikatara-kalyāṇaśarīra-grahaṇam śāstrād avagamyate*). Moreover, *Gītā* 11.22 refers to *uṣmapāh*, which is explained by all the comme-

[1] ibid, pp. 266 and 342.
[2] ibid, p. 335. See also *Gītā*, 8. 5, 6, and 13.

ntators as *pitaraḥ*, and it is further explained that they are called *usma-pā* because they enjoy 'hot food,' as stated in the YV 1.3.10.61.3.

Antiquity of Śrāddha

Though Śraddhā has been deified in the RV (X. 151.5), and seems to have been invoked in the morning, noon, and evening, 'it is however, very remarkable,' as MM. Kane observes, 'that the word "*śrāddha*" itself does not occur in any undoubtedly authentic and ancient Vedic passage, though the rite called Piṇḍapitṛyajña (performed on the *amāvāsyā* of each month by an *āhitāgni*), the Mahāpitṛyajña (performed in the Cāturmāsya called Sākamedha), and the rites called Aṣṭakās were known to the early Vedic literature.'[1] The word *śrāddha* occurs in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (1.3.17) "Whoever proclaims this highly esoteric doctrine in an assembly of *brāhmaṇas* or at the time of *śrāddha* tends to secure immortality.'[2] Śaṅkara has here explained *śrāddha* as 'enjoying' or 'eating' (*bhuñjānānām tat śrāddham*).

From the RV (X.14.9; X.15.3; X.16.4), it appears that the departed soul went to the world of the *pitṛs* and Agni was implored to take the soul to the world of the departed whose deeds were good. The word *pitṛ* means father, but in the plural form *pitaraḥ* it is used in two senses : a. the early or ancient ancestors of the human race that were supposed to inhabit a separate world (*loka*) by themselves; and b. a man's three immediate deceased ancestors. In the RV, *pitaraḥ* is usually employed in the first sense

Form *c.* BC 600, when the Dharmasūtras were written, *śrāddha* has been eulogized in all Dharmaśāstras. Āpastamba (2.7.16.1-3) says: 'Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. The gods went to heaven owing to sacrifices (i.e., as a reward of sacrifices that they had performed), but men remained behind. Those among men, who perform sacrifices in the same way as the gods did, dwell in the other world (i.e., heaven) with the gods and Brahman. Then (seeing that the men lagged behind) Manu promulgated the rite which is designated by the word "*śrāddha*," and which tends to the salvation (or happiness) of mankind. In this rite the Manes (*pitaraḥ*) are the dieties, but the *brāhmaṇas* (that are fed) are in the place of the *āhavanīya* fire (in which in sacrifices to gods oblations to gods are offered).' Hence, it has been held that feeding the *brāhmaṇas* is the principal act in a *śrāddha*, which as we have seen, is to some extent supported by the RV and Śaṅkara.

The Mbh. (12.333.19) states that the institution of *śrāddha* was established by Viṣṇu in His Boar incarnation, and that Viṣṇu should be regarded as dwelling in the three *piṇḍas* offered to the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. This verse is also found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (1.139.14-16), which later (1.139.20-22) states that the *piṇḍa* offered to the great-grandfather is declared to be Vāsudeva, the one to the grandfather is called Śaṅkarṣaṇa, that to the father is known as Pradyumna, and the person who offers the *piṇḍa*

[1]ibid, pp. 349-50.
[2]ibid, p. 350.

occupies the position of Aniruddha. This passage clearly shows Pañcarātra influence.

The earliest form of *śrāddha* seems to have been the Aṣṭakā, which was the first among the seven *pāka-yajñas* and one of the forty *saṁskāras*. This rite was performed on the eighth day after the full moon every month. Elaborate Aṣṭakā rites are described in some Gṛhya-sūtras, which involved the offering of flesh. In an ancillary rite, called the Anvaṣṭakya, female ancestors were invoked with offerings of *surā* (liquor), scum of boiled rice, collyrium etc. Gradually the performance of Aṣṭakā *śrāddhas* fell into oblivion. It is possible that offering of flesh and wine were the principal factors for its disuse. For, though meat and fish were offered in ordinary *śrāddhas*, their use was completely stopped all over India.

Number and Classification of Śrāddha

A vast lierature deals with *śrāddhas* in great detail, and various opinions are expressed as regards the number of *śrāddhas* and their nomenclature. According to one classification, there are three types of *śrāddhas*, namely, *nitta*, *naimittika*, and *kāmya*. *Nitya śrāddhas* were performed regularly every day or on specified days like *amāvasyā*, *aṣṭakā* etc. *Naimittika śrāddhas* were performed as and when an occasion arose like marriage etc., while the *kāmya śrāddha* was performed in anticipation of the fulfilment of some desire.

Another classification was *ekoddiṣṭa* and *pārvaṇa*. *Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha* is offered to only one deceased person, while in *pārvaṇa śrāddha* the three paternal ancestors are invoked on the *amāvasyā* of a month or in the dark half of Bhādrapada, or on a *saṅkrānti* (the sun's apparent move from one sign of the zodiac to another). Vijñāneśvara in his introduction to Yājñavalkya 1.217, mentions five classes of *śrāddhas*, *ahar-ahaḥ* (daily), *pārvaṇa*, *vṛddhi ekoddiṣṭa*, and *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*. The daily *śrāddha* is described by Manu (3.82) as one that is performed daily with cooked food, (cooked rice, barley etc.) or with water, or with milk, roots, and fruits. *Vṛddhi-śrāddha*, also known as the *nāndīsraddha*, is of the nature of a *naimittika śrāddha*, and is performed on the birth of a son, marriage, or similar auspicious occasions.[1] Another well-known *śrāddha* is the Mahālayā, described in several Purāṇas, which is performed during the fifth fortnight from the full moon day of Āṣāḍha, which happens to be the dark half of Bhādrapada (middle of August to September).

Numerous texts lay down that there are sixteen *śrāddhas*, but there are great divergence of opinion regarding the occasions on which they are to be performed. Some late texts speak of as many as ninety-six *śrāddhas*.

In course of time four *śrāddhas* became important and are performed today. They are, *pārvaṇa*, *ekoddiṣṭā*, *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* and the *prati-sāmvatsarika*.

[1]Yājñavalkya (1.250) says that the Nāndīmukha *pitṛs* should be worshipped with *piṇḍas* when there is a *vṛddhi* (a lucky or auspicious event). The *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya 1.250 quotes Śātātapa who states that this *śrāddha* is made of *mātṛ-śrāddha*, *pitṛ-śrāddha*, and *mātāmaha-śrāddha*.

While introducing Yājñavalkya's section on *śrāddha* (1.217-270), Vijñāneśvara first divides the *śrāddhas* into two categories, namely *pārvaṇa* and *ekoddiṣṭa*. He explains that those *śrāddhas* which are performed for the benefit of three generations of (paternal) ancestors are *pārvaṇa*, while the *ekoddiṣṭa* is performed for the benefit of one generation only. He then mentions the other divisions of *śrāddha* which have been stated above. The definition of *ekoddiṣṭa* is repeated on Yājñavalkya 1.251, while on 1.252 the *Mitākṣarā* quotes Devala who states that 'gods should be worshipped in the morning, *pitṛs* in the afternoon, *ekoddiṣṭa* performed at noon, and *vṛddhi* during the morning.'

Pārvaṇa means 'performed on *parvan* days,' which, according to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (3.11.116) fall on full moon, new moon, 14th day of each fortnight, eighth day of each fortnight, and the last day of the month. According to the *Śrāddhatattva*, quoted by MM. Kane, the *pārvaṇa śrāddha* is the model of all the *śrāddhas*, and the *ekoddiṣṭa* is a modification of the *pārvaṇa śrāddha*. *Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas* are of three kinds, namely, *nava*, *nava-miśra* and *purāṇa*. *Nava-śrāddhas* are performed till the 10th or the 11th day after death, while the *nava-miśras* (or *miśras*) from the 11th day till one year or six months after death. The *purāṇa śrāddha* is performed a year after death.

Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa or *sapīṇḍana* is the *śrāddha* performed on 12th day or one year after death, as a result of which the departed soul ceases to be a *preta* and joins the ranks of the *pitṛs*. Therefore, this is the most important *śrāddha*. It combines the characteristics of both *ekoddiṣṭa* and the *pārvaṇa*. According to Yājñavalkya 1.254, *ekoddiṣṭa* and *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* can be performed even by women.

According to Yājñavalkya 1.256, the *ādya-śrāddha* is to be performed on the 11th day after death, and the *Mitākṣarā* explains that *ekoddiṣṭa* is the model for the *ādya-śrāddha*. It should be added, that 11th day here means 'after the ten days of *aśauca*,' which is the mourning period for the *brāhmaṇas* only. The other castes should perform the *ādya-śrāddha* not on the 11th day, but on the day after the termination of their *aśauca* period.

A document in the *Lekhapaddhati* dated VS 1288 (AD 1231), called the *Vibhanga-patra-vidhi* (deed of partition), provides that after the mother's death, the son who received her share, should perform the following *aurddhvadehika-kriyās*: on the 11th (and) 12th days etc. for one year, illumination (*dīpadāna*), and monthly, six monthly, yearly (and) according to his family custom ninth day, fortnightly, monthly, and tri-fortnightly.[1] This document seems to give an idea of the generally approved practice, but few people could have performed so many *śrāddhas*. Manu (3.122) first prescribes that an elaborate *śrāddha* be performed on the *amāvasyā* of each month, but possibly realizing this to be an impossibility recommends (3.281) that an elaborate *śrāddha*

[1] *Lekhapaddhati*, ed. by C.D. Dalal and G.K. Shrigondekar, *GOS*, Baroda, 1925, pp. 47-9. For a summary of the rest of this document, see A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 335.

should be performed on three *amāvasyās* a year, besides the daily *śrāddha* (3.82-83). Devala more sensibly recommends that an elaborate *śrāddha* be performed only once a year, and this is the current practice. A *śrāddha* performed at Gaya is considered to be so meritorious, that afterwards further annual *śrāddhas* are rendered optional. The two other *śrāddhas* which are performed today are the *vṛddhi* and the Mahālayā *śrāddhas*.

Rituals

According to Gautama (15.1-2), *śrāddha* means a sacrifice performed for the *pitṛs* on *amāvasyās*, and this monthly *śrāddha* was the model (*prakṛti*) of which the Aṣṭakās and the others were the derivatives with suitable modifications. Yājñavalkya 1.269 states that the *pitṛs*, namely, the Vasus, the Rudras, and the Ādityas are the deities of *śrāddha*; being gratified by *śrāddhas*, they give gratification to the ancestors of men. Manu (3.284) says that the Vasus are said to be the father, Rudras the paternal grandfather, and the Ādityas the paternal great-grandfather. Thus the three generation of ancestors and the *pitṛs* were identified. Later texts, however, say that the real deities in a *śrāddha* are the three ancestors, and their identification with the Vasus, Rudras, and the Ādityas are only meant for contemplation.

The main rituals in a *śrāddha* are the performance of a *homa*, the offering of a *piṇḍa* (ball of cooked food usually rice), and feeding the *brāhmaṇas*.

Homa is sacrifice into fire performed in order to remove the impurities of the performer. Sacrifices may be performed by offerings (usually of food) to fire, and the remnant distributed to others. Yājñavalkya I.236-237 says: 'Having taken up food soaked in clarified butter, for offering oblation to fire, he (the performer) asks (the *brāhmaṇas*), "Shall I offer oblations to fire?" (and when the *brāhmaṇas* say) "Do", he offers oblations to fire, as laid down in the case of a *pitṛ-yajña*; (he should) being self-controlled, place the residue of oblation in vessels, available at the time, but preferably in those made of silver.'

After the *homa* was over, the performer, according to Yājñavalkya (1-242) 'mixes boiled rice with sesamum seeds, and with his face directed towards the south offers *piṇḍa* . . . . . like a *pitṛ-yajña*.' The *piṇḍas* were to be placed either on *darbha* grass or on an altar. The size of the *piṇḍas* has been a matter of discussion, from which it appears that a *piṇḍa* should neither be too large nor too small.

According to Manu 3.261 and Yājñavalkya 1.242, the *piṇḍa* should be offered after the *brāhmaṇas* have been fed. But there was wide difference of opinion on this point. The theory behind the feeding of the *brāhmaṇas* was expressed by Manu (3.189) and some Purāṇas like the *Padma* and the *Garuḍa*, that the *pitṛs* enter into and hover round the invited *brāhmaṇas*, and that the latter are to be regarded as the representatives of the *pitṛs*. The *Skanda-purāṇa* lays down that while inviting a *brāhmaṇa* to a *śrāddha* feast, the performer should address him as follows: 'My father (is or will enter) into this your body and so will my grandfather; let him (the grandfather) come with his father . . . . . '[1]

[1]For details and references see *HDK*, IV, pp. 401, 407.

Thus the feeding of the *brāhmaṇas* was a principal component of a *śrāddha*. Elaborate rules are given in the Dharmaśāstras as to which *brāhmaṇas* are to be invited and who are to be excluded. The *brāhmaṇas* to be invited should be of high moral integrity and intellectual attainments. The list of excluded *brāhmaṇas* is rather interesting. Manu's list (3.150-166) is probably the longest and covers 93 categories of persons not to be invited to a *śrāddha*. These include 'a squint eyed or one eyed man,' and professional astrologers. Some ancient texts preclude the bald man, and man with deformed nails or black teeth.[1]

The *brāhmaṇas* were not only to be fed, they had also to be given fees (*dakṣiṇā*) on as lavish a scale as possible. '*Śrāddha* without (*dakṣiṇā*) is like rain on an arid place, or like dancing in the dark, or like singing before a deaf person.....'[2] Description of lavish gifts distributed to *brāhmaṇas* at *śrāddhas* are found in the epics, and taking into consideration the Dharmaśāstras which prescribe gifts, it appears that the *śrāddhas* were quite profitable ceremonies for the *brāhmaṇas*, and that this complicated institution was developed mainly for their benefit.

Which was the more important component of *śrāddha—piṇḍa-dāna* or feeding the *brāhmaṇas*? There are two views. One view, held by Govindarāja on Manu 3.129, is that feeding the *brāhmaṇa* is the principal item of a *śrāddha*. Others hold that *piṇḍa-dāna* is the principal item. There is also a third view, which holds that both feeding the *brāhmaṇas* and *piṇḍa-dāna* are principal features of *śrāddha*. Another important and related question was: 'Who was the real recipient of the offerings made in the *śrāddhas*, the *brāhmaṇas* or the *pitṛs*?' Some authorities hold that the *brāhmaṇas* were the real recipients. There are, however, authorities who hold that the real recipients intended were the *pitṛs*, but as they had gone to another world, and could not be bodily present to receive the gifts, those were handed over or assigned to *brāhmaṇas*, who were for the moment contemplated as not different from the *pitṛs*. The *dakṣiṇā*, however, was only meant for the *brāhmaṇas*, for any gift to a *brāhmaṇa* brought inexhaustible merit to the donor in return.[3]

Legal Implication

The paying of reverential homage to the departed soul is a universal custom at all levels of culture. The Hindus gradually transformed it into a complicated ceremony with a vast literature which went into very minute details. One of the reasons was that, from quite ancient days, the performance of *śrāddha* was linked with inheritance.

It is clear from Manu (9.106, 137, 139 and 187) that he contemplated the son, grandson, the great-grandson, or a *sapiṇḍa* to inherit a deceased's property, because by performing the *śrāddha* they confer great spiritual benefit

[1]For qualifications of the *brāhmaṇas* to be invited, see ibid, pp. 383-91, and 'for persons to be shunned' pp. 391-401.

[2]ibid, p. 534.

[3]ibid, pp. 481 and 460.

to the departed soul. This point is made very clear in the *Dāyābhāga* which states (11.6.13)': 'There are two purposes for which wealth is acquired, namely, for worldly enjoyment and for the unseen or spiritual benefit derived from making gifts and the like; but when the acquirer is dead, he cannot have enjoyment of the wealth, and the only purpose that remains is the unseen purpose or benefit. It is, therefore, that Bṛhaspati says, "from the wealth inherited, the inheritor should carefully set apart half for the benefit of the deceased for defraying the expenses of the monthly, six monthly, and annual *śrāddhas*."[1] We have seen above, that this principle was followed in the *Vibhaṅga-patravidhi*.

A discussion of the Hindu law of inheritance cannot be undertaken here, but its basic principles were the following:

1. One who offers *piṇḍa* is a legitimate heir, because unseen benefits are conferred on the deceased by the performance of his *śrāddha*.

2. Those who can perform the *pārvaṇa śrāddha* (which is for three generations) have a better claim than those who can perform only the *ekoddiṣṭa*. As women could perform only the *ekoddiṣṭa*, the sons had a superior claim to the father's property than the daughters.

3. Where the number of *piṇḍas* offered by two claimants is the same, he who offers a *piṇḍa* to the nearer ancestor is to be preferred.

APPENDIX

A Note on Parsi Sacred Thread Ceremony

I give below the extracts from a letter of my friend Sri H.N. Dastur of the Bharatiya Vidya-Bhavan, Bombay, who kindly supplied me with the details of the Navjot ceremony. The reference in para 4 is to *mirzā'ī* which I had mentioned in my letter to Sri Dastur.

1. . . .The Navjot ceremony is akin to the "sacred thread" ceremony of the Hindus. A Parsi Zarathushtrian child is initiated into the religion with this ceremony. (Generally boys at the age of eight or nine and girls at the age of seven).

Joti means one who joins himself spiritually with another. *Nav* means new. *Navjot*, therefore is a *yajña* (Avesta word is *Yasna*) by which a child is made attuned to the spirit of Zarathushtra and the power house of the Zarathushtrian religion.

The idea is that after the Navjot ceremony, the spiritual current from the power house starts flowing towards the child. It is there from the moment it enters into its mother's womb, but after the Navjot ceremony it starts flowing in a big way.

2. In the religious ceremony of Navjot, the priest and the child chant certain specific prayers together in front of the sacred fire and the priest puts on a specially designed garment made only of cotton on the body of the child. It is called *sudreh*.

Then a specially made girdle of wool is entwined round the waist over the *sudreh*. This sacred girdle is called the *kuśti*.

From the day the Navjot is performed, a Parsi Zarathushtrian is enjoined to continue to wear both *sudreh* and *kuśti* till he dies (except of course when he takes bath etc.).

There is a certain prayer in three parts which is to be chanted before, during, and after the *kuśti* is untied and tied again. This is to be done by a Zarathushtrian first thing

[1]Translated by MM. Kane, *HDK*, III, p. 736.

in the morning and last thing in the night. In between, whenever he goes to lavatory, after washing hands and face he should do it, otherwise he is forbidden from eating or drinking.

3. There is absolutely no difference between the Navjot ceremony of boys and girls.

4. The garment which you have described is called *dagli*. In bigger religious ceremonies, the priests wear very long (touching the ground) flowing *dagli*, which is called *jāma*. *Dagli* can be and is worn by all Parsi males on ceremonial occasions irrespective of whether they are priests or not. *Jāma* can be put on only by the priests.

CHAPTER III

WOMEN

Introduction

The first two chapters have given a brief account of the social life of the upper caste males. Into this pattern of life, as envisaged by the Dharmaśāstra writers, women intruded as mothers, wives, or daughters. Indeed, the ideal society, as conceived by the Dharmaśāstra writers, was for the spiritual benefit of the *dvija* males, particularly the *brāhmaṇas*. In reality, however, women played distinct roles in ancient Indian society quite effectively though not as obstreperously as their modern descendants.

In three celebrated verses to be discussed to later, Manu (5.147-148; and 9.3) has divided women into three categories, namely, maiden, married women, and old women, that is widows. This classification has been followed by other writers also, and we shall therefore study the conditions of women in these three stages.

Maiden

We have seen that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (6.4.17) contains a prayer for the birth of a *paṇḍitā* or learned daughter. In those early days, girls were divided into two groups, namely *Sadyo-badhu* (those who were to be married presently,) and *brahma-vādinī* (those who would continue their studies for their spiritual benefit). Gradually the number of *brahma-vādinīs* decreased, till they disappeared, and Manu (5.148 and 9.3) decreed that a woman must be under a guardian, either her father, or her husband, or her son, and that they must never lead an independent life. Manu is supported by Mbh. 13.21.12, while Mbh. 13.21.19 is practically a repetition of Manu 9.3.

Vātsyāyana in his KS (1.3.14) says that a girl should learn 'alone in private' the sixty-four arts which are enumerated in 1.3.16. Her teachers, recommended by Vātsyāyana, were the daughter of her nurse, a trusty female friend, her mother's sister, an old maidservant, and a female mendicant who formerly lived with the family. This scheme, as much else in the KS, appears to be an ideal, and it may be doubted whether it was ever carried fully out in practice.

It is usually held that Vātsyāyana flourished in *c.* 3rd century AD,[1] long after Manu had been written. All the indications are that at this age girls were

[1]S.K.De, *Ancient Indian Erotics and Erotic Literature*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 91.

married at a very young age, so that it would have been impossible for them to have picked up any of the arts and crafts recommended by Vātsyāyana. Most probably these were learnt by the upper class prostitutes, as Vātsyāyana adds later (1.3.20), that a prostitute who know these sixty-four arts is called a *gaṇikā*. He also recommends this course of study for the princesses and the daughters of high officials (1.3.22), and adds (1.3.23) that a woman in foreign land, distressed by separation from her husband, could support herself only by these arts. This advice is undoubtedly a wise one, but still one may wonder whether it was at all possible for any one person, male or female—for Vātsyāyana (1.3.24) also recommends the sixty-four arts to men—to gain proficiency in all of them.

More important for our present purpose is the general injunction imposed by Vātsyāyana (1.3.4), that 'women are not allowed to read any *śāstra*.' This prohibition is explained by the commentator as being due to their inability to understand *śāstra*, which must be ascribed to their ignorance of Sanskrit.[1]

There were exceptions, but that is true mostly of princesses. An inscription from Sudi of AD 1084 records the many-sided qualities of Laksmīdevī, the queen of the Western Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. She is said to be skilled in all the fine arts. Another queen of Vikramāditya VI, named Ketaladevī, was noted for her learning and her musical attainments. The Hoysala queens were even more gifted. The Hoysala Ballāla I married three sisters, Padmādevī, Chavalādevī, and Boppadevī, all of whom were highly accomplished singers and dancers. Hoysala Viṣnuvardhana's queen Santaladevī was equally gifted. The case of Savaladevī, the queen of Kalacuri Sovideva or Someśvara is unique. She was not only an accomplished musician and dancer, but displayed her accomplishment before a gathering of connoisseurs gathered from many countries and greatly pleased them. One may, however, doubt the ancestry of Savaladevī, for the same inscription records that her brother was an expert player of *brahma-vīṇā*.[2] It is, however, quite a different thing from Vātsyāyana's inflated curriculum to gain proficiency in music and dancing, specially for those who have an aptitude for these arts. Moreover, these ladies were from royal families, hence their examples should not be taken as an indication that ordinary housewives too were equally gifted. Mālavikā was trained in dancing by an expert in a royal seraglio, but Cārudatta's wife is portrayed as a simple woman in contrast with Vasantasenā, the glamorous courtesan.

Married Women

It is stated in the Mbh. (1.58.17), that in an ideal age immature girls (*aprāpta-yauvanāḥ*) did not bear children. In Sanskrit, a *yuvatī* usually means a girl above the age of sixteen. From this it appears that at a very early age girls were not married before attaining maturity. The Dharmaśāstras like

[1]The commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, known as the *Jayamaṅgalā*, was written by Yaśodhara in the 13th century.

[2]See above I, pp. 464 and 504 and *EHDY*, I, p. 422.

Gautama (18.20-25) insisted on marrying the girls at an early age and if possible before puberty (*prāg-ṛtoḥ*). Thus Kunti was overcome with shame when she attained puberty in her father's house before marriage (*vṛīḍitās'-ābhavad bālā kanyā-bhāve rajasvalā*, (3.290.3). The Mbh. (1.68.11) deprecates a girl staying in her father's house for a long period, and later (13.25.9) adds that a person incurs the sin of the murder of a *brāhmaṇa* if he does not give in marriage his grown-up daughter.[1] Marriage was the only *saṁskāra* for women, and the Mbh. (9.51.11) states that an unmarried woman cannot go to heaven (*asaṁskṛtāyāḥ kanyāyāh kuto lokāḥ*).

It is probably for this reason that Gautama provides that a maiden reaching puberty may wait for three courses, and then select her husband herself. Manu (9.89) begins by saying that it is preferable for a girl to live in her father's house for life rather than be married to an unqualified (*guṇa-hīna*) man. In the next verse, however, he says that a maiden should wait for three years after reaching puberty, and then marry a person of her choice, which is repeated by the Mbh. (13.44.15). But, Manu adds, that though the conduct of such a maiden will be blameless, she will loose her right to her father's, mother's and brother's gifts. Actually, in the Mbh. (1.213.40) the word *jñāti-deya* is once used in connection with marriage, and *pāribarha* (4.67.25) as wedding present, from which it appears that the bride received gifts from her father's relatives.

Manu (9.94) says that a man of thirty should marry a girl of 12, a man of 24 a girl of 8, the general rule being that the bridegroom's age should be three times the age of the bride. This is practically repeated in the Mbh. (13.44.13), where the proportionate ages are given as 30:10, and 21:7. Nārada (12.27) does not prescribe ratio between the age of the bridegroom and the bride, but enjoins the father to marry his daughter as soon as she reaches puberty, and this seems to have been the general practice.

Vātsyāyana, who advocates courtship before marriage, recommends (3.1.2) that the difference in age between the bride and the bridegroom should be [at least] three years. In a later passage (3.1.12), Vātsyāyana gives a list of defects in a girl which disqualifies her for marriage which include a girl who has reached puberty (*rākā*). The commentary on this passage quotes an anonymous verse which states that a man should marry a girl who is younger than him by at least four years, but not more than eight years.

As stated above, Kauṭilya (3.3.1) lays down that a girl becomes sexually mature at the age of twelve and a boy at the age of sixteen. This indicates that he contemplated their marriage at an even earlier age, and gives the age of consummation. A *brāhmaṇa brahmacārin*, as we have seen, was expected to remain celibate till he finished his period of studenthood, usually at the age of twenty-four. Therefore, Kauṭilya's opinion may seem to be inappropriate, but it should be remembered that the Dharmaśāstras were mainly

[1]Mbh. 13.44.13 refers to a girl of ten years age as *nagnikā* which shows that the term denoted a young maiden, and not a 'naked girl.'

written for the *brāhmaṇas*, while Kauṭilya was writing for all the castes, and it is quite possible that the *śūdra* males and the *vaiśyas* and *kṣatriyas* too married at an earlier age than the *brāhmaṇas*. Abhimanyu was a *bāla*, that is, below sixteen years (Mbh. 1.61.120) when he married Uttarā, who was about twelve, for she is referred to as *bālā* (Mbh. 11.20.4). There is a pleasing picture of Uttarā playing with dolls on the eve of the Kurukṣetra war (4.35.22-23).

It is peculiar, that a commentary on Haribhadra's *Dharmabindu*, itself a late work, gives the right age of marriage as sixteen for boys and twelve for girls.

After discussing various Vedic passages, MM. Kane concludes that 'in ancient times, girls were sometimes purchased for marriage, as was the case in many other countries.'[1] The practice of selling girls, however, is condemned by Manu (3.51) but it is added (3.54-55) that 'when relations do not take for themselves wealth given by the bridegroom as gratuity [but hand it over to the bride] there is no sale [of the girl]; the wealth so taken is for honouring the maiden, and is only taken from the bridegroom out of loving concern for them. Fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law desiring their own welfare should honour women, and should give them ornaments.' This customs was probably followed, which would explain the basis of Kauṭilya's provisions (3.2.24 and 26) that on remarriage a woman, already married or a widow, must return the property received by her from her first husband. Kauṭilya (3.2.15) has also provided a sum of 2000 *paṇas* as *vṛtti* (maintenance) for the wife, and adds, that for ornaments there is no limit.

Manu (9.98) recommends that 'even a *śūdra* should not take a gratuity when giving his daughter [in marriage], since in taking a gratuity, he clandestinely sells his daughter.' The Mbh. (13.95.72 and 13.96.31) condemns the acceptance of *kanyāśulka* (bride price), but relates (13.2.31) that a king gave his daughter in marriage to Agni, and in return obtained the god's permanent residence in his city as *śulka*. Another story (13.4.11-18) relates that King Gādhi married his daughter to the sage Ṛcīk on the latter giving him one thousand very good horses.

Possibly, receiving *kanyā-śulka* by the bride's father was an ancient custom which was gradually dying out, and already in the Mbh. the reverse process had started, namely, the dowry system. The Mbh. (12.226.12) says that one should perform sacrifices and other gifts from the wealth received from a *yayamāna* (sacrificer), students (*śiṣya*) and from *kanyā*, where Vādiraja explains *kanyayā* as *kanyayā saha vara-dakṣiṇā rupena* ('with the bride means with the bride in the shape of fees to the bridegroom').

Marriage of daughters was raising a problem. Sulabhā, the ascetic woman philosopher, says that she did not marry because she could not find a suitable husband (Mbh. 12.308.184). In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (2.110.34), Sītā asked by Anasūyā, the wife of the sage Atri, to describe her marriage, naively says :

[1] *HDK*, I, i, p. 505.

'Even if the bride's father is as powerful as Indra, in this world he is harassed by people [i.e. bridegroom's relatives] who may be his equal or lower in status.' It is for this reason that elsewhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (7.9.6 and 7.12.11) a girl's father exclaims : 'A maiden's father is indeed a miserable man (*kanyā pitṛtvaṁ duḥkham*).

The Mbh relates the story of Mātali, Indra's charioteer, who had a beautiful daughter. When she came of age, Mātali was in great distress, for a suitable husband for her was not available. He cursed the birth of a daughter in a distinguished family, since it was most difficult to find a suitable husband for them Mbh. 5.95.15-16 and *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.9.7 are nearly identical. Ultimately, with the help of the sage Nārada, Mātali succeeded in finding a suitable bridegroom for his daughter (5.101.19-21). It was found, however, that for some reason the selected youth had a short span of life. So Mātali took him to Indra, who conferred on the boy the boon of longevity. It is almost like the VIP's driver getting a job for his prospective son-in-law through the good offices of his master.

Married Life

The famous marriage hymn of the RV (X.85.46) wishes the bride to be like unto an empress (*samrājñī*) to her father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, and sister-in-law. It may have been a poet's fanciful wish, or a social reality in a remote age, but soon the position completely changes. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (3.22) says: '..... just as in this world, a daughter-in-law keeps hiding in modesty before her father-in-law.....' This attitude is reflected in later literature and, handed down through ages, can be seen in conservative families even now. In a late text a woman exclaims : 'Blessed are the women in whose case there is no fault-finding by mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, and brothers-in-law, for then they can live as they like.'[1]

Though rare, the other side of the picture is also available. It is related in the Mbh. that the goddess of fortune, Lakṣmī, left the Demons (*daityas*) when they took to various evil ways. One of the examples given (12.221.75) is that, 'the daughter-in-law gave orders to the servants in the presence of her father-in-law and mother-in-law. The daugher-in-law also ordered about her husband, and having fetched him conversed with him in everybody's presence.' The *Jātaka* and the *Theri-gāthās* have several stories in which the daughters-in-law, either goaded beyond endurance or out of sheer mischief, murdered their father-in-law and mother-in-law. Such unseemly behaviour and criminal propensity may have been rare ; what is worth noticing is that they were not altogether absent.

In the Varuṇapraghāsa ceremony, the wife, as we have seen, was asked to declare the number of her lovers, hence it was only proper that the marriage hymn of the RV wanted the 'two hearts to unite.' Apparently the two partners of life were treated as belonging to the same level. This position

[1] *Jñānapañcamīkathā*, I, 45, quoted by D. Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, Bikaner, 1966, p. 461.

changed. A woman was expected to be *pativratā*, which means a devoted and virtuous wife, ever faithful and loyal to her husband, whom she looks upon and treats as a deity. Hence she was also known as *patī-devatā* or *patī-deva* (one who regards her husband as god). The *pativratās* are eulogized in the Mbh. and she is said (3.197.19-24) to be greater than an ascetic.[1] Śāṇḍilī, an ideal *pativratā*, said (13.124.8-20) that she had attained heaven not by performing penances or spiritual exercises, but by her devotion to her husband. This attitude is reflected throughout Sanskrit literature, and also in Buddhist and Jaina texts, which too are loud in praise of *pativratā*. The term is defined by Dhammapāla in the *Paramattha Dipanī* as: 'A woman, who is entirely devoted to her husband and shows this behaviour in her life, is called a *patibbatā*. She is one in whose mind evil thoughts about any person other than her husband does not arise. . . . . .'[2]

The *pativratā* ideal was realized in ancient India, but as usual, there were exceptions. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (3.12.5), the sage Agastya tells Rāmacandra: 'O Raghunandana, it has been the nature of woman since the beginning of creation to please the wealthy husband and forsake the poor.' This typical feminine attitude is corroborated in a verse in the Mbh. which describes that when an elephant was goaded to move forward, it refused to carry out its master's order 'like the poor man's wife' (*daridrasy=eva yoṣitā*).[3] Such instances are rare, but Draupadī's remonstrances to Yudhiṣṭhira while in exile were expressed in much stronger language than one expects from a *pativratā*. And, contrary to popular belief, Vālmikī's Sītā was a headstrong woman, who forced her reluctant husband to take her to the forest. She too had a sharp tongue.[4] However, Draupadī, in the course of her long harangue to Yudhiṣṭhira, related an anecdote, where among the evil effects of being too indulgent is that a wife disobeys an overindulgent husband, and unless pulled up in time by him goes astray (3.29.14-15).

Such conduct, though related in the epics, were not considered appropriate, and we find in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* Cārudatta's wife patiently bearing her husband's growing infatuation for Vasantasenā. Buddhist texts predict that women who disobey their husbands go to hell after death, and suffer various kinds of torture, while obedient wives gain spiritual power. Hāla's *Gāthā-saptaśatī* (6.12) says that *mahilā* is that housewife who concerns herself with the well-being and happiness of every member of the family, others debilitates a man. A Buddhist text divides wives into seven categories, which show that even concubines were considered as wives.[5]

The duties and obligations of a virtuous wife is given in many texts, of which the KS (4.1.1-55) gives the longest list. This list contains all the imagin-

[1]The Mbh. mentions several female ascetics, see 5.187.19.22 and 12.308.

[2]Quoted by M. Talim, *Woman in Early Buddhist Literature*, Bombay, 1972, pp. 133-34.

[3]Mbh. Bombay ed. 7.29.42. This verse is not included in the corresponding chapter of the Critical Edition (7.28), but is found in several MSS.

[4]For an analysis of Sītā's character, see *EBES*, pp. 64-8.

[5]*Vinaya Piṭaka*, III, p. 139. quoted by M. Talim, op. cit., p. 125.

able duties appropriate to the accomplished wife of a wealthy man. Such an ideal wife had to be highly trained with developed taste in order to perform all the duties assigned to her by Vātsyāyana. Such a gifted woman, however, seems to be an ideal hardly, if ever, found in real life. It is also apparent that Vātsyāyana has in mind the household of a very rich man, so that his description does not apply to the people in general.[1] Here Manu seems to be more practical. He says (9.10-11) that women cannot be restrained by force, hence they have to be controlled by other means, namely, by engaging them in supervising their husbands' incomes and expenditures, supervising the household gears (*pāriṇāha*), maintaining hygienic conditions in the house (*śauca*), cooking, and looking after the religious duties (like the maintenance of household fire). Manu has already said (5.150) that a wife should always be cheerful, efficient in household work, maintain the utensils clean, and be tight-fisted (*vyaye c=āmuktahastayā*).

Vātsyāyana (4.1.27-29) explains the procedure more fully when he states: 'At proper time, when they are cheap, she should purchase earthen pots, baskets, wooden vessels, metal vessels, salt, oil, *ghī*, and perfumes, and various kinds of (medicinal) plants. She should also collect various seeds and sow them at proper season.[2] She should also (4.1.33) prepare *ghī* from left over milk, extract oil from mustard oil seeds, and prepare molasses from sugarcane (also mentioned in the *Gāthā-saptaśatī*, 6.54). She should spin yarn and weave clothes. Details are also given of other duties of the housewife, which include engaging servants and maidservants at proper wages, and taking care of the domestic animals, such as rams, cocks, quails, parrots, sterling, cuckoos, peacocks, monkeys, and deer. Finally, she must maintain the daily account.[3] The worn-out clothes should be given to old servants (4.1.34). She should also prepare *surā* (wine) and *āsava* (spirit distilled from molasses), enjoy the drinks, and sale and purchase them according to price fluctuation (4.1.35.).

Vātsyāyana then dilates upon the housewife's duty towards her father-in-law and mother-in-law in a manner which would have been appreciated by Manu. It may be added that this string of duties had a practical aspect, which is explained in the next section. It is stated (4.2.1) that a man marries

[1]For a summary of this list see H. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1954, pp. 121-23, and 126-27.

[2]The list of the seeds is given and includes *ālu*, which means potato, and onion and garlic. *Ālu* must have meant some other vegetable, and the eating of garlic and onion was forbidden by Gautama (17.32), Āpastamba (1.17.26.28), Vasiṣṭha (14.33), Viṣṇu (51.3, 34, 36) Manu (5.5) and later Smṛtis, and this prohibition was generally followed by the upper-caste Hindus till recent times. Therefore, either this rule was disregarded during Vātsyāyana's time, or he was drawing on his imagination, which in this case does not seem to be very likely.

The *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī* of Kavikarṇapura (born *c.* AD. 1542) also mentions *ālu* as a vegetable. As potato was not introduced in India till about the middle of the 16th century hence in the earlier period *ālu* must have meant some other vegetable.

[3]Vātsyāyana writes (4.1.33): '. . . . *vyāya-piṇḍīkaraṇam*,' which reminds one of Kauṭilya (2.6.14) '*sarva-samudaya-piṇḍaḥ*' meaning, 'the total of all items.'

again if his wife has certain defects, one of which is her stupidity or ill-temper. Even so, however eager to please her husband a woman may be, it is impossible for any one person to perform all the tasks which Vātsyāyana assigns to the virtuous wife. Vātsyāyana's roster of duties, however, show that women were not considered to be playthings, and were in complete charge of household affairs, which was also envisaged by Manu. The majority of the people, however, were unable to maintain the style envisaged by Vātsyāyana, and so the majority of the housewives had to be tight-fisted as advised by Manu.

A different picture of conjugal life in ancient India is presented by Hāla's *Gāthā-saptasatī* or the *Saptaśatī*, which appears to be more true to life than the KS.[1] In this anthology of 700 Prakrit distiches, the poet Kubinda (4.84) describes a dialogue between a husband and wife: 'Be not angry dear.' 'Who is angry?' 'You, oh! fairlimbed one.' 'How can one be angry with a stranger?' 'Who is a stranger?' 'You, my lord.' 'But, how?' 'It is the result of my misfortune.'

The poet Kumāra (1.27) describes a young couple who have quarrelled. They pretend to sleep with breathless silence and eager ears,—it remains to be seen which of them can stick to the last.

A more pleasant conjugal scene is presented by Durgāsvāmin (1.11): The wife is angry and offended. The husband falls at her feet in penitence. Their little boy spoils the pathetic effect by seizing the opportunity of riding on papa's back, so that the incensed mother could hardly repress her laugh.[2]

These little cameos seem to be carved out of life, and we are inclined to accept them as genuine pictures from ancient India.

Most of the verses in the *Saptaśatī* deal with illicit love, though with a wit and grace which cannot be rendered into English, nor even in a modern Indian Language. The problem is that, would one be justified in holding that these verses reflect the true picture of contemporary social moral. It is difficult to give an unequivocal answer. The word *puṁścalī* (an unchaste woman) is found in the White YV (XXX.22), and AV (XV. 2.1. et seq), while RV VII. 55.5 (=AV IV.5), which has been interpreted as 'charms at an assignation' says: 'May the mother sleep, may the father in the house sleep, may the dog sleep, may her relations sleep, may all the people round about sleep.'[3] Reference has already been made above to the unmarried mother in RV (II.29.1).

More interesting is the following line quoted by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya: varatanu sampravadanti kukkuṭāḥ* (O fair one, the cocks proclaim together). This line was used as a riddle called *samasyā-pūraṇa*, where a poet had to supply the first three lines to complete the stanza. Kṣemendra, in his

[1]For Hāla's date see above I, pp. 223-24.

[2]Translated from the *Gāthā-Saptaśatī* by S.K. De, op. cit., pp. 24-5.

[3]Prof. H.D. Velankar in his *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII*, Bombay, 1963, gives a different interpretation of this verse which is not very convincing.

Aucityavicāra has quoted the verse which has been rendered by Dr. S.K. De:

O fair limbed one, timid of the first union,
Leave your lover, abandon the close embrace!
The cocks unite to proclaim
That here is now the break of dawn.

It is this genre of poem that is found in the *Saptaśatī*. The reason for infidelity in women is given by King Hāla himself (2.97): 'In the village there are many young men. The season too is spring. She is in full bloom of her youth; but her husband is old and infirm; the wine is heady (lit. 'mature'; *juṇṇa surā=jīrṇa surā*,) With the freedom of action which she enjoys, would she become unchaste or die?' A difficult question to answer in any age.

An immodest verse (7.74) describes that the daughter-in-law had been to a bamboo grove to meet her lover, and some bamboo leaves stuck to her hairs. She defends herself by pointing out to her mother-in-law that her (mother-in-law's) back is covered with dust.

The texts which loudly sing the praise and merits of *pativratā*, also revile women in general as being oversexed,[1] and wicked. Hence they had to be guarded, lest they go astray. How many actually managed to escape surveillance? Without being dogmatic, one might suggest that ancient India had the usual complement of flirts and beau of a normal civilized society. The cities had prostitutes, the safety valve of civilization, but the *Saptaśatī* describes rural society, without the benefit of such amenities. Though prostitutes were not absent in villages, women in general moved more freely in villages than in cities. In the cities, the women met their lovers clandestinely as depicted in the *Kāvyas*.[2]

A different aspect of women is presented by the Jaina canonical work *Sūyagaḍaṅga*, which describes, by way of warning, the plight of a man caught in the web of a woman:

'And then she makes him do what she likes, even as a wheelwright gradually turns the felly of a wheel. As an antelope caught in a snare, so he does not get out of it, however he struggles . . . .

'Now hear the pleasure of *śramaṇas* which some monks enjoy.

'When a monk breaks the law, dote [on a woman], and is absorbed by that passion, she afterwards scolds him, lifts her foot, and tramples on his head . . . . .

'But when she has captured him, she sends him on all sorts of errands: "Look [for the bodkin to] carve the bottle-gourd, fetch some nice fruit.

' "[Bring] wood to cook the vegetables, or that we may light a fire at night, paint my feet, come and meanwhile rub my back! . . . . .

' "Reach me the lip-salve, fetch the umbrella and slippers, the knife to cut the string, have my robe dyed bluish ! . . . . . .

[1]For details see *EBES*, p. 59, and note 32, p. 70. For Kalhaṇa's observations on women see above I, p. 29.

[2]For example see *Meghadūta*, ed. by S.K. De, New Delhi, 1957, vv. 25 and 37: see also above I, p. 50 for Ramgarh Cave Inscription and A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 339-45.

' "Fetch me the pincers, the comb, the ribbon to bind up the hair, reach me the looking glass, put the tooth-brush near me ....."

'Pregnant women order their husbands about like slaves to fulfil their craving.

'When a son, the reward [of their wedded life] is born, [the mother bids the father] to hold the baby, or to give it to her. Thus some supporters of their sons have to carry burdens like camels.

'Getting up at night they lull the baby asleep like nurses; and though they are ashamed of themselves, they wash the clothes like washerman.'[1]

This picture is evidently drawn from the life of a young couple. Here is the matron who is evidently following Manu's advice to be tight-fisted. A character in Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, while dissuading his friend from going on a journey, gives the following description of a traveller's plight:

'A man like me is naturally ashamed to press a request overmuch, but listen while I tell what befall the wayfarer.

'Clad in tattered garments, dusty and travel-sore, he seeks at fall of day where he may lay his head.

' "Mother, sister, take pity on me. Do not be so cruel. Have you not brothers and sons whom hard necessity compels to roam from home.

' "I will not break down your house down before I go away in the morning; and do good people call that a house in which wayfarers do not rest as if they were inmates of it.

' "I will rest here but one night as best as I can, and then go on my way. The sun is set, where pray can I go."

'With such piteous words in his mouth the wretch goes from door to door, and is upbraided by the housewives, who answer thus:

' "My husband is not at home. Why do you prate thus? Can you not go to the temple? He will not take a telling. How obstinate the man is?"

'And if by good luck some man yields to repeated entreaty and scornfully points out a corner of the house, saying, "Sleep there," then the wife quarrels all night with her husband and says, "Why have you given shelter to this stranger?"

'And her neighbour, fearing in her heart that she in her turn may be asked to find food and the like for the stranger, comes and condoles with her.

' "My dear, it is not your fault, your husband is too good natured, but keep a good look-out, for there are rogues about. I speak as your friend.",[2]

The vivid portrayal of this strikingly modern domestic scene does little credit to the charitable instincts of ladies in ancient India. The attitude of life displayed in the passages we have quoted above may not have had general

[1]Quoted in M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, Delhi, 1972, pp. 439-40.

[2]*Kuṭṭanīmatam*, *Haralatākhyānam*, vv. 219-227, tr. by P. Peterson, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS*, 1884, pp. 26-8. Dāmodaragupta was the minister of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (*c.* AD 776-807); see above I, pp. 303-04. For a long time this work was lost, but Peterson discovered it from a Jaina temple.

applicability, but they are a serious warning against the ready acceptance of ancient Indian life and morals as the ideal preached by Manu and other sages.

Two other aspects of a married woman's life namely, polygamy and seclusion, have to be discussed.

Polygamy was a feature of the Hindu society since the earliest times. Even the sage Yājñavalkya of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* had two wives. The kings maintained large seraglios. As has been shown above, the *brāhmaṇas* framed the pleasant rule under which they could marry woman of any caste. Later this dispensation was abrogated, because as the days went by, the prosperity of the *brāhmaṇas* declined, and they had to be satisfied with one wife. Due to economic pressure monogamy became the general rule, but, for those who could afford there was no limit to the number of wives they could have.

Vātsyāyana gives instructions as to the methods the eldest wife should adopt to dominate over her younger co-wives (4.2.1-23), though he advises the co-wives to live amicably. He also gives the routine of the king in his seraglio. In the afternoon the king was to converse with his wives first, then successively with the *punarbhus*, *veśyās*, and *nāṭakīyās* (4.2.75-78). The *punarbhus* were the widows whom the king had collected, while the difference between the *veśyā* and the *nāṭakīyā* was that the former were 'secluded' while the *nāṭakiyās* appeared in public shows, both being prostitutes. Vātsyāyana recommends the king to spend nights in rotation with his women (4.2.80), and he also lays down that 'a man marrying many wives should act fairly towards all' (4.2.85). However, Vātsyāyana states later (5.6.1). 'The women of the seraglio do not have their desires satisfied . . . because their one husband is common to many wives.' He then gives details of the goings on in the seraglios of various kingdoms, which are probably as unreliable as Manucci's anecdotes of Mughal harem.

More true to life than Vātsyāyana's scientific treatise of love, seems to be the lament of the wife of a polygamous man described by Maheśvara Sūri, a Jaina author: 'I have my turn once in a hundred days. It is better to have even a ploughman as one's husband, provided he has no other wife, than to be married to a highly cultured *cakravartī* ruler who has many wives. It is better not to be born at all, or to be without husband and children, than to be a co-wife in any life. Even if a husband tries to be impartial, a co-wife cannot help feeling slighted. Only she deserves being called a woman, who is loved like Gaurī by Śaṅkara, Lakṣmī by Hara, and Brahmāṇī by Brahmā; others are mere she-goats. It is only great past merit which provides a woman with undisputed mastery over her household.'[1] The husband's side of the picture is preserved in a gnomic verse given in Bhavadeva Sūri's *Pārśvanātha-caritra* (*c.* AD 1285): 'It is better for a man to be cast into a dungeon, better to wander in strange lands, better to live in hell than to have two wives!'

[1] *Jñānapañcamīkathā* quoted by D. Sharma, op. cit., p. 461.

There is no trace in the RV of the seclusion of women and it has been assumed that the maiden used to grow up in her father's house enjoying free intercourse with the youth of the village, and sharing the work of the house. The word *duhitṛ*, which is the regular term for the daughter in the Vedic texts, is derived from *duh* (to milk), and indicates that the daughters were expected to milk the cows. They were taught to sing and dance, which were considered unmanly accomplishments.

The word *asūryampaśyā* (a woman who does not see the sun) is, according to Pāṇini (3.2.36), applicable to queens only, indicating that the royal ladies did not come out of the palace. This conclusion can be supported by examples from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Mbh. On the other hand, there is hardly any evidence that ordinary women were confined within their residences, though it is possible that they covered their faces when coming out of the house. Accordingly to MM. Kane, 'it is probably after the advent of the Moslems that the wearing of a veil, which was not quite unknown, became general among Hindu women in Northern and Eastern India.'[1]

Widow

The position of widows in ancient India was unenviable. The question of remarriage of widows has been discussed above. In course of time remarriage of upper-caste widows was prohibited, and the following dictum of Manu (5.157-160) was accepted as a part of the social code: 'A woman, when her husband is dead, may, if she chooses, emaciate her body by subsisting on flowers, roots and fruits, but she should not even utter the name of a (male) stranger. Till her death, she should be forbearing, observe vows, should be celibate, and should strive after the excellent code of conduct that is prescribed for widows devoted to their husbands. On her husbands death, if a virtuous woman abides by the rule of celibacy, she goes to heaven even if she is sonless, as the ancient perpetual student.' Commenting on Manu 5.157, Medhātithi quotes the famous verse from Nārada (or Parāśara), which allows a woman to take a second husband (*pati*) but he explains that the verse really means that under such circumstances, the widow should work for her livelihood under a different master (*pati*).

The word *niyoga* (levirate) means 'the raising of a child on a woman by one who is not her husband.' The practice of *niyoga* has been approved by Gautama (18.4-7, and 28.22-23) Vasiṣṭha (17.56), Baudhāyana (2.4.9-10), Manu (9.59-61), Yājñavalkya (1.68-69), and Nārada (12.80-81). Kauṭilya first says (3.5.33) that the kinsmen of an impotent man shall raise sons for him who will be legal heirs. Then he says (3.6.24), that if a *brāhmaṇa* dies (without leaving any heir) then either his mother's kinsmen or his *sagotra* may produce a *kṣetraja* son who should inherit the property. The practice of *niyoga* became obsolete, and forbidden in the Kali age by authorities like Bṛhaspati (25.12-14). Various reasons may be suggested for the lapse of this

[1]For details of seclusion see *Vedic Index*, I, p. 485 under *strī*; *HDK*, II, i. pp. 596-98; *EBES*, pp. 59-60.

strange custom. One of the reasons seems to be that a condition of *niyoga*, as given in the Dharmaśāstras was that the widow must receive the permission of her husband's family. The husband's family may be expected to be more interested in dividing the property of the deceased among themselves then create a claimant to the property. There also could be no guarantee that the result of the *niyoga* would be a boy and not a girl. The kings were also interested in stopping the practice of *niyoga*, for the property of a sonless widow was liable to be escheated.[1]

The Dharmaśāstras highly praise a virtuous widow, and Vṛddha-Hārīta (11.205-210) forbids a widow to indulge in various luxuries of which he gives a long list including the following: making up her hair, chewing betel-leaves, taking two meals a day, and applying collyrium to her eyes. The widow was also asked to wear white cloth. These recommendations have been followed by the orthodox Hindus till now.

Widows were generally considered inauspicious, and forbidden to take part in auspicious ceremonies. If she had no son, her husband's property was liable to be escheated by the king. Even otherwise, she was not recognized by Āpastamba, Manu and Nārada as an heir to her dead husband's property. Later, Yājñavalkya (2.135) mentions the widow as the first heir of a sonless man dying separate, that is who had his ancestral property partitioned, and Viṣṇu, Kātyāyana,[2] and other medieval Smṛti writers give her the same right. In a joint family property, however, she had only the right to maintenance. But in the Dāyabhāga school of law prevalent in Bengal, even in an undivided family the widow succeded to her husband's share on his death without male issue, while the *Mitākṣarā* school held that she should not do so.[3]

Thus in the earlier age, when women enjoyed considerable freedom of movement, a widow had hardly any claim to her dead husband's property. In this respect, her position improved gradually, just as the position of women in general and of widows in particular deteriorated.

A few words have to be said about *satī*, Anglicized into *suttee*, which means the burning of a widow along with her dead husband. In ancient times this rite was practised by the Greeks, Germans, and the Slavs, but while they gave up the custom the Hindus continued to practise it till 1829 when it was prohibited under Regulation XVII passed by the Governor-General, Lord Bentinck.

No Vedic passage contains a clear reference to *satī*, but the hymn which was recited at the time of cremation says (RV, X. 18.8): 'O (wife of the

[1]For details see above II, pp. 169-71, 178, 236 and 251.

[2]For widow's right of inheritance see *HDK*, III, pp. 701-12.

[3]The *Dāyabhāga* was written by Jīmūtavāhana some time between AD 1090 to 1130. The authority of *Dāyabhāga* was confined to Bengal, while the rest of India was governed in this regard by the *Mitākṣarā* till the Hindu succession Act was passed recently, though the position of widows was improved by the Act XVIII of 1937 as amended by Act XI of 1938.

dead)! Raise yourself up towards the world of living [your sons and other relatives]; you lie down near one [your husband] who is now lifeless. Come, you have kept true to this your wifehood of the husband who held your hand [formerly in marriage] and who loved you passionately ....' It was also provided that the husband's brother, or one of his representatives, or one of his pupils should make her rise from the pyre while reciting the verse.

This verse and the symbolic rescue of the widow from the pyre indicate a prior custom which had become obsolete in the Vedic age. Manu and other Dharmaśāstras are silent about *satī*, and only the *Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra* (25.14 quoted in *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya* 1.86) says: 'On her husband's death, the widow should ascend the funeral pyre after him.'

In the Mbh. there are several references to *satī*, but all those who performed this dreadful rite were *kṣatriya* princesses. Actually, several texts forbade the self-immolation by *brāhmaṇa* women, which were however, explained away by later commentators. Medhātithi on Manu 5.157, condemns *satī* as *adharma*, though he admits that Aṅgiras permitted *satī*. After a lengthy discussion he says that the practice is *aśāstrīya* because it is opposed to the Vedic text that 'one should not leave this world before one has finished one's allotted span of life.' This point was taken up by Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya 1.86, and, by a series of hair splitting arguments he defended the custom of *satī*. Later commentators follow Vijñāneśvara. Thus there was a swing of authoritative opinion between the 9th century AD when Medhātithi wrote, and the 12th century, when the *Mitākṣarā* was written.

Strabo relates that the Greeks under Alexander found *satī* practised among the Cathaeis in the Punjab. The practice was not confined to Punjab, and a number of inscriptions from AD 510 onwards testify to its prevalence in various parts of India. In later days, *satī* was more common in Bengal than anywhere else, because under the Dāyabhāga law the Bengali widows had been given the right to inherit their husband's property.

Position of Women

It is difficult to state the position of women in ancient India in unequivocal terms. The word *patnī* which means 'lady' or 'wife' in early Vedic literature, is formed by Pāṇini (4.1.33) from *pati* with a feminine affix to mean 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband,' that is, who is entitled to participate in the sacrifices performed by her husband, and share its fruit.[1] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (5.2.1.10) says that wife is half of a man, by which it is meant that without her the man cannot secure the son to continue the family, and offer oblations to him after death. This point was very forcefully put forward by Śakuntalā in the Mbh.[2]

[1]A *śūdra* does not perform any sacrifice, so is his wife not a *patnī*? The *Kāśikā* replies in the affirmative on the ground that at the time of marriage, fire, to which offerings were made, acted as witness.

[2]The story of Śakuntalā as related in the Mbh. has a different end from Kālidāsa's drama. The word *putra* as defined by Śakuntalā (Mbh. 1.68.38) differs but slightly as given later in the Mbh. 14.93.37, and is practically identical with Manu, 9.138.

Śakuntalā's argument was that it was essential for a man to have a son to liberate him from the hell called *put*, and the birth of a son is impossible without a wife, even the sages being unable 'to perform the miracle' (1.68.37-39 and 51). 'A wife,' Śakuntalā added, 'is the half portion of the man, she is his best friend, she is the root of *tri-varga* and of liberation. A married man can perform the Vedic sacrifices. A man with a wife is a householder, he is happy and is possessed of *śrī* (fortune). With a wife a man can exchange pleasantries in private. She is watchful like a father when the husband performs religious rites, and in difficult times she comforts and consoles him like a mother. If the wife accompanies him on a journey, he can enjoy rest even in a forest. People have faith in a married man; hence wife is the ultimate resort of a man (*tasmād dārāḥ parā gatiḥ* 1.68.40-43).

Another incident in the Mbh. took place because of a henpecked husband. In a place called Ekacakrā, there lived a goblin (*rākṣasa*) which was pacified with daily offering of food including a live human being, selected from each family by rotation. One day it was the turn of a *brāhmaṇa* family, and then the *brāhmaṇa* burst into lamentation in the course of which he exclaimed addressing his wife: 'O *brāhmaṇī*! many a times have I urged that we should leave this place, but you paid no heed to my words. O foolish woman! whenever I begged you to leave this place, you replied, "I was born here, I was brought up here, my father lives here." Long ago have your parents gone to heaven, possibly you desire (us) to go there now!' (1.145.26-28).

Women were also objects of derision. The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (III. 6.3; 1.10.11) states that three things which are related to *nirṛti* (calamity) are dice, drink, and women. Other Vedic texts say that three invitations addressed in a loving tone will overcome the most circumspect woman, and feminine bad taste prefers song and dance to the recitation of the Veda. Their power of wheedling secrets out of their husbands is referred to in contemptuous terms. It is asserted that as compared to men they are inferior. They have been emasculated by the gods, and cannot control themselves or an inherited property. Even a small boy takes precedence over women, who are inferior to even a bad man.[1]

The position of women did not improve under Buddhism. Buddha first refused to admit women in his monastic order, even when requested by Mahāprajāpati Gautamī, who had brought him up. When at last he agreed at Ānanda's importunities, described in a later chapter, he laid down the celebrated eight conditions, under which a very old nun had to respect the youngest monk, and while the monks could officially revile the nuns, they had to remain silent.

The 19th Jaina *tīrthaṅkara*, Mallinātha, was a woman, but it is explained that the saint was born as a woman due to deceitfulness in a previous birth. For, the Jainas believe that a man who cheats in this life is born as a woman

[1]*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 3.2.4.3-6; 1.3.1.12.13; 4.4.2-13; 1.3.1.9; *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 6.1.6.5; 6.8.2; 5.8.2. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 485.

in the next. Regarding salvation, the Digambaras hold that a woman can never attain *mokṣa*. The Śvetāmbaras admit that it is possible for a woman to attain *mokṣa*, but very few of them do, because they lack the requisite physical and mental qualities.

Manu's views on women are equivocal. He first says (2.145) that an *upādhyāya* is ten times more honourable than an *ācārya*, father is hundred times more honourable than an *ācārya*, while a mother is thousand times more honourable than father. This verse is practically repeated in the Mbh. (13.108 14), which says that mother is greater than ten fathers. Manu also says (3.56-62) that 'where women are worshipped, gods are pleased; where women are not worshipped all religious activities are vain. That family is ruined where women weep,[1] that family prospers where they are content. Hence women must be kept satisfied with presents of dress and ornaments. A well-dressed wife attracts her husband, and enlivens the family. Unattractive women neglected by their husbands take to evil ways.'

Later Manu declares (5.147-148; 9.3) that a maiden should be under the control of her father, a wife under her husband, and a old woman under her son: 'she should never be free.' Manu 9.3 is even more emphatically repeated in the Mbh. (13.21.19).[2] These sayings, which recommends living under perpetual surveillance for women, have been severely criticized by modern scholars, but these seem to have been based on practical considerations. In those days, a woman needed someone closely related to her to protect her and look after her interests. A Jaina Prakrit text describes the plight of a pregnant woman deserted by her lover and driven out of her father's house. She gives birth to a son, and says: 'My son, I have been forsaken by my father, mother, and husband; you are now my only protector.' She then adds almost in Manu's language :

hoi kumārīe piyā ṇāho taha jobbanammi bhattāro
therattaṇammi putto ṇatthi aṇāhā phuḍaṁ mahilā[3]

As pointed out in a previous volume, the U.S. Supreme Court in a judgment delivered in 1908 held almost similar view.[4]

To compensate for her loss of independence, a woman was given certain advantages. According to Yājñavalkya (2.25) and Nārada (1.82-83) women did not loose their *strī-dhana* due to adverse possession, and in this respect

[1]In these verses, Manu has used the term *jāmi* in the plural for 'women.' *Jāmi* means sister, daughter, and daughter-in-law, that is any female relation in general.

[2]See also Mbh. 13.21.12. For position of women in Mbh. see *EBES*, pp. 57-64.

[3]The Sanskrit version is:
pitā pāti ca kaumāre yauvane rakṣati priyaḥ
sthaviratve tanujas-tu nirnātha strī kadāpi na
3. *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana Sūri, I, Prakrit text, p. 76, lines 8-9; II, Sanskrit rendering, p. 27, 152. Ed. by A.N. Upadhye, Bombay, *SJS*, 1959 and 1970. Uddyotana Sūri finished writing on the last day but one of Śaka Year 700 which corresponds to 21 March 779.

[4]Above II, pp. 36-7.

they were placed on the same level as the king. Medhātithi and Kulluka on Manu 5.148 quote a verse which makes the king the ultimate protector of all women who have no male guardians, in her husband's or father's family.[1] As stated above, according to some authorities, women were exempt from paying taxes,[2] and were not to be tortured under certain circumstances, and if tortured should receive half a man's torture. Almost every Dharmaśāstra text recommends one or more special privilege for women, and a formidable list can be made out by compiling a list of such privileges.

The Mbh. (12.34.33) says that a woman can inherit a kingdom if there is no male heir. As we have seen above, there were many distinguished female rulers in ancient India. The proud Prabhāvatī-guptā, and the notorious Diddā did not succeed to the throne, but for all practical purposes they were rulers of kingdoms. Naiki-devī, the dowager queen of Gujarat, led the army of her young son and defeated Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad. Rudramadevī succeeded her father and assumed the name of Rudradeva Mahārāja. Even more remarkable was the reign of four or five generations of Kara queens. A peculiarity was that the queen regnants were referred to in the inscriptions as *mahārājādhirāja*.[3]

Among notable princesses was Akkādevī of the Western Cālukya dynasty, who is said to have been 'as courageous as Bhairavī in war.' Later she became the governor of Banavāsī 12,000. One of Vikramāditya VI's queens seems to have enjoyed considerable administrative power, and his daughter ruled jointly with her husband, a Śīlāhāra prince of Goa.

The relevance of the examples of female rulers in determining the position of women is doubtful,[4] and one may not be justified in holding on the basis of this type of evidence that women in ancient India enjoyed almost the status of men. From Vedic time onwards women were excluded from public life. From the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (IV.7.4) it appears that they did not go to

[1]The first part of this verse is from Nārada 13.29 the purport of which is the same as Manu 5.147. Nārada 13.31 is the same as Manu 9.3.

[2]Above II, pp. 82, 110, 112.

[3]For details see above I, pp. 270-71; 360; 479-80; 336-37 and 455; II, pp. 56; 165; 214-15; 222-23; 232; 243-44.

[4]England was under two female monarchs in the 16th century, Mary (1553-1558), and Elizabeth I (1558-1603), and their contemporary was Mary, Queen of Scots. The rule of these female sovereigns had no effect on the position of women in England. English women did not get voting rights even during the long reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901). Their only gain was the passing of the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 (45 and 46 Vict. 75) which abolished the previous law under which the husband by the mere fact of marriage acquired freehold interest during their lives over his wife's property of any kind. However, Victoria had been unable to confer the title of 'king' on her husband, or to give him a share of royal dignity and power. Another point of interest from British history is that so great a liberal statesman as Mr. Asquith suppressed the suffragette movement. In England women above 30 years of age were enfranchised in 1918, and those above 21 in 1928. In the U.S.A., 11 states had given voting rights to women just before World War I, and general female suffrage was adopted by the 19th Amendment in 1920.

the Vedic *sabhā*. List of members of self-governing bodies are recorded in many inscriptions, but there is not the name of a single woman. In some early inscriptions, wives of high officials like *mahābhoja* and *mahāsenāpati* are designated as *mahabhojī* and *mahāsenapatnī*, but later this practice was discontinued.

The Dharmaśāstras and also other works impute evil tendencies to women. Manu (9.14-15) declares: 'Women are lascivious, fickle-minded, devoid of love, and come to dislike their husbands, and resort to another man, whether handsome or ugly, young or old simply because he is another man.' Manu 2.213-214, which is the same as Mbh. 13.48.37-38 says: 'It is the nature of women to tempt men; therefore, the wise do not act heedlessly with young women, who are able to lead a man astray whether he is learned or not.' Similar remarks abound in other texts also, and we have quoted above the historian Kalhaṇa's infelicitous remarks about women in which he betrays a streak of smutty humour.[1]

Many passages in the Mbh. condemn women as being overcharged with sexual desire,[2] but there is one exception : One Cirakārī was ordered by his father to execute his faithless mother. He brooded over the excellence of mothers over fathers, and concluded that in adultery it is the male who is the guilty party, and not the woman. They are sinned against in almost all matters, and are enjoyed by men even when they are not sexually excited (12.258.35-39). The *Sanatsujātīya* (Mbh. 5.43.11) gives a list of thirteen types of wretched men of which one is a woman hater.

Women are spiritedly defended by Varāhamihira (6th century AD) in his *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (74.5-16): 'On women depend *dharma* and *artha*,' says Varāhamihira, and adds that, 'it is from women that men derive sensual pleasure and the blessing of sons. They are Lakṣmī (goddess of fortune) of the house, and should always be given honour and wealth vide Manu.' He then condemns those who, following the path of asceticism and other-worldliness, proclaim women's faults but are silent about their virtues. Varāhamihira then asks: 'Tell me truly, what faults attributed to women have not also been committed by men ? Men in their audacity treat women with contempt, but they really possess more virtues than men.....One's mother or wife is a woman. Men owe their birth to women. O ungrateful wretches! how can you be happy if you revile them? The *śāstras* declare that both the husband and the wife are guilty if they break the marriage vow. Men care very little for the *śāstra* [while women do care], therefore women are superior to men. Oh! how great is the audacity of wicked men who heap abuse on women that are pure and blameless and like thieves who, while themselves robbing, raise the cry, "Stop the thief." Men in privacy utter flattering words to women, but there are no such words after death, while the wives in gratitude clasp the corpse of their husbands and enter fire.'

[1]Above I, p. 29.
[2]For details see *EBES*, p. 59.

This is a solitary example, but it should be remembered that in Sanskrit *kāvya* literature, women are never reviled for their sex. Kalidāsa, Bāṇa, and Bhavabhūti have glorified women without in the least being influenced by the Dharmaśāstras.

CHAPTER IV

NĀGARAKA, VEŚYĀ AND DĀSA

Nāgaraka and city life

THE ideal life of a *gṛhastha* has been described in a previous chapter. With the development of city life, a new type of *gṛhastha* emerged who is known as *nāgaraka*. Pāṇini (4.2.128) teaches that a particular affix comes after *nagara* forming *nāgaraka* when censure or praise is intended. The *Kāśikā* explains: 'Thus *nāgarakaḥ* "a knave, a cunning person, or a skilful person." The word literally means "a town-born or town-bred," but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.'[1] The usual meaning of *nāgaraka*, however, is 'a social idler', or 'a man about town,' and it was for this type of *nāgaraka* that Vātsyāyana wrote his KS, just as Kauṭilya wrote his *Arthaśāstra* for the princes.

Vātsyāyana (1.4.1) recommends that after finishing his studies, a person should acquire sufficient wealth and then adopt the life of a *nāgaraka*. A *brāhmaṇa*, he continues, can make money by accepting gifts, a *kṣatriya* by victory in war, a *vaiśya* by trade and a *śūdra* by plying his craft. He then settles down in a city, large or small according to his means. There he constructs a house near water (river, lake, tank etc.). The house must have an attached garden, and be divided into two parts. In the garden, there is, for amusement and repose, a summer-house, a bower of creepers, with raised parterre, and a carpeted swing in a shady spot.

The *nāgaraka*'s living room is balmy with rich perfume. It contains a bed, soft, white, fragrant, and luxuriously furnished with pillows or cushions. There is also a smaller bed or couch with a stool at the head, on which are placed fragrant ointments for the night, garlands, coloured waxen vessels, pots of perfumes, citron rinds, and betels—prepared for chewing. The necessary spittoon is near the bed. From an ivory peg on the wall hangs a lute, a drawing board, a pot of paint, and brushes. A flower garland is also there. There are also some books, but the *nāgaraka* is not particular, since any book would do (*yaḥ kaścit pustakaḥ*).[2] More important is the round seat with

[1] In this connection, the *Kāśikā* says in conclusion: 'Why do we say "When censure or dexterity is implied?" Observe *nāgarāḥ brāhmaṇā*'. This may be a very early reference to the Nāgara *brāhmaṇa* community of Gujarat, who are censured because they are engaged in trade, and praised because they are very successful.

[2] Evidently the books are not meant to be read, and the lute and the painting materials

raised back, and a board of dice placed not far from the couch.

The *nāgaraka* spends his morning in bathing and elaborate toilet. He smears his body with fragrant unguents, and paints his lips red. He bathes daily, has an oil massage every other day, and cleans himself with *phenaka* (a soap like substance) every third day. He shaves every third day, and depilates every tenth day. He avoids perspiration by staying in a shady place. The commentary explains that if for some reason he has to go out and perspires, he should remove the sweat with the help of a *karpaṭa* (handkerchief).

The *nāgaraka* takes two meals, one in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon, but according to an authority called Cārāyaṇa, quoted by Vātsyāyana (1.4.20), the second meal was to be taken in the evening. After the morning meal the *nāgaraka* trains his talking parrots and other birds, and also the fighting cocks, quails, and rams. Then he spends some time with the *pīṭhamardas*, *viṭas*, and *vidūṣakas*.[1] Thereafter a little siesta.

The siesta over, the *nāgaraka* gets up, dresses, and goes to the *goṣṭhi*, which means meeting friends of his own type in the house of a courtesan, in a gambling den, or in the house of another *nāgaraka*. There the discourses are agreeable: sometimes they discuss poetry, and at times the *nāgarakas* test each other's knowledge. Glamorous and fascinating courtesans are warmly received at the *goṣṭhis*, and duly honoured and attended to by the maid-servants.

The *nāgaraka* also attends the periodic festivals. A monthly festival is held at the Sarasvatī-bhavana, and sometimes it is held every fortnight. There visiting actors and dancers display their skill, and are suitably rewarded. He can also go to a drinking party (*samāpānaka*), which are held in rotation among the *nāgarakas*. The drinks are *madhu* (sweet wine), *maireya* (combination of *surā* and *āsava*), *surā* (wine) and *āsava* (spirit). These are served with salty snacks, fruits, bitter and pungent condiments, and sauces. These are first served to the courtesans, and then to the guests.

The *nāgarakas* also arrange garden parties in each others gardens. They go there on horses, accompanied with courtesans and attendants. There they hold cock-fights, quail-fights, and ram-fights. They may play chess or dice, or witness dancing, acrobatics, or a theatrical show. During the summer, they enjoy water sport (KS, 1.4.2-42).

The *nāgaraka* also takes part in other pastimes along with common people. These plebian sports and festivals will be described in the next chapter.

The *Kuṭṭanīmatam* (*Gamyanirṇaya*, 62-81) presents the caricature of a *nāgaraka*. The young man lives in a village near the capital where his father, a high official, lives. In his hair, five digits long, is a comb with a handle, which is fastened with bright coloured ribbons. His fingers are decked with rings, a gold chain hangs round his neck, his body is rubbed with *kum-kum*, and he wears a yellowish cloth with gold embroideries. His iron shod shoes are softened with wax, painted with benzoin, and embroidered with gold

too are decorations. The display of books reminds one of the modern drawing rooms of rich men with showcases displaying glitteringly bound books.

[1]These terms are explained below.

threads. Two types of ear-rings hang from his ears. He is served by a betel-leaf bearer. In his entourage are *śreṣṭhin*, *vaṇij*, *viṭa* and *kitava* (rogue).[1] The rest of the passage humorously describes his qualities in hyperbolical terms indicating that he is a boor, in other words, he is what a *nāgaraka* should not be.

Vātsyāyana has depicted the ideal life of an idle rich man of ancient India. in many respects an attractive life. As Dr. S.K. De has said: 'The picture [presented by Vātsyāyana] is, no doubt, heightened and there is much of the dandy and the dilettante in the *nāgaraka* and in the society which he frequented; but we need not doubt from what we see elsewhere in Cārudatta that there was much genuine culture, character, and refinement. In later times the *nāgaraka* degenerated into a mere professional amourist, but in the early literature he is figured as rich and cultivated, a poet skilled in the arts, a man of wit and polish—a perfect man of the world.'[2]

There were also poor people in the city, and they lived a different style of life. For them no gardens or water frontage for their residence. They had to be content with small dwellings in the congested localities of a city. Commenting on Manu (8.8) Medhātithi cites as examples two pictures of contemporary life. Medhātithi points out that if a man constructs a window overlooking his neighbour's courtyard, then the neighbour has a cause of action. This example shows that the houses practically touched each other as they do in the older part of Vārānasī. The other example envisages wrongful eviction of a tenant by the landlord, indicating housing problem in congested cities.[3] Even in the Mbh. (1.145.2) it is found that Kunti and her five sons lived in a part of a house at Ekacakrā with so little privacy that she was able to overhear the laments of the henpecked *brāhmaṇa* mentioned above, p. 88.[4]

The condition of a householder, who may be assigned to the 'lower middle-class,' is well expressed in a gnomic verse of uncertain date: 'Within the house is the kitchen, there the mortar, there too the crockery, there the children, there his own study. He has put up with all that. But what can we say of the condition of the wretched householder when his wife who to-day or tomorrow will present him with a new addition to his family must spend there her time of labour?'[5] And Hemacandra, the great scholar monk observes:

prāyeṇa hi daridrāṇām śīghra-garbha-bhṛtaḥ striyaḥ

(Generally the wives of the poor conceive rapidly.)[6] As the Mbh. (12.28.24)

[1]It will be observed that this fellow's entourage is different from that contemplated by Vātsyāyana. The reason seems to be that the *śreṣṭhin* (banker) and *vaṇij* (trader) wanted favour from the man's father, and are therefore following him in his jaunts.

[2]S.K.De, *Ancient Indian Erotics and Erotic Literature*, p. 20.

[3]For details see above II, p. 106.

[4]The Pāṇḍavas were not the *brāhmaṇa* landlord's guest, for they had to beg daily for their food. But it is not stated whether they had to pay any rent or not. Medhātithi is supported by Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana, see *HDK*, III, pp. 507-08.

[5]Translation by A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1920, reprint, 1956, p. 236.

[6]*Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra, 1.1.533.

says: 'The poor have many sons though they do not want them, while the rich, however much they may long for, fails to get one.'

The standard of living also varied according to income. The Mbh. (5.34. 47-50) says: 'The rich eat meat, the middle class (*madhya*) milk products, while the poor man's food is cooked in oil. It is usually seen that the rich people have lost their appetite, but a poor man can digest a log of wood. The lower class are afraid of losing their jobs, the middle class of death, while the highest are afraid of losing their prestige.'

The Mbh. (13.125.9-37) gives in the form of a parable the laments of a frustrated intellectual. His friends being wicked have left him, and he has been insulted by men less qualified than he, who are proud of their wealth. He has not received the honour due to him, while he has to watch small men being honoured. In spite of making determined efforts he has not been able to procure the means of livelihood, but his self-respect prevents him from accepting charity. His intellectual attainments entitled him to receive recognition, yet he has been laughed at by the ignoramuses, berated by the wicked, and ignored by the learned.[1]

At the end of the section on *nāgaraka*, Vātsyāyana describes (1.4.44-46) the plight of the men who intends to lead a gay life but do not possess the means to do so. They are the *pīṭhamarda*, *viṭa*. and *vidūṣaka*. The *pīṭhamarda* is without means and without family, possessing only a *mallikā*,[2] some detergents, and astringents. He comes from a country famous for its artistic achievements, so that he may pass himself off as a teacher of arts.

A *viṭa* is a fallen *nāgaraka* who has squandered his fortune (*bhukta-vibhava*) He has a family, and makes his living by attending on *nāgarakas* or prostitutes.

A *vidūṣaka*, also called *vaihāsika* (one who provokes laughter) is either born poor or has spent everything. He is acquainted with few arts, but his main qualification is that he can make people laugh. He is trusted by all, and lives on the pickings from the *nāgarakas* and prostitutes. (In Sanskrit drama a *vidūṣaka*, is always a *brāhmaṇa*).

Vātsyāyana then adds (1.4.47) that all of them act as intermediaries between *nāgarakas* and prostitutes. Such other intermediaries are female beggars, shaven-headed women (Buddhist nuns?), barren wives (hence discarded and fallen), and aged prostitutes (1.4.48).

At the end (1.4.50) Vātsyāyana advises the *nāgaraka* not to speak entirely in Sanskrit nor in entirely Deśī language.

Veśyā: Prostitute

According to Professors Macdonell and Keith, it is certain that prostitution existed in Ṛgvedic times, but its extent is disputed. 'Brotherless girls were

[1]For the background and a complete translation of this long but interesting passage see *EBES*, pp. 190-91.

[2]According to the commentator, *mallikā* means a 'small seat of rods' (*daṇḍāsanika*). The word may also mean 'a vessel of a particular shape' indicating destitution which is evidently intended.

frequently reduced to becoming prostitutes: the putting away of an illegitimate child is referred to in the Ṛgveda; besides the terms *puṁścalī* and *mahānagnī* which undoubtedly mean "harlot," there are other clear references to prostitution; and expressions like *kumārī-putra* "son of a maiden," and the "son of an unmarried girl" (*agrū*) spoken of in the Ṛgveda as exposed and attacked by animals, point in the same direction. The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* seems to regard prostitution as a profession.'[1]

A common term for a prostitute was *gaṇikā*, so-called because the *gaṇa* or 'the public' was her husband (*gaṇaḥ samuha' styasyāḥ bhartṛtvena*). According to the Mbh. (1.114.65), a woman who knew more than three men was a *svairiṇī*, and one who had had contact with more than five men was known as *bandhakī*. The Pancāla school of Bābhravya, quoted in KS 1.5.33, held that a woman's chastity need not be respected if, in addition to her husband, she is found to have had intimacy with five lovers showing that five lovers was the limiting factor between a 'flirt' and a prostitute. The commentary explains that a woman who has had five lovers (beside her husband) is a *svairiṇī* and one who has had more than five is a *bandhakī* according to Parāśara.

The most famous *gaṇikā* of antiquity was Āmrapālī. Her story is given in the Vinaya texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, because fortunately she had come into contact with Buddha. Āmarapālī was a daughter of Mahānama, a rich citizen of Vaiśālī, When she came of age, many suitors including princes, attracted by her beauty and other qualities, came to seek her hand in marriage. So her perplexed father brought the matter to the notice of the Licchavi *gaṇa*, and it was discussed by their assembly. When the assembly members saw Āmrapālī, they were so charmed by her beauty, that they declared her to be a *strī-ratna*, and, according to a convention already laid down, they decided that she was not to be married to anyone but was to be enjoyed by the *gaṇa*. Āmrapālī agreed to lead the life of a public woman, but demanded five privileges which were granted.

Once King Bimbisāra, while 'engaged in conversation on good topics with his ministers,' asked them what sort of courtesans each of them had seen. Being told that Āmrapālī (or Ambapālī) was exceedingly charming and accomplished in all the sixty-four arts, Bimbisāra decided to visit her at Vaiśālī, even though the Licchavis were hostile. His son by her enjoyed a high position at court. The Pali Vinaya texts relate that a merchant, after describing the charms of Ambapālī of Vaiśālī to King Bimbisāra, requested him 'to instal a courtesan' in Rājagṛha, and this was done. Buddha's visit to Āmrapālī's house has been narrated below in connection with Buddha's life.

A famous exploit of the *gaṇikās* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.8.21; 1.9.5-29) was their successful employment by king Daśaratha to entice the young sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga from the forest hermitage of his father. When Rāmacandra went to forest, Daśaratha contemplated sending an army to follow him with its complement of courtesans (2.32.3). Similarly, when Rāmacandra sent an

[1] *Vedic Index*, I, under Dharma, pp. 395-96.

expedition under Śatrughna, he ordered that the army should be accompanied with actors and dancers (7.56.3). The same custom prevailed in the Kaurava and Pandava armies also (Mbh. 3.228.27; 5.149.53).

When Virāṭa was returning to his capital after defeating Suśarman, he ordered that he should be received among others by the *gaṇikās* (4. 32. 49). Similar arrangements were made for the reception of prince Uttara (4.63.24-29). In both the instances, maidens were asked to join the reception party, from which it appears that the prejudice against the *gaṇikās* was not very deep.

When Gāndharī became pregnant, Dhṛtarāṣṭra was served by a *veśyā* (1.107 35). Before the war, Sañjaya had come to the Pāṇḍavas on a peace mission. When he was returning to Hastināpura, Yudhiṣṭhira sent messages of greetings to the peoples of the city, and specially mentioned some particular categories of persons including the *veśyās* (5. 30.36). When Kṛṣṇa was to visit Hastināpura in a last bid to settle the dispute amicably, Dhṛtarāṣṭra ordered that Kṛṣṇa should be received by the Kaurava princes, the chief courtesans (*vāra-mukhyā*) and also by maidens with uncovered faces, and the people in general (5.84.15-17). Prostitutes are also mentioned in several other passages of the Mbh.

The Dharmaśāstras look down upon prostitutes. Gautama (22.27) provides that for killing a woman who is a *brāhmaṇī* by name only but lives on her earnings as a prostitute, no *prāyaścitta* (penance) is necessary, but eight handfuls of corns may be distributed as gift. Baudhāyana (3.6.10), Vasiṣṭha (14.10), and Gautama (17.15) forbid the eating of food offered by a prostitute. Manu (4.209 and 219) and Yājñavalkya (1.161) also prohibit the eating of food offered by a prostitute. But it should be noted that these authorities include a large variety of persons whose proffered food could not be eaten. Thus along with *puṁścalī* (prostitute), Gautama (17.15) interdicts the food offered by the carpenter, the physician, the miser etc. Manu's list (4.205-220) is quite exhaustive, and includes the followers of many honourable professions. An idea may be obtained from Yājñavalkya 1.161-165 where Manu is practically abridged: 'Food belonging to a miser, a prisoner, a thief, a eunuch, an actor, a dealer in bamboos, one accused of crime, an usurer, a *gaṇikā*, a *gaṇa*, or the person who has initiated many, a physician, the diseased, the enraged, the wanton woman (*puṁścalī*), the intoxicated, the enemy, a cruel man, the outcaste, the *vrātya*, a vain man, one who eats the remnants of food left by other (*ucchiṣṭa-bhojī*), a woman having no husband or son, goldsmith, henpecked man (*strī-jita*), the village priest (who has too many clients), seller of weapons, blacksmith, a weaver, the seller of dogs, cruel king, a washerman, an ungrateful person, one who lives on killing animals, one who removes the dirt from cloths, wine seller, one whose house is visited by a paramour, one who points out others' faults, a liar, an oilman, a panegyrist,a seller of Soma juice, should not be eaten.' Thus the prostitutes were in a heterogenous but not in an entirely undesirable company. Indeed it seems that prostitution was considered almost as a venial sin.

Kauṭilya (2.27), as we have seen[1] has provided for a superintendent of brothels (*gaṇikādhyakṣa*). He also mentions *bandhakī-poṣakas* or brothel-keepers in 5.2.21, which provides that they should pay a tax.[2] It seems that Kauṭilya contemplated two types of brothels: one controlled by the state, the other in the 'free enterprise sector.' The *gaṇikās* were primarily meant for attendance on the king, for holding the umbrella over his head, carrying the water jug for him, fanning him, and accompanying him on a procession (2.27.4) etc. Here one is reminded of the description of Candragupta Maurya's court by the Greek writers. Curtius says that the king's person was entrusted to women, and he went out to hunt surrounded by women hunters. Possibly such a woman is represented in a Bharhut sculpture riding a fully caparisoned horse and carrying a standard.

According to Kauṭilya (2.27.6), a *gaṇikā* could free herself by paying 24,000 *paṇas*, and her son by paying half the amount. But it is apparent that very few *gaṇikās* were capable of paying this huge sum.

A *gaṇikā* not approaching a man at the command of the king was to receive 1000 lashes, or pay a fine of 5000 *paṇas* (2.27.19). If after receiving payment, a *gaṇikā* betrayed her dislike (or disinclination), she had to pay double her fees as fine (2.27.20). The same provision is found in Nārada 6.18 and Yājñavalkya 2.292.[3] Kauṭilya adds that she had to communicate to the *gaṇikādhyakṣa* the payment, the gain, and the name of the man (2.27.24).

From Kauṭilya (2.27.25) it appears that he considered the wives of actors, dancers, singers, musicians, story-tellers, bards, rope-dancers, showmen, and wandering minstrels as prostitutes.[4] Evidently, they were the *rūpajīva* (those who live by their beauty) on whom Kauṭilya had imposed a monthly tax of double their fee (2.27.27).

Kauṭilya then provides (2.27.28): 'He (the *gaṇikādhyakṣa*) should provide from the king's exchequer to the (teacher) who imparts to *gaṇikās*, *dāsīs* (female slaves), and *raṅgopajīvinīs* (actresses) training in singing, playing on musical instruments, recitation, dance, acting, writing, painting, playing on the lute, the flute, the drum, reading the thought of others, preparing perfumes and garlands, entertaining in conversation, shampooing, and the prostitute's art (*vaiśika-kalā*). Their sons were to be trained as actors and dancers (2.27.29). The harlot expert in reading signs and languages should be employed

[1]See above II, pp. 73 and 79.

[2]*Bandhakīpoṣakas* are also mentioned in 5.2.28, 11.1.34, 12.2.11.

[3]This chapter of *Nārada-smṛti* deals with salary and wages. Nārada (6.19) provides that for committing unnatural sex act with a prostitute, and forcing her to unite with several persons when the contract was for only one, the offender will have to pay eight times the fee.

[4]The actors and their wives were notorious for their loose morals. Sītā, in an angry mood, said to Rāmacandra. 'Do you want to hand over your chaste wife to others like an actor?' (*Rāmāyaṇa*, 2.27.8). The Mbh. (12.283.4) allows a *śūdra* to earn his livelihood as a *raṅgopajīvin*, which is explained by one commentator as: 'earning money by giving one's beautiful wife to another, or to appear as Rāma, Kṛṣṇa etc.'

as spies in killing the enemies of the king (2.27.30).[1]

Later Kauṭilya provides (3.13.37) that a harlot (*puṁścalī*) should get a fee in accordance with the indication (or nature) of union (*sambhogasy-opaliṅganāt*); but she, who makes an exorbitant demand shall lose it, as also if she shows evil-mindedness or lack of decorum.[2]

Kauṭilya (3.20.15) considered it an offence for a man to approach a prostitute in the exclusive keeping of another (*rūpājīvām any=oparuddhām*).[3] These 'exclusive mistresses' were considered as wives by the Pātimokkha laws of Vinaya which mention ten types of wives: 1. one bought with money; 2. one kept for passion; 3. one kept in the house for enjoyment; 4. one who receives clothes; 5. one who provides water; 6. one who takes off the pad (*obhatacumbaṭā*, so-called for the burden she carries on her head); 7. the slave and wife (*dāsī ca bhariyā*) 8. the servant and wife (*kammakāri ca bhariyā*); 9. one brought by flag (*dhajāhata*, captured in war); and 10. the wife for a moment (*muhuttika*).[4] As will be shown later, some of these 'wives' were considered as slaves.

Nārada (12.78-79) provides that 'intercourse is permitted with non-*brāhmaṇa saviriṇīs* (wanton women), with a prostitute, a female slave, or a woman turned out of her house if they belong to a lower caste (than the man). But when such women are the kept mistresses of a person, intercourse with them by a stranger is as much a crime as intercourse with another man's wife. Such women must not be approached, though intercourse with them is not forbidden (on the grounds of caste etc.), since they belong to another.'

Regarding kept mistresses, Yājñavalkya (2.290) says:

avaruddhāsu dāsīṣu bhujiṣyāsu tath=aiva ca
gamyāsv=api pumān dāpyaḥ pañcāśat paṇikaṁ damam

(For intercourse with an *avaruddhā dāsī* or with a *bhujiṣyā* a man must pay a fine of fifty *paṇas*).

Vijñāneśvara explains *avaruddhā dāsī* 'as a slave woman who is prohibited by her master from intercourse with other men having been ordered to stay in the master's house so that there may be no loss of attendance (on the master).' He then defines *bhujisyā dāsī* as 'one who is restricted (as to enjoyment) to certain definite males (*puruṣa-niyata-parigrahā bhujisyāḥ*).' Hence MM. Kane has concluded that 'the difference between an *avaruddhā dāsī* and a *bhujiṣyā* is that the former is ordered to stay in the master's house, while the *bhujiṣyā* is not so ordered and secondly, the *avaruddhā* is forbidden to have sexual intercourse with any one except the master, while the *bhujiṣyā* is not so forbidden, but she is to restrict herself to enjoyment by certain specified males (friends or men of the master's famuly) and not necessarily for the

[1]The *bandhakīs* mentioned in 11.1.34 and 12.2.11 were also to be employed for almost similar purposes.

[2]The meaning of *upaliṅganāt* is not clear. Probably Kauṭilya means that the fees of a prostitute should vary according to the degree of satisfaction she gives her client.

[3]Such a person and others, who had committed a breach of specific performance or had touched his brother's wife etc., had to pay a fine of 48 *paṇas*.

[4]H. Oldenburg, *Vinaya Piṭakam*, III, p. 139, quoted by M. Ṭalim, *Women in Early Buddhist Literature*, pp. 125-26.

master alone.'[1]

This distinction between the two classes of 'exclusive' prostitutes is important, for Nārada (13.52) and Kātyāyana have entitled a 'kept mistress' or *avaruddhā strī* to receive maintenance even when her dead paramour's property was escheated to the crown for want of heirs. Sons of such women were also entitled to maintenance, and in case the *dāsī-putra* was the offspring of a *sudra* father and a non-*brāhmaṇa* mother, he enjoyed certain rights of inheritance.[2]

The *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya 2.290 quotes a verse from the *Skanda-purāṇa* which says that 'there was an *apsaras* called Pañcacūḍā; her descendants are called *veśyā*, and they constitute the fifth caste.' The Mbh. describes a dialogue between the sage Nārada and the *apasaras* Pañcacūḍā in which she describes the intensity of women's sexual urge in very plain language (13.38.7-30). The Purāṇa seems to refer to the same woman.

Concluding his comments on Yājñavalkya 2.290, Vijñāneśvara says that (courtesans being descended from Pañcacūḍā) 'those among them who are not specially kept by a person do not incur any sin, nor punishment at the hands of the king, if they have intercourse with men of the same or superior caste, nor do men approaching them incur any penalty if they are not *avaruddhā*. But the men who visit them incur sin—which is an unseen result (*adraṣṭārtha*) since it is said (by Manu 3.45) that "one should approach his wife only." For such people who have intercourse with a prostitute, the *prājāpatya* penance is prescribed.'

As can be expected, Vātsyāyana has a long chapter on prostitutes divided into six sections. He begins by declaring: *veśyānām puruṣādhigame ratir-vṛttiś-ca sargāt* (ever since creation prostitutes have derived pleasure as well as a living by sexual contact with males, 6.1.1). He then gives detailed instructions to the prostitute as to her ways, her helpers, types of paramours, technique of reception, methods of pleasing the paramour, methods of earning or rather extracting money, means to be employed to get rid of an impoverished paramour, manner in which relation with a former paramour can be restored etc.

Vātsyāyana (6.6.47) says that when a group of *viṭas* engage a single prostitute, it is called group-concubinage (*goṣṭhī-parigraha*). The term *goṣṭhi-parigraha* has been explained in the commentary as *bahuvir-ekasyāh parigrahaḥ*. One of the meanings of the word *parigraha* is 'marriage,' so *goṣṭhī parigraha* would mean 'marriage of one (prostitute) with several men.' Such a prostitute would be the *bhujiṣyā* of Yājñavalkya 2.290 who is to be distinguished from

[1]*HDK*, III, p. 813. For an explanatory rendering of Yājñavalkya 2.290 see ibid, p. 812.

[2]For details see *HDK*, III, pp. 600-03, and 708. These provisions regarding the maintenance of a 'kept mistress' and son's right of inheritance were upheld by the Privy Council and the High Courts. The son of a *śūdra* father and a *brāhmaṇī* mother was a *caṇḍāla* and had no right of inheritance. This is a tacit admission that though a *śūdra* could not marry a woman of the upper castes, he could have *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* mistresses.

the *avaruddhā dāsī*.[1]

Vātsyāyana (6.6.54) gives a list of women of easy virtue whom he includes among prostitutes. They are: 1. *kumbha-dāsī* (common whore); 2. *paricārikā*;[2] 3. *kulatā* (a woman who meets her lovers secretly being afraid of her husband); 4. *svairiṇī* (a woman who defies her husband and receives her lovers openly); 5. *naṭī*; (actress); 6. *silpakārikā* (wives of washermen, weavers etc.); 7. *prakāśa-vinaṣṭā* (a woman who lives with another man as husband and wife whether her husband is alive or dead); 8. *rūpājīvā*; and 9. *gaṇikā*. Vātsyāyana says that all these women are different types of prostitutes (*veśyāviśeṣāḥ*).

The title of Damodaragupta's work *Kuṭṭanīmatam* (*Advice of a Procuress*) sufficiently indicates its theme. The work is a manual for young prostitutes teaching them how to earn money by the use of wiles and guiles which every member of this profession must employ to be successful. An interesting part of this work is that it depicts a representation of Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*

The central theme of the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* is the story of the young merchant Kovalan's infatuation for a dancing girl which ruined him. The work incidentally relates that for seven years from the age of five a courtesan received training in dancing and music, both vocal and instrumental, under experts. After her training was over, she demonstrated her skill before the king, who gave the deserving debutante a cash prize of 1008 gold coins and a wreath. The courtesan then sold her virginity to the highest bidder. The other Tamil classic, the *Manimekhalāi*, which continues the story of the *Śilappadikāram*, indicates that the courtesan underwent a regular course of instruction for a number of years in court dances, popular dances, singing, dancing, lute playing, cooking, preparations of perfumes, painting, firework etc.

Vātsyāyana does not mention the *deva-dāsī* (lit. 'slave of god') or the 'temple dancing girl.' It is difficult to trace the origin of the *devadāsī* system but it is undoubtedly a very ancient custom. Probably the *devadāsī* is first mentioned in a Brahmi inscription given in Lüder's List (no. 921), which includes

[1]This practice of several men maintaining a prostitute exclusively for themselves is still prevalent in Calcutta. Such a woman is known as 'a *time veśyā*'. The use of the English word 'time' is probably intended to indicate that she serves her limited clients for 'certain time' in rotation.

[2]The commentators explanation of the term *paricārikā* is obscure Pañcānan. Tarkaratna (on KS, 4.6.54) has explained it as follows: 'If a *veśyā's* daughter wants to marry, she has to remain chaste for a year after marriage. After this period of one year, she may do whatever she likes. But whenever summoned by her "husband", she has to attend him ignoring all other clients. Since she has to render this service, she is known as *paricārikā* (maid-servant).' This practice of the marriage of a prostitute's daughter is still prevalent in the brothels of Calcutta, Varanasi, and Bombay and probably also elsewhere. It is now really a ceremony of deflowering for which the 'husband' has to pay a stiff price. The 'marriage' lasts for a short period. For Pañcānan Tarkaratna see his edition of KS with an abridged translation of commentary in Bengali, published Calcutta. Bengali Year 1334 (AD 1928). The references to KS in the present work are from the Kashi Sanskrit Series no. 29 edited by Dāmodara Śāstri, 1929. The two editions differ only in numbering the chapters.

a Mathura inscription of a pious Jaina *gaṇikā* (Lüder's List no. 102). In the *Meghadūta* (v.35), Kālidāsa mentions *devadāsīs* of the Mahākāla temple, but he refers to them as *veśyā*.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇi* (4.442-445) describes the romance between King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir and the *devadāsī* Kamalā, an expert dancer of the Kārttikeya temple at Puṇḍravardhana. The Bhuvanesvara inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena record that large number of *devadāsīs* used to be maintained in the temples of Bengal. The *Rāmacarita* (3.37) mentions *deva-vāra-vanitā* at Rāmāvatī, the capital of Rāmapāla, and Dhoyī in his *Pavanadūta* (v.28) refers to *devadāsīs* in a temple erected by the Sena kings. Many Coḷa inscriptions record the transaction in *devadāsīs*, and provide the information that they were branded with the trident mark. It appears from one Coḷa inscription that the king's slaves were marked with a distinct seal.[1]

The Buddhist temples also employed *devadāsīs*. An interesting inscription, issued at the beginning of the 12th century AD, records that Queen Karpūraśrī of the Somavaṁśī King Karṇa was formerly a *devadāsī* of the Buddhist *vihāra* of Salonapura. Her mother, Mahuna-devī, is also referred to a *mahari* or *devadāsī* but for obvious reason the name of Karpūraśri's father is not given. Such a marriage, though rare, was not unique. An inscription from Tiruvorriyur (Tamil Nadu) of AD 1049 gives the interesting information that a certain courtesan named Catural Caturi was the wife of one Nāgan Perunāgḍan. Another inscription of the reign of Kulottunga III records the marriage of a *devadāsī* of a Tanjore temple.[2]

Marriage of a king with a prostitute is not known, but there is an example of a king's permanent liaison with a prostitute. The Caulukya king Bhīma I of Gujarat (vs 1080-1122) had a mistress of the type of *avaruddhā-dāsī*, and their descendant was the famous Jaina king Kumārapāla (vs 1200-1229). The name of this mistress was Bakulā-devī, famous for her beauty and other qualities. Another liaison of this type is recorded in an undated inscription issued during the reign of Cālukya Vijayāditya (AD 696-734) at Mahakuta. His favourite mistress Vīṇāpotigal performed the *hiraṇya-garbha dāna* and dedicated to the deity a pedestal set with rubies, a silver umbrella, and a field measuring 800 units. Her mother was Kucipotigal and her grand-mother Revamanchalgal. The honorific *gal* at the end of their names show their importance. Vīnāpotigal also does not mention the name of her father.[3]

We have given above Al-Berunī's statement in which he accuses the Indian kings of maintaining the *devadāsīs* in order to augment their revenue. Several instances of kings' actively promoting this pernicious system have also been given above.[4] These unfortunate women also had to pay a 'mirror tax' in

[1]N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp. 49, 55, 35 and 41; K.A.N. Sastri, *Colas*, 1975, p. 556.

[2]See D.C. Sircar, Note on Ratnagiri Inscription of Somavaṁśī Karṇa, *EI*, XXXIII, and D.C. Sircar, Devadāsīs in Buddhist Temples, *EI*, XXXV. K.A.N. Sastri, op. cit., pp. 554-55.

[3]*IA*, X, p. 103.

[4]See above II, pp. 198-99.

addition to 'house tax'.[1] Indeed prostitution had become such an important institution that the reformist king Kumārapāla of Gujarat, who imposed prohibition in Gujarat and stopped animal slaughter and gambling, permitted the continuance of prostitution. Did this permissive attitude have anything to do with his great-grandmother's memory? In refreshing contrast there is at least one record coming from almost the end of the Hindu rule which provides that 'prostitutes should not be allowed to settle in the Village.'[2]

A scene of revelry at the royal court is given by Bāṇa. The occasion was the birth festival of Harṣavardhana which Bāṇa could not have attended. But it can be assumed that he has given a faithful account of what might reasonably have taken place, or, what is more probable, what he heard from old courtiers. Bāṇa writes: '. . . . . There drunken slave women allured the favourites, while the monarch himself looked on with a secret smile. In one place respectable old feudatories were, much to his amusement, clasping the necks of the intoxicated bawds of the capital in a furious dance. Elsewhere wanton water-girls raised a laugh by embracing aged ascetics. In another place chamberlains knowing nothing of dance were, to the entertainment of the maids, violently forced to dance by the king's women. . . . Whispering softly, like cuckoos, in low passionate tones, they sung the words of vulgar mimes, ambrosia to their lovers' ears. . . . . .'[3]

Dāsa: Slave

It is usually held that slavery has existed in India from remote ages. Scholars have also suggested that slave labour was employed in building up the Harappan civilization. This suggestion, which is now accepted as a working hypothesis, is based on the analogy of other ancient civilizations like those of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Greece, and Rome which extensively employed slave labour. It is difficult to argue against this view, since there is no evidence against it; there is also no positive evidence in its favour either.

For the historical period there is the statement by Megasthenes: 'All the Indians are free and not one of them is a slave. The Lakedaemonians and Indians are so far in agreement. The Lakedaemonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, much less a countryman of their own.' Scholars reconcile this statement with their view by assuming that Megasthenes had misunderstood the Indian system because of the humane treatment of the slaves by their masters. This view may be partially correct, but while studying the history of slavery in India, a few points have to be taken into consideration which tend to support Megasthenes.

[1]ibid, p. 236.
[2]ibid, p. 243.
[3]*Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhatta, translated by E.B. Cowell and F.W. Thomas, London, 1967, pp. 112-14.

The existence of slavery during Harappan civilization is assumed on the basis of enlightened guess work. When we reach the period of recorded history the picture is not very clear. As we shall see, there are a few references to *dāsa* or 'slave' in the RV, but it is difficult to define their status. Āpastamba (2.4.9.11) lays down that 'one may stint one self, one's wife, or son (as to food) if guests come, but never a slave who does one's menial work.' It is indeed a peculiar slave who gets preference in matters of food over his master and his family. It is also remarkable that neither the Dharmasūtras nor the Mbh. contain any regulation regarding slavery, and Manu has only two verses on slaves, which leave most questions regarding slavery unanswered. The earliest work dealing in detail with the slaves is Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, but, as will be shown presently, Kauṭilya prohibits the enslavement of an Indian. In many other ways too, his treatment of slaves is unexpectedly humane.

It is the later *smṛtikāras* like Kātyāyana, Nārada and Bṛhaspati who deal with the slaves more fully than Manu, and much more harshly than Kauṭilya. Nārada specifically allots to the slaves all the dirty household works. Some documents of the *Lekhapaddhati*, cited at the end of this section, show that Nārada's provisions as to the slaves gained legal authority, and the lot of the Indian slaves came to differ very little from others. Thus it seems that there was a progressive deterioration in the condition of the slaves in India.

Some scholars have tried to explain the 'downfall of slave-owning society' on the basis of Kauṭilya alone. Some of the fallacies of their theory have been pointed out by Prof. Kangle. It may be added that these scholars overlook that slavery was rigorously organized after Kauṭilya. It is possible that the Indians learnt the rigours of slavery from Greece and Rome.[1]

It is not possible at the present stage of our knowledge to trace the development of slavery in India, though some distinct stages can be noticed. The system of slavery may have existed in the Vedic age, but the distinction between service and servitude was not defined. This anomaly continued till the end of the *sūtra* period. By Manu's time, the methods of acquiring a slave had become established, but the nature of a slave's duty, or the procedure for his manumission still remained beyond the pale of Smṛti law, and were probably governed by local customs. Several times the Mbh. refers to gifts of slaves, particularly of female slaves, but, beyond repeating one of Manu's verses, is silent about the working of the slavery system. Kauṭilya attempted to define the scope of slavery and the duties of the slaves. Yājñavalkya was an improvement of Manu, but he ignores Kauṭilya altogether. The later Smṛti writers too ignore Kauṭilya, and his liberal attitude towards the slaves. They seem to have codified the existing customs on the basis of scattered provisions of Yājñavalkya. Nārada's regulations gave slavery its final form which is attested by 13th century documents.

Few scattered passages are all the evidence that we have to prove the

[1]For a criticism of Marxist theories on slavery in India see R.P. Kangle, *KAK*, III, pp. 186-88.

existence of slavery in the Vedic age. The RV (VIII.56.3) says: 'Thou madest a gift to me of 100 donkeys, 100 fleece-bearing ewes, and 100 *dāsas* (slaves)' Again, a sage declares (RV, VIII. 19.36) that Trasadasyu gave him fifty young women, presumably slave girls. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (39.8) mentions a gift of 10,000 *dāsīs* (female slaves). The word *dāsa* is used in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (4.4.23) and in the *Chāndogya* (7.24.2), though in the former it has been used in the figurative sense. The word *dāsī* occurs in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (6.2.7) and in the *Chāndogya* (5.13.2), but it is difficult to say whether these words as used in these texts signify 'slaves' or 'servants.' However in the *Kaṭha* (1.1.25). when Yama tempts Naciketas with 100 damsels, slave girls seem to have been meant, but the word used is *rāmāḥ*, which means 'beautiful young women.'

Gifts of girls became a common social custom in what may be called 'the epic age.' The Mbh. relates that on the occasion of the Rājasūya ceremony, Drupada presented Yudhiṣṭhira with 14,000 slave girls and 10,000 married slaves (2.48.28). When the Rājasūya was over, Yudhiṣṭhira presented the departing *brāhmaṇas* cows, gold, beds, and women (2.30.52). On the occasion of Abhimanyu's marriage with Uttarā, Kṛṣṇa's present to the Pāṇḍavas included women, but their number is not specified (4.67.25). Dhṛtarāṣṭra, eager to please Kṛṣṇa when he came to Hastināpura to negotiate a settlement, advised Vidura to arrange for suitable presents for the honoured guest which should have included 'one hundred beautiful slave girls who had not given birth to a child' (5.84.8). During the war, Karṇa offered 100 beautiful young women to anyone who would locate Arjuna (8.27.5). After the war, Dhṛtarāṣṭra performed *śrāddha* for his dead sons with money borrowed from the Pāṇḍavas. He collected many kinds of gifts for distribution among the *brāhmaṇas* who would attend the *śrāddha*. Among the gifts were male and female slaves, and beautiful maidens (15.20.2-4).

Various forms of slaves are mentioned in the Buddhist texts. First, there was the slave born in the master's house like Channa born in the house of Śuddhodana, and Daśaka born in the house of Anāthapiṇḍika. Both became famous Buddhist monks. The *Dīghanikāya* (3.1.16) explains *dāsī-putta* as 'son of a household slave.' The *Vessāntara-jātaka* shows that slaves could be purchased, which is confirmed by such terms as *satakkītādāsī* (female slave purchased for one hundred), and *satena kīto dāso* (slave purchased for one hundred). The *Baka-brahmajātaka* relates the capture of slaves during a raid. There are also several instances of voluntary adoption of slavery.[1]

Kauṭilya devotes a section (3.13) to 'law concerning slaves and labourers', where he has used the words *ārya* and *mleccha* as technical terms. It is evident that by *ārya* he means an inhabitant of *āryāvartā*,[2] that is an Indian,

[1]For details see D. Raj, *L'Esclavage dans l'Inde ancienne d'apres les textes Palis et Sanskrits*, Pondichery, 1957, pp. 72-3. D. Raj, pp. 76-7 has wrongly classified *devadāsī* and *kumbhadāsī* as slaves. *Kumbhadāsī* was a common whore, and *devadāsī* was a slave to the extent that they were dedicated to a temple which they could not leave.

[2]The Delhi Siwalik Pillar Inscription of the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja IV Vīsaladeva

as opposed to *mleccha* or foreigner. For this purpose of distinction, even a *śūdra* is considered to be an *arya* (3.13.1). Kauṭilya then states (3.13.3-4) that while a *mleccha* may be permitted to sell his children 'there shall be no slavery for an *ārya* in any circumstances whatsoever.' An *ārya* could be kept as a pledge (3.13.5), but during the period of servitude if an *ārya* is made 'to pick up a corpse, dung, urine, or leavings of food,' or if a woman so pledged is made 'to give bath to a naked person,' then the pledgee will lose his capital and 'a nurse, a female attendant, a woman tenant tilling for half the produce, and a maid, shall become free' (3.13.9). A man who approached a pledged and unwilling nurse had to pay the lowest fine for violence (48 *panas*), and if a person defiled a maiden pledged to him, he not only lost his capital, but had to pay her dowry and double the amount as fine (3.13. 11-12).

'The progeny of one who sells himself (apparently a *mleccha*) shall be known as *arya*.' He could retain his private earning, and inherit, and by paying the price he could 'become an *ārya*', that is, a free citizen (3.13.13-15).

Kauṭilya (3.13.19-20) envisages five kinds of slaves: 1. captured in war, 2. born in the house; 3. inherited; 4. obtained as present; and 5. purchased. Of them an *ārya* prisoner of war (*dhvajāhṛta*, lit. 'captured under the banner') was to be freed 'by suitable work for a specified period or for half the price'. If a slave of the four other types under eight years of age and without kinsmen is forced to perform some 'vile work' (*nīce karmaṇi*) or made to work in a foreign land, the master will be fined 48 *paṇas*. The same fine is to be paid by the seller, the purchaser, and the witness of a female slave who is pregnant, if no provision is made for the nourishment of the foetus (3.13. 19-20).

On payment of ransom a slave was to be freed, otherwise the master had to pay a fine of 12 *paṇas*, and was to be confined till he paid it (3.13.21). If a female slave had a child by her master, then she and the child became free. If she continued to live with her former master then her brother and sister also would become free (3.13.23-24). Kinsmen were to inherit the property of the slave, and in their absence the master (3.13.22). From this provision as well as from 3.13.14 mentioned above, it is apparent that slaves could own personal property.

It has been stated above that according to Kauṭilya (3.13.1), a *śūdra* was a free man and an *ārya*. Manu (1.91 and 8.413-414) ordained that the principal duty of a *śūdra* was to wait upon the three higher-castes, and that the Creator intended him for the service of the *brāhmaṇas*. But a *śūdra* who served the upper-castes was not a slave. This is made clear in the PMS (6.7.6: *śūdras=ca dharmaśāstratvāt*), which provides that when a man makes a gift of everything belonging to himself in the Viśvajit sacrifice, he cannot make a gift of the *śūdra* who waits upon him as his duty. Śabara in his *bhāsya* adds that 'the *śūdra* may not desire to serve the man to whom the

dt. VS 1220 (AD 1163) declares: *aryāvartam yathārtham punar api kṛtavan mleccha-vicchedа-nābhirdaivaḥ Śākambharindro jagati vijayate Vīsalaḥ kṣoṇipālaḥ*, *IA*, XIX, p. 215.

sacrificer gives his all, and the latter has no power over him if he is unwilling.'[1]

The term *śūdra-dāsa* may mean either 'the slave of a *śūdra*,' or 'a *śūdrā* slave.' Buddhaghosa accepts the first alternative and remarks that though a *śūdra* may not possess nobility of birth like a *brāhmaṇa* and a *kṣatriya*, or of *varṇa* like the three upper-castes, but even a *śūdra* can possess wealth.[2]

As stated above, the Dharmasūtras have no provisions regarding slaves, from which it appears that during that period slavery had not developed as an institution. Manu is the earliest Dharmaśāstra writer to write on slaves, which he does in two verses (8.415-416). According to Manu (8.415) there are seven kinds of slaves: 1. prisoner of war (*dhvajāhṛta*); 2. one who accepts slavery for food; 3. a slave born in the master's house; 4. purchased: 5. received as a gift; 6. inherited; and 7. sentenced to servitude. Manu 8. 416 says: 'three are declared to be without wealth, namely, the wife, the son, and the slave; whatever they earn are for him to whom they (the wife, son, and the slave) belong'. This verse is almost repeated in Mbh. 1.77.22 and in Nārada 5.41. Śabara quotes a similar verse on PMS 6.1.12, and points out that this passage does not deny the ownership of the wife or the son in what he or she earns, but is only intended to lay down that the wife or the son cannot independently, that is, without the consent of the husband or the father dispose of what he or she earns. While commenting on Yājñavalkya 2.49 Vijñāneśvara quotes Manu 8.416 and states that this verse does not mean that 'wives etc.' (*stry-ādinām*) can own no property at all, but that they are not independent (*paratantrya-mātra*) [to dispose of their own property]. Evidently this dispensation also applied to slaves, which is made clear by Medhātithi on Manu 8.416.

Among the *smṛtikāras*, an elaborate treatment on slavery is given by Nārada (5, *abhyupetaśuśrūṣā*). According to Nārada (5.26-28) there are fifteen kinds of slaves: 1. born in the house; 2. purchased; 3. acquired (through gift or by other means); 4. inherited; 5. saved from starvation during a famine; 6. pledged by the master; 7. discharged from a large debt; 8. captured in battle; 9. vanquished in bet; 10. one who accepts slavery by saying 'I am yours'; 11. am apostate or fallen ascetic; 12. one who stipulates to be slave (for a certain period); 13. one who is a slave for food (so long as food is given to him); 14. one who is tempted to become a slave out of love for a female slave; and 15. one who sells himself.

Of these slaves, those belonging to the first four categories cannot be manumitted except by the grace of their masters. But if a slave saves his master's life he becomes free immediately, and receives a son's share in his master's property (5.30), and this provision is also given by Yājñavalkya (2.182). A slave of the fifth category of the above list becomes free by giving two cows; and he need not repay the value of the food consumed by him during the famine. Number 6 is freed when the pledger repays the amount of debt, but if the

[1]Quoted by MM. Kane, *HDK*, II, i, p. 182. Medhātithi on Manu 8.414 makes it clear that a *śūdra* who serves a *brāhmaṇa* is not his slave.

[2]Quoted by D. Raj, op. cit., p. 75.

debt is not paid the pledged slave becomes as good as purchased slave. Number 7 is freed when he pays the amount of loan with interest. Number 12 is freed on the expiry of the stipulated period. Numbers 9 and 10 are freed when they can provide substitutes. Number 11 can be a slave of the king only, and can never become free, which is also provided by Yājñavalkya 2.183 Number 13 becomes free when he ceases to take the master's food, and number 14 when the girl is taken away from him. The slave of the last category (no. 15), whom Nārada calls 'the worst type of man' (*narādhama*) is never manumitted. (Nārada, 5, 31-37).

Nārada (5.38) and Yājñavalkya (2.182) provide that the king should free those who have been abducted and sold as slaves, or forcibly made slaves. Nārada (5.39), Yājñavalkya (2.183) and Kātyāyana provide that slavery is to be accepted in the natural order of caste, that is, an inferior caste should be the slave of a superior caste and not in the reverse order. Nārada (5.39) further provides that if a superior caste gives up his *dharma*, he can be a slave of an inferior caste to the extent that like a wife he will have no independence.

The procedure for manumission of a slave is given by Nārada (5.42-43). The master takes from the slave's shoulder an earthen jar of water and breaks it. He then sprinkles the slave's head with water mixed with rice and flower and says three times: 'You are not a slave.' He then dismisses the slave facing east.

A slave, according to Nārada (5.6-7) shall have to perform impure (*aśubha*) work which consist of: cleaning the entrance to the house, filthy pits (for leavings of food), the road, dung heap, touching (or scratching) the masters private parts, taking up and throwing away ordure and urine, and doing bodily service to the master if he so desires.

It is this nature of duties that marks the difference between a slave and a servitor. Nārada begins the chapter by stating that there are five kinds of *śuśrūṣaka* (one who serves another), namely, a *śiṣya* (a Vedic student), an *antevāsin* (an apprentice who is learning a craft), an *adhikarmakṛt* (a supervisor over workmen), *bhṛtaka* (servant on wages), and *dāsa* (slave). The first four are called *karmakāra*, and can be asked to perform pure (*śubha*) works only, while the *dāsa* will have to do the impure (*aśubha*) work.

Normally a slave was not a competent witness, but Manu (8.70) says that when no other witness was available, even a slave could serve as a witness.

There are four documents in the *Lekhapaddhati*,[1] all dated vs 1288 (AD 1231-1232) which deal with the sale of female slaves. The first two documents are called *Dāsīpatravidhi* while the third and the fourth are entitled *Svayamāgata-dāsī-patravidhi*. The first two documents are deeds of sale of slave girls (*dāsī-vikraya-patra*) while the last two are title-deeds. Written documents proving the ownership of a female slave was necessary, for Bṛhaspati (7.29) says: *na strīnām upabhogaḥ syād vinā lekhyaṁ kathañcana* ('one should never

[1]*Lekhapaddhati* edited by C.D. Dalal and G.K. Shrigondekar; *GOS*, XIX, Baroda, 1925, pp. 44-7.

have (lit. enjoy) a female slave without documentary evidence of (her ownership).' The *Lekhapaddhati* has no document regarding the sale of a male slave, presumably because such documents were not necessary.

The first document records that having invaded a foreign state one *Rāṇā-Śrī*-Pratāpasiṁha had captured and brought a fair looking sixteen-year-old girl called Panutī, and after having informed the *pañcamukhanagara*, she was being offered for sale at the crossing of the four roads with grass on her head. One Āsadhara purchased her from *Rāṇā-Śrī*-Pratāpasiṁha on a payment of 504 *Vīsalapriya drammas*, having proclaimed the fact of the purchase throughout the town. The duty of the slave girl in her master's home is then set forth and consists of the following: cutting (vegetables), pulverizing (the spices), smearing the floor (with cow dung), sweeping, bringing fuel, water etc., throwing away human excreta (of her master's family), milking the cow, buffalo, and the goat, churning curd and carrying buttermilk to the field; field work such as bringing grass, weeding and cutting grass etc, and other household work (*gṛhakarma*), and the slave girl was to perform all her tasks candidly. The purchaser in return was to provide her with food, clothings etc. according to the prevailing custom and his capacity. While the slave girl would be working in her master's house, if her father, brother, or husband, by virtue of their wealth interfered in her duty, the purchaser would be (at liberty) to tie, molest, or strike her cruelly, and re-employ her in her tasks as set forth above. If on being tortured the slave girl committed suicide by throwing herself into a well etc., she would be reborn as a she-ass, bitch, or a *cāṇḍālī*, and in that case (i.e. suicide) the buyer would have to perform the penance of bathing in the Ganges. The *rakṣāpāla* and the citizens would see that the above mentioned clauses were fulfilled, for which purpose *Rāṇā-Śrī*-Pratāpasiṁha and the four *rakṣāpālas* mentioned below signed this document. This recital is followed by the name of the writer of this document.

The second *Dāsīpatra* gives the interesting information that when *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇaka-Śrī*-Vīradhavaladeva[1] had invaded Mahārāṣṭra, a man had brought back a fair looking girl as captive. As instead of giving the names of the seller and buyer, this document employs the word *amuka* (so and so), it seems that many slave girls were brought on that expedition, and this form was drafted to be used as and when required, by substituting the proper names in place of *amuka*. It also appears that either the girl was being sold through an agent or was being sold to the creditor (*dhanika*) by the borrower (*hastadharaṇika*) for the sum of 60 *drammas*. The duty of the slave girl in her master's house would be cutting, pulverizing, sweeping, cooking, smearing etc., and all other kinds of work. Even if she were to be sold or given away as gift to some other person, she was to perform her (above mentioned) duties without any mischievous intent. If she committed theft or misbehaved in any other manner in her master's house, she was to be severely put to task. The rest of the provisions are practically similar to the previous one, except that instead of *rakṣāpāla*, private persons are named to act as guaran-

[1]For Vīradhavala see above I, pp. 451 and 472.

tors of the deed. It may also be noted that the *pañcamukhanagaras* are not stated to have been informed in this document presumably because the girl was not being sold at a public place.

The third document, called *Svayam-āgata-dāsī-patravidhi* materially differs from the first two, being a title-deed and not a deed of sale. This document relates that a girl aged ten, named Saṁpūrī, daughter of one Princess[1] Jagaḍa, had arrived from the village Siranāra situated in the country of Mahītaṭa in the east, which (country) had been visited by a famine consequent to a Muslim invasion and plunder, so that the agitated citizens and cultivators had left the country, and she was stranded as all the relations on her father's as well as on her husband's side had started begging. Though she begged for only a mouthful of rice at every household and at every village (on her way), she had become extremely emaciated due to want of food, and had become dirty with a rag on, being forced to pass her nights in temples and monasteries, (and) with unkempt hairs, frightened, the girl Saṁpūrī looked on all sides, and puzzling in her mind what to do, where to go, where to stay and who would be her owner, approached every house and said: 'My lord: I am an orphan. Will you have me as a slave?' Thus one day she arrived at a certain village, and falling at the feet of one Cāhaḍa, said with folded hands: 'I have come voluntarily, please engage me as a slave, and save me from this terrible famine. I shall, according to your order and so long as I live, work as your slave, and shall perform the duties of cutting, pulverizing, sweeping, fetching drinking water, smearing (the rooms) with cow dung, throwing away human excreta, (and) all (other) household duties and outside works such as cultivation, other field works and threshing etc. (and shall perform all these tasks) with zest, during all the three seasons of rain, winter, and summer, throughout the day and night; untiringly and without talking back I shall carry out your orders. You will have to give me (in return) according to your capacity only food, dress, and sandals. What more shall I want?' Having declared this at the crossing of the four roads before men of the four castes, she became the slave of Cāhaḍa. Still Cāhaḍa, to satisfy himself, made her declare as follows: 'If I, so long as I live, while employed as a slave in your house or in any other house, commit theft, seeing a vacant room appropriate some article, or finding that begging had become easier go elsewhere, or mix with cheats, rascals, or your enemies, or in my youth being tempted by some men leave you, then on the strength of this deed you will catch me by my hair, bind me, and again set me to work as a slave. I shall always throughout night and day carry out the orders of your relatives. If ever, out of wickedness, I refuse to perform my duty when ordered to do so, then you will punish me by kicking and beating me with sticks and (may even) torture (me) to death, (for which) you my lord will remain as free from guilt as if you had been absent. I declare to all, that should I die under

[1]The word is *rājaputrī*, which may also mean 'a female Rajput'. It is peculiar that Saṁpūrī should give her mother's name instead of her father's, unless there is a printing mistake and the word should read as '*rājaputra*' which is likely.

torture (mentioned above) it will have been brought about by my own fault, and you and your family shall be absolved by bathing in the Ganges. If ever I commit suicide by jumping into a well or pond or by taking poison on account of pregnancy (*udarabādha*), you my lord will be guiltless, and will only (have to perform the penance of) bathing in the Ganges.' After recording this declaration and recital of woe of the young girl, the deed states that for the present purpose of recording a contract of perpetual bondage, the *pañcamukhanagaras* and some *brāhmaṇas* were informed. There were five witnesses to this document.

The fourth document is an abridged version of the third. It also shows a destitute girl accepting slavery as she could find no other means of subsistence. The only important addition in this document is that the features of the girl are described in some detail, and her duties among others include cooking, cleaning the gutters and a reservoir of water. It is also particularly mentioned that she could be sold, given away as a gift, mortgaged, or sent overseas.

In another document called the *Vibhaṅgapatravidhi* (no. II, deed of partition of ancestral property), male and female slaves are divided along with other household property among the partitioners.

Thus the documents illustrate the provisions of the Smṛtis that a slave could be acquired by capture, purchase, gift, mortgage, inheritance, and acceptance of a voluntary offer made due to famine. The documents also illustrate that a slave had to perform the impure works as ordained by Nārada. The inclusion of the detailed list of duties indicate that in their absence the master's right to force the slave to do the works would not have been established. This was a far cry from Āpastamba's concern for the slave's food.

CHAPTER V

ASPECTS OF SOCIETY

EDUCATION

A DVIJA, or a man born in the one of the three upper *varṇas*, was expected to devote a part of his youth to study as has been described above. It appears that in very ancient times, the son received his instructions from his father,[1] but later this practice was given up in favour of sending a boy for training under a teacher. The Mbh. (3.139.21-22, and 13.36.15) condemns the practice of learning at home, and the Upaniṣads testify to the prevalence of the system of learning the scriptures under a *guru*. The Frog-hymn of the RV (VII. 103.5-6) shows that from very ancient times the practice of a number of students learning under one teacher was in vogue. But the highest truth of Vedānta could be learnt either from father or a teacher. The story of Śvetaketu in the *Chāndogya* (6.1-16) illustrates that sometimes a boy received formal education from a *guru*, and on his return home was instructed in the higher mysticism by his father, though the teacher could also impart it. Thus the *Śvetāśvatara* (6.22) says that the most secret doctrine of the Vedānta should not be imparted to anyone who is not a son nor a student.

The present chapter is concerned with formal education. Even in the times of the early Upaniṣads, the subjects of study had become diversified. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2.4.10 and 4.5.11) mentions the following subjects: the four Vedas, *itihāsa* (history or legend), *purāṇa* (ancient lore), *vidyā*,[2] *upaniṣads*, *śloka* (*mantra* verses), *sutrāṇi* (aphorisms), *anuvyākhyānāni* (explanations), and *vyākhyānāni* (commentaries). The *Chāndogya* (7.1.4 and 7.7.1) gives a longer list, namely, i. the four Vedas; ii. *itihāsa* and *purāṇa* together constituting the fifth Veda; iii. Veda of the Vedas (grammar); iv. *pitrya* (treatises on *śrāddha*); v. *rāśi* (arithmetic); vi. *daiva* (portents), vii. *nidhi* (finding out hidden treasure); viii. *vākovākya* (science of dialectic); ix. *ekāyana* (politics); x. *devavidyā* (*nirukta*); xi. *brahma-vidyā* (metres and phonetics); xii. *bhūtavidyā* (exorcism of ghosts); xiii. *kṣatra-vidyā* (science of war) xiv. *nakṣatra-vidyā* (astronomy); xv. *sarpa-vidyā* (science of snake-charming); and xvi. *devajana-vidyā* (arts like preparing unguents, dancing, singing, instrumental music, and various *śilpas* or crafts). This *devajana-vidyā* was probably the basis of Vātsyāyana's sixty-four arts.

[1] See *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 5.2.1. and 6.2.1 and 4.

[2] The meaning of *vidyā* is obscure; see *Vedic Index*. Possibly this term stands for the various *vidyās* mentioned in the *Chāndogya* to be noted presently; see below p. 120 fn. 3

The principal subject of study for the *brāhmaṇas* was the Veda, particularly the Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa portion of the particular *śākhā* to which the student belonged. Manu (2.168) says that the *dvija* who without studying the Veda studies another lore is quickly reduced to the status of a *śūdra* in this very life together with his descendants. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (1.9) ordains that *svādhyāya* (study of the Veda) and *pravacana* (teaching the Veda on repeating it daily) should be the basis of *ṛta*, *satya*, *tapas*, *dama*, *sama*, fire, *agnihotra*, entertainment of guests and progeny, and in conclusion states that *svādhyāya* and *pravacana* constitute *tapas*.

In the earlier age it was essential to understand the meaning of Veda. Medhātithi on Manu 3.1 quotes Śabara, who says that the real purpose of studying the Veda is to learn the religious actions that it conveys, and that from the mere memorizing of the Veda no rewards can be gained. The Mbh. (5.130.6 and 12.10.1) repeats a verse which denounces a *brāhmaṇa* whose intellect has been dulled by the constant repetition of the *anuvākas* of the Veda. This verse shows that already the practice of committing the *anuvākas* (chapters or sections) of the Vedas to memory had begun. Later 'a student who knew the first and the last hymn of a *Ṛṣi* or *anuvāka* was, by a sort of fiction, considered to have known, the whole portion belonging to the *Ṛṣi* or the whole *anuvāka*.'[1] This easy dispensation was primarily meant to relieve the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas*. Even among the *brāhmaṇas* 'there was always an undercurrent of the belief that the mere memorizing of the Vedic texts conferred great sanctity on the memorizer and removed all this sins. As time went on these ideas became supreme, and the neglect of the meaning of the Veda has gone so far that among many modern orthodox *brāhmaṇas* there is a belief that the meaning of the Veda cannot be known, and it is futile to try to find its meaning.'[2]

The *guru* or the teacher was the pivot of the educational system in ancient India. As we have seen, boys at a tender age were entrusted to his care, and they left him only when they were fully grown up. The teacher was responsible for the students' education, morals, character building, and health. The brahmanical system of life and tradition was maintained by the teacher and transmitted to the student for nearly two hundred generations.

Three terms are used to designate a teacher namely, *guru*, *upādhyāya*, and *ācārya*. Of these *guru* is a general term which also mean any person male or female who is to be respected. According to Manu (2.140), the *brāhmaṇa* who after performing (the boy's) sacred-thread ceremony teaches (him) the Veda alohg with *kalpa* (theory and practice of sacrifices) and *rahasya* (Upaniṣads) is an *ācārya*. Manu then says (2.141-142) that an *upādhyāya* teaches the student a portion of the Veda or Vedāṅga as a means of his own livelihood, while a *guru* performs the *saṁskāras* and maintains the child,

[1] *HCIP*, I, 1965, p. 522.
[2] *HDK*, II, i, p. 358.

clearly indicating that in this instance *guru* means the father. Yājñavalkya (1.34) says that *guru* performs the *saṁskāras*, and imparts instruction in the Vedas, by which he probably implies that the father gave early lessons in Veda. Manu (2.145) says, and is practically repeated in the Mbh. (13.108.14) in less extravagant terms), that an *ācārya* is ten times more worthy of respect than an *upādhyāya*, a father hundred times an *ācārya*, and a mother thousand times than a father. Later Manu (2.225-237) extols the virtues of the *ācārya*, father, and the mother in very flowery language.[1]

From Manu's definition of *upādhyāya* it would appear that it was permissible to make the teaching of Veda and the Vedāṅgas a means of earning money. But Manu 3.156, Mbh. 13.24.16 and Yājñavalkya 1.223 say that a hired teacher (*bhṛtak-adhyāpaka*) and his student are not fit to be invited at a *śrāddha*. Yājñavalkya (3.235) and other Smṛtis include teaching for money and learning from a paid teacher as an *upa-pātaka* or minor lapse (lit. minor sin). But Medhātithi on Manu (2.112 and 3.156) and Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya (3.235) explain that a person does not become a *bhṛtak-adhyāpaka* by accepting something from a pupil, but the making of a stipulation beforehand like a labourer that one would teach only if a certain sum was paid would render one a 'hired teacher.' From Medhātihi's comments on Manu 3.156, it appears that the *upādhyāyas* were a class of private tutors who gave lessons in the students' home. However Manu (10.116) and Yājñavalkya (3.42) allow a *brāhmaṇa* to make such stipulations when in distress.

The general opinion of the Dharmaśāstras is that the student should give *dakṣiṇā* (fees) to the teacher only at the end of his studies.[2] The mode of payment of fees distinguished *ācārya* from the *upādhyāya*. A young *brāhmaṇa* went to his *ācārya* usually at the age of eight years, and stayed with him for twelve years, at the end of which period he paid him some fee. On the other hand the *upādhyāya* it seems had to be paid regularly. And, as pointed out above, the *upādhyāya* most probably came to the student's home to give him lessons. An example is Droṇa, who came to Hastināpura to teach the Pāṇḍava and the Kaurava princes earning considerable fee, though he is usually addressed as *ācārya*.

The Upaniṣads mention two types of teachers. There were *ācāryas* with whom a student spent many years and then returned home after completion of his studies. The second type is represented by Pippalāda of the *Praśna*, whom five *brāhmaṇa* youths approached with their special inquiry. Another

[1]Of these verses, Manu, 2.231 and 234 are the same as Mbh. 12.109.7 and 11. Instead of *ācārya*, the Mbh. has *guru* as in Manu 2.231.

[2]Gautama 2.54-55; Manu 2.245-246; Yājñavalkya 1.51; and Mbh. 14.55.21 say that the teacher's satisfaction with the student's work and conduct are indeed the proper *dakṣiṇā*. There are, however, exceptions in the Mbh. At the end of their training, Droṇa asked the Kaurava and the Pāṇḍava princes that they should defeat his old enemy Drupada which would constitute his fees. Viśvāmitra also wanted a large number of peculiar horses from Gālava under extenuating circumstances.

example is given in the *Chāndogya* (7.11.): Nārada, after completing his studies of all subjects, approached Sanatkumara saying, '*adhīhi bhagava*' (Revered Sir, please teach me). In none of these instances is there the question of paying fees to the teachers. It is to such teachers that the *Gītā* (4.34) refers the seeker after truth saying that 'those illumined souls (*jñanino tattvadarśinaḥ*) will instruct you in this knowledge (of That Brahman) if you prostrate before them (*praṇipāta*), question them respectfully and serve them.'

Manu (2.109) says that ten persons should be taught, namely, 1. the son of the teacher (*ācārya-putra*); 2. one who serves (that is, a regular student); 3. one who gives some knowledge in exchange; 4. one who knows *dharma*; 5. one who is pure (in body and mind); 6. one who is truthful; 7. one who is able to study and retain it; 8. one who gives money (for teaching); 9. a well-wisher; and 10. one who is a near relative (agnate). Manu (2.112) empha sizes this professional aspect of teaching when he says that just as one does not sow good seeds in a barren soil, so one should not teach a person unless there is some spiritual or material gain or service in return for teaching. Yājñavalkya (1.28) says that those (alone) are worthy of receiving instructions who are grateful, submissive, intelligent, pure, free from mental and physical ailments, not jealous, good natured, clever in serving, and distribute learning and riches.

Manu (2.109 and 112) has used the word *śuśrusā* for 'service,' which a student had to perform for his teacher. It is possibly for this reason, that Nārada has discussed the duties of the student in his chapter entitled *śuśrusā abhyupetya* (non-rendition of service after entering into a contract to serve or obey), which is one of the *vyavahārapadas* or 'subjects of litigation,' according to Manu (8.4-7). However, commenting on Yājñavalkya (2.32), Vijñāneśvara quotes an authoritative verse which says that no suit lies between a *guru* and a *śiṣya*.[1]

It has been shown above, that Nārada (5.2-3) mentions five kinds of servants of which four are called *karmakāra*, and the fifth *dāsa* or slave.[2] The four *karmakāras* are *śiṣya* (pupil), *antevāsin* (apprentice), *bhṛtaka* (hired servant), and *adhikarmakṛt* (superintendent or hired servants). The common attribute of these four types of *karmakāras* is their inability to act as they like, but Nārada (5.4) points out that there is a distinction among them due to their castes, their peculiar duties, and their mode of maintaining themselves (*vṛtti*).

We are here concerned with the *śiṣya* and the *antevāsin*. Both are students who live with their teachers, but according to Bṛhaspati, a *śiṣya* is a pupil who desires from his teacher instruction in some craft, such as goldsmith's work, or dancing which are known as *vijñāna*.

The duties of a *śiṣya* or a Vedic student, according to Nārada (5.8-15), are

[1]There is one exception to be noted below.

[2]The earlier texts like Āpastamba 2.11.28.2-3 and Gautama 12.16-17 mention only two kinds of servants, namely agricultural labourer, and herdsman.

to wait upon the teacher, his wife and son, to beg for food, sleep on the ground (that is, not on a cot), to go to bed after everyone and get up before everyone. He should not go to a distant place nor come near the teacher without his permission. He will sit on a low wooden platform placed below or by the side of the teacher, and continue to study till the teacher asks him to stop. He is to carry out the orders of the teacher, so far as he is able to do so, with unquestioning obedience. If the *śiṣya* disobeys the teacher, the latter will scold him, or strike him with a length of rope or a cane. But the corporal punishment must not be too severe, and the teacher must not hit the student on his head or chest, and after the punishment the teacher must pacify the student by instructing him in mild language. If these rules are not observed by the teacher, the student can lodge a complaint against him.

Corporal punishment of a student, if he cannot be otherwise controlled, is recommended by Gautama (2.48-50), Āpastamba (1.2.8.29-30), Manu (8.299-300) and Nārada (5.13). Reference has been made above to the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya 2.32 where it is stated that no suit lies between a *guru* and his *śiṣya*, but Vijñāneśvara makes an exception in case the *guru* out of anger strikes the *śiṣya* very hard on the head, when the latter will have a cause of action. Manu (8.300) provides that the teacher who violates the rules will receive a thief's punishment.

The Dharmaśāstras provide that after the period of studentship is over, the student will pay the teacher *dakṣiṇā* (fee), and then return home. The payment of *dakṣiṇā* was obligatory, and Manu (2.245-246) says that when the student is about to return home, he may offer to the teacher some wealth according to his capacity; the gift of a field, gold, a cow, or a horse, or at least of shoes, an umbrella, *dhānya* (grains), vegetables, or clothes (either singly or together) will generate pleasure in the *guru*. A story in the Mbh. (5.104.19-26) shows that a *śiṣya* should beware of asking the *guru* what *dakṣiṇa* he wanted, for it was obligatory to give the *guru* any *dakṣiṇā* that he might demand.

An *antevāsin*, according to Nārada (5.16-21), must obtain permission from his relatives[1] and then join the teacher for a stipulated period to learn his (*antevāsin's*) trade. The teacher should provide the apprentice with food and lodging in his own house, and must not put him to do any work other than that which he has come to learn. The teacher must treat the apprentice like his son. The apprentice who leaves a teacher without any cause should be forced to stay there. Such a student deserves to be tied up and confined. Whatever the apprentice earns during the stipulated period, as well as the result of all his efforts, will be the teacher's due. When the apprentice has gained proficiency (in the art or craft), he will circumambulate the teacher, and honour him to the best of his ability before returning home. If the teacher, in view of the apprentice's skill, offers him a salary, then he will

[1]The word used here is *bāndhavāḥ*, which means '*relatives*' in general. But apparently, Nārada means father or elder brother, and in their absence some elderly relative.

accept it and stay with the teacher and not go elsewhere.

It was possibly customary for the apprentice to pay fee to the teacher at the commencement of apprenticeship. For the *Matsyapurāṇa* quoted by Aparārka on Yājñavalkya 2.198 provides that a teacher shall be fined an amount equal to the fee (*mūlya*) if after having accepted it he failed to teach the apprentice the art (*vidyā*) or the craft (*śilpa*) which he had agreed to teach.

The second system of education, or training of an apprentice by a master craftsman, may be called 'vocational training.' Its popularity and usefulness must have diminished as the crafts became increasingly caste-oriented, and ultimately family-oriented.

The first type of education, which may be called the *guru-śiṣya* system, survived practically till the beginning of the present century in an attenuated form.[1] With the development of cities, some of them like Takṣaśīlā, Vārāṇasī, Mithilā, Navadvīpa. Kāñcī, Mādurā etc., became 'University towns.' There each teacher had his separate school where he trained the students and awarded them degrees. A teacher usually taught one subject like grammar, logic, a branch of philosophy, etc. In some important cities, these schools were organized into what may be called 'corporate bodies' which were known as *brahmapuris* and *ghaṭikās*, like the *brahmapuri* at Belgaum or the *ghaṭikā* at Kāñchī. There were also schools in remote villages made famous by their illustrious teachers.

The defect of this system was that the teachers and the students were *brāhmaṇas*,[2] The *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* had the right to attend these schools, but they seldom exercised their right. The inadequacy of the system became apparent when the Jainas and the Buddhists had to train their monks. They solved their difficulties by opening their own educational institutions. Some of the Buddhist universities, noted later in the chapter on Buddhism, became famous seats of learning. They also built up good libraries. Of these only the Jaina libraries or *bhāṇḍāras*, have survived, and have yielded a rich harvest of rare manuscripts.

Books were highly prized, and Aparārka quotes a long passage from the *Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa* on the merits of gifts of manuscripts of the epics and the Purāṇas to a *brāhmaṇa* or to a *maṭha* for the use of the public. Thus many *maṭhas*, particularly in south India, made remarkable collection of manuscripts. A grant of the Valabhī king Guhasena of AD 559 refers to a collection of books on true *dharma*. In the *Kādambarī*, the queen Vilāsavatī is described as surrounded by ascetic women who held books in their hands and read *itihāsa*.[3]

[1]For the working of this system which survived till the introduction of modern system of education, see, W. Adam, *Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, 1835, 1836 and 1838*, Calcutta, 1868.

[2]The *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya 1.118 says that a *kṣatriya* or a *vaiśya* should teach a *brāhmaṇa* only when urged by him, and not at his sweet will; see also Manu 2.238 and Mbh. 12.159.29-30.

[3]Quoted in *HDK*, II, i, p. 349 and ii, p. 883. For the Valabhī inscription see *IA*, VII, p. 67.

The course of studies, for obvious reasons, emphasized the importance of grammar. This bias was recorded by the Chinese pilgrims in the 7th century AD. In his general account of India, Hiuen Tsang states that the Indian children in their seventh year, after finishing a work called 'the Twelve Chapters,' are introduced to the following five sciences, namely, i. the science of sounds or grammar; ii. the scienee of arts and crafts; iii. the science of medicine; iv. the science of reasoning; and v. the science of the 'internal.' Later, Hiuen Tsang mentions that in his time the grammatical works in use were Pāṇini's *sūtras*, its abridgement by a south Indian *brāhmaṇa* in 2500 verses, and special treatises called *Maṇḍaka* (?), *Uṇādi*, and *Aṣṭadhātu*.[1]

Hiuen Tsang's junior contemporary, I-tsing, gives a more detailed and intelligible account. The children, I-tsing says, began with a work called 'Siddha-composition' in their sixth year and mastered it in six months. In their eighth year, they took up Pāṇini's *sūtras* and the Dhātupāṭha, which they completed in eight months' time. In three years, beginning from the tenth, the boys completed the study of the three Khilas, namely, 1. *aṣṭadhātu*, dealing with the cases and numbers of nouns and the tenses and the endings of verbs; 2. the *muṇḍa* (or *maṇḍa*) ; and 3. the *uṇādi*, dealing with the suffixes of the verbal roots. In his fifteenth year, the young student began his study of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* on Pāṇini's grammar, which he finished in five years. For complete mastery over grammar, four other works were studied by monks and laymen. These were; 1. the *Cūrṇī* (also called the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali); 2. Bhartṛhari's commentary on the *Cūrṇī*; 3. his *Vākyapadīya*; and 4. his unidentified work called the *Pei-na*. I-tsing states that after learning the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, the lay students learnt *hetu-vidyā* (logic), *abhidharma* (metaphysics), etc., while the monks in addition learnt all the Vinaya texts as well as the *sūtras* and the *śāstras*.[2]

It will be observed that the main emphasis was on the study of grammar. This is only to be expected. For, learning in those days demanded proficiency in Sanskrit which is impossible to attain without a thorough knowledge of the difficult Sanskrit grammar.

The schools conducted by the Buddhist monasteries admitted the Buddhist novices and two groups of lay pupils. One group called the *māṇavas* (children), chiefly read the Buddhist scriptures with the intention of receiving ordination in future, while the other group, called the *brahmacārins*, read only the secular texts having no intention of joining the church. The novices were maintained by the *saṅgha*, while the lay pupils received food from the monas-

[1]T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, New Delhi, 1973, p. 154 ff.; Samuel Beal, *The Life of Hiuen Tsang* by Shaman Hwui Li, New Delhi, 1973, p. 122. The work called '*Twelve Chapters*' by Hiuen Tsang is, as Watters notes, a Sanskrit primer containing letters of the alphabet with their combinations.

[2]*A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malaya Archipelago by I-tsing*, translated by J. Takakusu, New Delhi, 1981, p. 170. The 'Siddha composition' of I-tsing is identical with Hiuen Tsang's *Twelve Chapters*. For the dates of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing see above I, pp. 35-6; for *Kāsikā-vṛtti* or *Kāsikā* see ibid, p. 107.

tery in return for some services; otherwise, they had to defray their own expenses.[1] Hiuen Tsang states that the Nālandā University not only provided courses of study for all the eighteen schools of Buddhism, but also for Veda, *hetu-vidyā* (logic), *cikitsāvidyā* (medicine), Atharva-vidyā, Sāṁkhya etc.[2]

In historical times, the brahmanical kings established educational institutes attached to temples and *maṭhas*, probably in imitation of the Buddhist *vihāras*. One of the earliest known grants for this purpose was made by the Pallava king Nṛpatuṅga-varman. He bestowed three villages as a source of revenue (*vidyā-bhoga*) for the promotion of learning to the residents of a 'seat of learning' (*vidyā-sthāna*, 'a college') at Vahugrāma, modern Vahur near Pondichery, where fourteen *vidyās* were pursued.[3] A Vaiṣṇava *maṭha* and its scholars are mentioned in another inscription of the same king at Kaveripakkam. In AD 1059, the Cālukya king Someśvara I granted thirty *mattars* of land to the teachers lecturing to ascetics, and eight *mattars* of land to the teachers lecturing to youths in a monastery.[4] An inscription of Vikramāditya VI issued in AD 1098 refers to the establishment of a school for teaching Prabhākara's system of Mīmāṁsā.[5] In AD 1107, the Cālukya queen Malayamatī-devī granted, out of the revenues of a village directly under her rule, eight *gadyāṇas* to the professor (*upādhyāya*) of commentaries, eight *gadyāṇas* to the reader of Purāṇas, and twelve *gadyāṇas* to two teachers of *khaṇḍikās* of RV and YV.[6]

Royal officials also founded educational institutions. As mentioned above, in AD 1290, Mahāpradhāna Perumala-*deva-daṇḍanāyaka* established a college. Besides making provisions for teaching the RV, this college had teachers 'to teach the boys Kannaḍa, Tigula (Tamil), and Ārya (Marathi)'. The teacher of the RV and of the modern languages received the same emolument, namely, six *gadyāṇas* a year.[7] The Dharwar plates of the time of the Yādava Siṁhaṇa provide for the grant for a *khaṇḍikā* (school), *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti* (teachers' salary), and for *bāla-śikṣā* (children's education).[8] Caṅgadeva, a grandson of the great Bhāskarācārya, (after whom the second Indian satellite has been named) established a college at Patana in Khandesh to further the study of

[1] I-tsing, op. cit., pp. 105-106.

[2] S. Beal, op. cit., p. 112.

[3] *EI*, XVIII, p. 5; *SII*, VI, p. 513. The 14 *vidyās* were 4 Vedas, 6 Vedāṅgas, (*tarka*), logic, *mīmāṁsā* (exegesis and rules of interpretation), *dharmaśāstra* (law), and *purāṇa*. To these were sometimes added *āyurveda* (medicine), *dhanurveda* (archery and science of warfare in general), *gandharva-veda* (music), and *arthaśāstra* (polity) to make the total eighteen. Fourteen *vidyās* are referred to in the *Raghuvaṁśam* 5.21. An inscription of AD 517-518 (*EI*, VIII, p. 287) refers to the proficiency of the *brāhmaṇa* ancestors of king Saṁkṣobha in 14 *vidyā-sthānas*. According to the *Tantravārtika* (1.3.6), knowledge of 14 or 18 *vidyā-sthānas* are necessary for a proper understanding of *dharma*.

[4] *EI*, XV, p. 83.

[5] ibid, p. 348.

[6] *EHDY*, I, p. 429; *EI*, XXXIV, p. 37 and notes.

[7] See above II, p. 253.

[8] *EI*, XXIX, p. 37, items nos. 64-66.

the astronomical works of his grandfather. The institute received liberal grants from the state, and the local residents also aided it with voluntary contributions on various occasions.[1]

The Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI records that his *mahāmātya*, Someśvara *Bhaṭṭopāddhyāya*, erected in every city halls, where discourses were held on the Vedas and other scriptures, from his own means. Someśvara established a school at Lakkigundi for teaching Mīmāṁsā of the Prabhākara school. Someśvara himself was an outstanding scholar. The inscription describes him as 'a Creator (Brahmā) in the four Vedas, a very Guha (Kumāra) in the sequence of grammar, a Śaṅkara in the six systems of philosophy, Vālmīki himself in the matter of discriminating poetry, a Vyāsa-*muni* manifest in the series of Purāṇas, (and) a Manu in the multitude of the matters of religions law.'[2]

In Kashmir, King Yaśaskara (AD 939-948) built a *maṭha* for students of *āryadeśa* who came to Kashmir to pursue their studies. To the superintendent of this *maṭha*, he presented the royal insignia resplendent with umbrellas and *chowries* (RT, VI, 87-88). It is possibly to this institute that the foreign students came whom Kṣemendra (*c.* AD 1000 to 1070) lampoons in his satirical poem, the *Daśopadeśa*. He derides the Gaudīya (Bengali) student, who, he says, arrives in Kashmir with an emaciated body but rapidly fills up by partaking food at sacrifices where he manages to secure invitation by ostentatious display of his piety. Though he is ignorant and finds difficulty in pronouncing the sacred syllable *Om*, he engages in learned contests with Kashmirian scholars, and pretends to study the *Mahābhāṣya* being ignorant of the alphabet. He is foppish, and of loose morals, visiting brothels and intriguing with other men's wives. The five spoilers of the Gauḍa libertine are the gambler, the bawd, the prostitute, the leather worker, and the barber. He is a man of violent nature, and plays the bully at sacrifices, at bathing places, at students' hostels, and in his dealings with merchants and physicians, drawing out a knife at the slightest provocation.

Detailed accounts of the maintenance of educational institutes are available from the Coḷa records. In the reign of Rājendra I, the *sabhā* of Rājarāja-caturvedi-maṅgalam (Ennayiram in S. Arcot) resolved in the presence of a royal official to arrange for the feeding of the students and the remuneration of the teachers in accordance with the terms of an order made by the king himself. Provision was made for 270 junior students, 70 senior students, and a teaching staff of 14 teachers. Of the junior students (*brahmācarins*), 40 studied the elements of grammar according to the *Rūpāvatāra* by Dharmakīrti, and the rest learned the Vedas by rote: 75 studied (rather committed to memory) the RV, and another 75 the YV; the *Vājasaneya*, the *Chāndogya*, and the *Talavakāra-sāmans* were studied by 20; 10 students studied the AV,

[1]ibid, I, p. 341.

[2]ibid, XV, p. 359. For another prodigy of this type see above II, p. 3. An inscription of AD 1027 describes a Jaina *muni* who had mastered 15 subjects including Vātsyāyana, that is, erotics, and *gandharva* (music), *EHDY*, I, p. 429.

and the remaining 10 studied Baudhāyana *gṛhya*, *kalpa*, and *gaṇa*. Twenty-five senior students were studying *vyākaraṇa*, 35 Prabhākara Mīmāṁsā, and 10 Vedānta. Each of the junior students received a daily allowance of 6 *nāḷis*, of paddy, while the senior students received 10 *naḷis*, each. The teacher of Vedānta received the highest allowance, namely, $1\frac{1}{3}$ *kalams* of grain daily; the teachers of Mīmāṁsā and of Vyākaraṇa came next with 1 *kalam* each, while the rest received a daily allowance of 3 *karuṇis* or 1/4 *kalam* of grain. Besides this daily allowance of grain, all the teachers, except that of Vedānta, and *chātras* (senior students) received cash allowance in gold at the rate of 1 *kalañju* per *adhyāya* taught in the case of Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṁsā teachers, entitling them to receive 8 *kaṭañjus* and 12 *kaṭañjus* respectively for the whole course, and half *kaṭañju* per annum for the rest. Law and custom prohibited the acceptance of money by teaching Vedānta, hence the Vedānta teacher received no cash payment. There are several other similar Coḷa records. An undated inscription, which Prof. Sastri has ascribed to the latter half of the 13th century AD, mentions the foundation of a *Sarasvatī-bhāṇḍāram* in the Srirangam temple by a Nāyakar, who also set up the images of Hayagrīva, Sarasvatī, and Veda-Vyāsa in the *maṇḍapa* housing the library. Provision was also made for the daily worship of the three deities.[1]

From a verse of the *Viṣṇudharma*, quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya*, it appears that the teacher was expected to explain in Sanskrit, or in the Prakrits, or even in *deśī* (the current languages of the various countries) in order that the student might understand the subject.[2] An undated inscription of the 12th century AD mentions a *dharmapālana-upādhyāya-śikṣā-gṛha*, which meant either a teachers' training school where the trainees were given religious instruction or where the trainees had to live according to the Dharmaśāstra precepts.[3]

Examinations were also held. One of the early inscriptions from Uttramallur grants a *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*, provided the holder of the *vṛtti* knew one Veda, *vyākaraṇa*, two *darśanas* of Mīmāṁsā, and Nirukta, and was capable of expounding the *vyākaraṇa*, *nyāya-bhāṣya* with *vārttika*, and Vaiśeṣika with *ṭīkā*. The inscription also speaks of an examination to be held at the end of a course lasting three years.[4] An interesting example of a qualifying service examination is recorded in two inscriptions. A Nāgara *brāhmaṇa* named Nānaka knew the whole of the RV, the Smṛtis, the Purāṇas, the *Kātantra* grammar, metrics, dramas, *alaṅkāra*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Mbh. He went to the councillors (*sabhyān*) of Vīsala, the king of Gujarat, and appeared at an examination in the Vedas and other scriptures (*Vedādi śāstresu dadau parīkṣā*). He must have passed the examination, and seems to have been appointed as the reciter of the Purāṇas to king Vīsala, and after the king's

[1]K.A.N. Sastri, *The Coḷas*, Madras, 1975, pp. 630-33; see also *HCIP*, V, pp. 511-13.

[2]Quoted in *HDK*, II, i, p. 349.

[3]Kīrtistambha Inscription of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, *AIOC*, VII, p. 649; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Baroda State*, 1934-35, p. 35.

[4]*SII*, VI, no. 322, quoted in *EI*, XXV, p. 78.

death, Nānaka used to perform *śrāddha* for the king on every new moon day. Nānaka did quite well for himself, for it is recorded that he was lucky enough to be in enjoyment of youth, home, gold etc., and prostitutes (*paṇyāṅganā*). He also erected a *Sārasvata-krīḍā-ketanam* (Sārasvata pleasure-house) which is also referred to as *Śārasvata-sadanam* (abode of Sarasvatī) which indicates that it was some kind of an educational institute, probably a library situated within a pleasance.[1]

The education of princes has been dealt with in a previous volume.[2] Regarding the education of a *vaiśya*, Manu (10.79-80) lays down the general rule that his *dharma*,—apart from the study (of the Veda), performing sacrifices, and making gifts,—are trade, cattle rearing, and agriculture. In the previous chapter, Manu (9. 328-332) has ordained that a *vaiśya* must never think of giving up cattle rearing, that he should know the price of jewels, corals and pearls, of metals, and clothes, of perfumes and salt, the sowing of seeds, the qualities and defects of soils, measures and weights, the different grades of qualities of commodities, the profit and loss in trade, the rates of wages for servants, various languages,[3] and of the places where saleable goods are produced or manufactured. The *Kuvalayamālā* describes a busy market where men from different parts of the country came and conversed in different languages.[4]

The Buddhist work *Divyavadāna*, parts of which must have been written before the 3rd century AD, contains two stories (26.99-100) indicating that the following subjects had to be learnt by sons of rich merchants: writing, arithmetic, coinage, debts and deposits (in modern terms 'debit and credit' accounting), knowledge of gems, houses, elephants, horses, young men and women etc. (possibly for the purpose of selecting slaves or servants).

The Dharmaśāstras assign to the *śūdras* the duty of serving the higher *varṇas* as their *dharma*. These texts, therefore, do not give account of the *śūdras*' education. However, as we have seen, the *śūdras* were the craftsmen and the artists, so that Nārada's regulations regarding the *antevāsins* or apprentices should have applied to them.

MANNERS

Ancient Indians considered proper deportment and decorum to be a part of their social code. Detailed directions for a student's conduct is given in

[1]Nānaka Praśasti, I, undated and II, VS 1328, *IA*, XI, pp. 102, 106; *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, ed. by A.S. Gadre, I, Baroda, 1943, p. 74.

[2]See above II, p. 60 for Kauṭilya; p. 156 for Rudradāman; and pp. 158 and 222 for Khāravela.

[3]Explaining *bhāṣaś=ca vividha nṛṇām* in Manu 9.332, Medhātithi writes, *Mālavaka-Magadha-Draviḍādi-deśa-bhāṣā* and Kulluka states, *Gauḍa-Dākṣināty-ādīnāṁ ca nānāprakarā-bhāṣā*.

[4]*Kuvalayamālā* by Udyotana Sūri, ed. by A.N. Upadhye, *SJS*, II, Bombay, 1970, Introduction, p. 73.

the Dharmaśāstras. The general rule was that the student should follow his teacher wherever he went. He should help the teacher in his toilet and bath, should shampoo his body, and take the leavings of his food (*ucchiṣṭa*). He was to study when the teacher called him. He was not to cover his neck with a piece of cloth, nor to sit in the presence of his teacher with his feet on lap (*avasakthika*), nor was he to stretch his legs in the teacher's presence. He was not to clear his throat noisily, nor to cough, yawn, or to crack his knuckles (*avasphoṭana*) in the teacher's presence. When called by the teacher, he should reply at once, and rising from his sit or bed was to approach the teacher. He should always occupy a sit lower than that of his teacher, and should go to sleep after the teacher and rise before him.[1]

This traditional *guru-śiṣya* relation was adopted by the Buddhists. Describing the manner of the Indian student waiting on his teacher, I-tsing writes: 'He goes to the teacher at the first watch and at the last watch in the night . . . The pupil rubs the teacher's body, folds his clothes, or sometimes sweeps the apartment, and the yard. Then having examined water to see whether insects be in it, he gives it to the teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to one's superior. On the other hand, in case of a pupil's illness, the teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicines needed, and pays attention to him as if he were his child.'[2]

Extreme devotion to one's *guru* is approved by Manu (2.199-201), who calls upon the pupil to close his ears (by plugging it with his fingers), or to leave the place where the *guru* is reviled or his faults are pointed out. Were the pupil himself to find fault with his teacher or to calumniate him, he (the pupil) will be born in the next life as an ass or as a dog. The Indians strictly adhered to this rule till quite recent times.

Blind obedience to a teacher is deprecated by Āpastamba (1.4.25-27), who allows a student to privately point out to his teacher any breach of rule which the latter might have committed wilfully or through inadvertence. If the teacher does not rectify his mistake, the student should either perform the duty neglected by the teacher, or dissuade him. In extreme cases the student was to leave the teacher. The Mbh. (5.178.24 and 12.57.7) says :

guror apy-avaliptasya karyākāryam ajānataḥ
utpatha-pratipannasya kāryaṁ bhavati śasanam/daṇḍo bhavati śāśvataḥ[3]

One of the rules for the student was that he was not to utter the name of his teacher without prefixing or affixing an honorific like *śrī*, *bhaṭṭa* or

[1]Gautama, 2.20-21, 30-32, 36-37; Baudhāyana, 1.2.24 and 27; Āpastamba 1.2.5.26, and 1.2.6.1-12; Manu, 2.194-198.

[2]I-tsing, op. cit., pp. 117-20.

[3]'One should punish a *guru*, who, out of arrogance, ceases to distinguish between propriety and impropriety and has recourse to improper conduct.' This verse, with the last *pada* changed into '*parityāgo vidhīyate*' ('ought to be forsaken') is found in many MSS. and printed editions, and has been quoted in a Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava text of the 16th century AD.

ācārya. This rule was extended to apply to all senior persons particularly *brāhmaṇas*. Raghunandana (*c*. AD 1520-1570) states in his *Udvāhatattva* (p. 144) that the word *śrī* is to be prefixed when referring by name to a deity, to a teacher, to the place of one's teacher, to a holy place, to the presiding deity of a holy place and to great sages. He then adds that according to the usage of respectable people, *śrī* is prefixed to the names of such people while they are alive. He further adds that the women of the *dvijātis* were to have the honorific suffix *devī* added to their names, while the *śūdra* women should use the suffix *dāsī*. This usage is still prevalent in north India, and to some extent all over India, only the suffix *dāsī* has gone out of general use.

There are also rules about showing respect to a person. Respect is shown by saluting a person, rising to meet him, allowing him to walk in front of one, or garlanding him and giving him sandal-wood paste on festive occasions. Manu (2.136) says that wealth, relationship (like uncles), age and (performance of) religious rites entitles a man to respect, but each successive qualification is superior to the preceding one.[1] Manu (2.137) adds that a person's degree of respectability increases according to the number of the (five) qualities possessed by him, but a *śūdra* above the age of ninety is to be respected. Gautama (10.6) merely states: 'The *śūdra* also (is to be respected) if he has children and is over eighty years of age.' In this connection, Yājñavalkya (1.116) says: '(A person) is respected according to his learning, (religious) deeds, age, friends, and wealth in this order. Endowed profusely with all these qualifications, even a *śūdra* deserves respect in his old age.' Explaining this verse, Vijñāneśvara quotes Gautama, and explains 'old age' as 'above eighty.'

Manu then states (2.155): 'The seniority among *brāhmaṇas* arises from the possession of (sacred) knowledge, among *kṣatriyas* from valour, among *vaiśyas* from grains and other wealth, and only among *śūdras* is age the ground of seniority.[2]

There are also rules for respectfully addressing a person who is neither a relation nor a teacher. Āpastamba (1.4.14.26-29) and Manu (2.127) direct that on meeting a *brāhmaṇa*, a *kṣatriya*, a *vaiśya* and a *śūdra* one should wish them well respectively with the words: *kuśala*, *anāmaya*, *kṣema* (or *anaṣṭa*, Āpastamba), and *ārogya*. Manu (2.129) provides that one should address an unrelated married woman as *bhavati* (lady), or *subhagā* (fortunate one), or *bhaginī* (sister, modern *bahinjī*). The *Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra* (32.7) says that the wife of another man, even if unknown, must be addressed as 'sister', 'daughter', or 'mother' (according to her age).

Regarding seniority by age, Manu (2.134) provides that relation of friendship (*sakhyam*) exists between person with age difference of ten years if they

[1]It is interesting to note that this verse from Manu is reproduced in a Kampuchean inscription: Prasat Komnap inscription of Yaśo-varman, (AD 889-c. 900), verse 64; R.C. Majumdar ed., *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 123.

[2]In the next three verses Manu castigates the uneducated *brāhmaṇas*.

live in the same city (*pura*; according to Kulluka *pura* here includes villages also), five years among artistes (*kalākṛt*), three years among *śrotriyas*, while among agnates if the difference in age is slight (less than one year according to Medhātithi). If the difference in age in these cases is greater, then the elder becomes *jyeṣṭha* (elder) and should be shown honour.

The importance of this distinction is that Manu (11.205) says that a senior must not be addressed as *tvam*. This rule is emphasized in the Mbh. (13.148.27) which says that to address a senior person as *tvam* amounts to murdering him; a junior, an equal, or a disciple may be addressed as *tvam*.

The senior had to be properly saluted, for which also detailed rules were laid down. The process of salutation consisted of *pratyutthāna* (rising from one's seat to receive a person), *abhivādana* (salutation), *upasaṅgrahana* (saluting by clasping the feet with one's hands), *pratyabhivādana* (returning the salute), and *namaskāra* (bowing with the word *namaḥ*). Of these actions, the first and the last need no explanation. Āpastamba (1.2.5.16-17) recommends different modes of *abhivādana* for different castes: 'A *brāhmaṇa* shall salute stretching forward his right arm on a level with his ears, a *kṣatriya* holding it on a level with his chest, a *vaiśya* holding it on a level with the waist, and a *śūdra* holding it low (up to his feet), and that the salutation shall be by joining one's hands.' At the same time 'a *brāhmana* had to say: "*abhivādaye Devadatta-śarmā'haṁ bhoḥ*" (I, Devadatta-śarmā salute you, Sir), but the word *bhoḥ* should be omitted in case of those who do not know the proper mode of *pratyabhivādana*, and also in case of women, when one should simply say "*abhivādaye aham*" omitting the name.' The act of *pratyabhivādana* is a complicated one, because here the final vowel is lengthened to three moras (*pluta*), one has to say 'Long live Devadatta.'[1] This form of *pratyabhivādana* must have become obsolete by the beginning of the Christian era, or soon after, for the vowels in classical Sanskrit lost the *pluta* sound.

In the Mbh. (14.51.28-30), Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna saluted Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gāndhārī, Kuntī, Yudhiṣṭhira, and Bhīma by clasping their feet (*pādāvagṛhṇatām*) but greeted Vidura by asking him whether he was well (*pṛṣṭvā kuśalam avyayam*). This distinction had to be observed, for though Vidura was held in high esteem by the Pāṇḍavas, his mother being a *śūdra*, his *kṣatriya* nephews could not touch his feet.

BHOJANA

The ancient Indians took their eating so seriously that the Dharmaśāstras treat the topic of *bhojana* (eating) as next in importance to marriage. Ultimately, the most important criterion of the Hindu society became food: what could be eaten by whom, and whose touch polluted food. The matter was not quite so ludicrous at the beginning.

The rules about *bhojana* can be divided into five categories: i. how many

[1]For details see, *HDK*, II, i, p. 340 fn. 821.

meals were to be taken daily; ii. permissible and forbidden food and drink; iii. how food is defiled; iv. meat eating and drinking liquor; and v. etiquette and ceremonies connected with *bhojana*.

The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I.4.9) and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (II.4..2.6) say that 'a person was to take food only twice a day.' Elaborating this recommendation, Gautama (9.59), Baudhāyana (2.7.36), Manu (2.56) and other Smṛti writers say that a householder should take only two meals daily, without taking any food in between the meals, and that by following this precept he reaps the merit of a fast. Āpastamba (2.8.19.10), however, allows one to eat roots and fruits between the two meals. Manu (4.55 and 62), and Viṣṇu (68.48) advise one not to eat too early in the morning, nor at midnight, nor at twilight hours. Āpastamba (2.4.9.12) expressly directs that, a householder should not remain hungry, but should eat sufficiently to be able to perform his duties. Similarly, Śabara on PMS (V.1.20) seems to favour the idea that a householder who has consecrated fire may eat several times a day, and gives as an example that Devadatta eats *apūpa* in the morning, has a full meal at noon, and eats *modaka* in the afternoon.[1] It is understood that Devadatta ate his dinner at night, so that we get here an idea of the four meals which an Indian took in ancient days.

Direction is also given about the quantity of food a person should consume. The Dharmasūtras quote two verses which say: 'An ascetic should eat eight morsels, a forest hermit sixteen, a householder thirty-two, and a Vedic student an unlimited number. One who has consecrated the Vedic fire, a draught ox, and a *brahmacārin* are able to perform their work by eating, they cannot perform their work when they do not eat.'[2] Kauṭilya (2.15.42-46) lays down: 'Twelve *āḍhakas* of rice-grain (*taṇḍula*), from 5 *droṇas* of *śālī* rice are for the feeding of a young elephant, 11 for a vicious elephant, 10 for riding elephants, 9 for war elephants, 8 for infantrymen, 7 for chiefs, 6 for the queens, and the princes, 5 for kings or one *prastha* of rice-grain, unbroken and cleansed.[3] One *prastha* of rice-grain, one-fourth (of that) broth (*sūpa*), a quantity of salt (equal to) one sixteenth of broth, butter or oil (equal to) one fourth part of broth constitute one meal of an *ārya* male. One-sixth (of a *prastha*) broth (and) half the quantity of fat is for the lower classes. One quarter less for women. One-half for the children.' Kauṭilya (2.15.61) adds that the Superintendent of the Magazine 'should give the broken grains to slaves, labourers, and broth makers, (and) things other than these to dealers

[1] *Apūpa* was a cake of rice or barley (*yava*) cooked in clarified butter on slow fire. Honey was mixed to sweeten it. It was possibly the earliest sweet delicacy known to the Indians. *Modaka* was a sweet, like modern *lāḍḍu*.

[2] For references see *HDK*, II, ii, p. 766.

[3] This is the translation by Prof. R.P. Kangle, and he seems to be literally correct. But this ratio of food between an elephant and a man is impossible unless they are taken in groups: a battalion of soldiers, households of the princes, the queens and her attendants, the king and the palace staff. A normal elephant consumes about 20 kg of rice-grain per day plus unmeasured quantities of leaves etc.

in cooked rice and in cakes (*apūpa*).'[1]

Permitted and forbidden foods are the most important part of *bhojana* topic. Insistence on the purity of food can be traced to a passage of the *Chāndogya* (7.26.2) which says: 'When there is purity of food, the mind becomes pure; when the mind becomes pure then follows the firm remembrance (of the real Self); when this memory is firmly fixed, all knots (that bind that self to this world) are loosened.'

Food may be forbidden for the following reasons:
i. *jātiduṣṭa* or *svabhāvaduṣṭa;* ii. *kāladuṣṭa*; iii. *nimittaduṣṭa*; iv. *saṁskāraḍuṣṭa*; and v. *parigrahaduṣṭa.*

i. *Jātiduṣṭa:* Āpastamba (1.5.17.25-27) states that all herbs from which liquids are distilled, *kalañja* (red garlic), *palāṇḍu* (onion), *parārīka* (dark garlic), *kyāku* (mushroom) and other similar vegetables which are not eaten by respectable people should not be eaten. Gautama (17.32-33) includes some of these and adds tender leaves, resins of trees, and the red sap flowing from incisions in the bark of trees. This is probably due to the injunction of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (II.5.1.1) which states that 'all red exudations (resins) of trees or the juice that oozes out from trees when they are cut should not be eaten, since the colour is due to the (sharing of) *brāhmaṇa* murder.' Vasiṣṭha (14.33) adds *gṛñjana* (turnip) and a fruit called *śleṣmātaka* to the list of forbidden foods. Manu (5.5-6) forbids the eating of garlic, onion, turnip, mushroom, and all herbs that grow in impure soil and manure, red resins and red sap, and *śelu* (*śleṣmātaka*). Yājñavalkya (1.171 and 176) adds *sigru* (horse radish) to this list, and prescribes the *Cāndrāyana* penance for eating forbidden herbs and vegetables. These rules would have excluded asafoetida (*hiṅgu*) and camphor, greatly relished by the Hindus, hence Haradatta on Gautama (17.32) says: 'It is doubtful whether it (asafoetida) is a resin or a sap flowing from incisions, but even respectable people partake of it, and that camphor not being red, nor a resin, nor a sap may be eaten.'[2]

Most of these vegetables, particularly onion and garlic, were taboo in the Hindu society till recently, and even now there are orthodox men and women, particularly widows, who will not take them. Another taboo which is followed. even now was the injunction of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (II.1.1.1, III.1.3) that the milk of the cow is not to be drunk for ten days after delivery. This prohibition is based on hygienical principles.

The Dharmaśāstras give ambiguous directions regarding the eating of fish and meat. The general Dharmaśāstra rule was that one should avoid the flesh of all five-nailed animals, except porcupine, hare, *śvāvidh* (a boar or

[1]For *apūpa* see above p. 127 fn. 1.

[2]See *HDK*, II, ii, p. 784, and Om Prakash, *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1961, p. 41 fn 8. Other spices and seasonings used in ancient India were: pepper (black and white), cumin, aloes, nutmeg, coriander, mustard, dry ginger, cardamom, cloves, and turmeric. The *Amarakoṣa*, *Vaiśya-varga*, 2.75 and the *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, *Martya-kāṇḍa*, 1.205 gives *Bāhlika* as a synonym of *hiṅgu*, which shows that it came from Balkh, that is Central Asia.

hedgehog), iguana, rhinoceros (omitted in some texts) and tortoise. There is no doubt that the ancient Indians, including the *brāhmaṇas* ate fish and meat, but gradually they, particularly the *brāhmaṇas*, gave up eating fish and meat in most parts of the country. It is usually held that this abstention was due to the influence of Buddhism and Jainism. It would indeed have been remarkable had it been so, for the *brāhmaṇas* hated these heretics, and would have been the last persons to imitate their food habits, particularly because Vedic sacrifices involved slaughter of animals. 'It is noteworty,' remarks MM. Kane, 'that even so late as the first half of the 17th century, Viśvanātha, a great logician, takes up the cudgels on behalf of flesh-eating by *brāhmaṇas* in sacrifices, *śrāddha*, *madhuparka*, in danger to life, and when ordered by a *brāhmaṇa* and charges those who totally forbid flesh-eating with being the followers of the doctrines of Bauddhas...'[1] Viśvanātha reviled the vegetarians as 'followers of Bauddhas' because it was a pejorative term, and should not be taken as seriously intended. Therefore, an alternative explanation may be offered.

The RV (VIII. 19.5-6; VIII. 24.20) itself declares that a devout offering of praise or of a fuel stick, or of cooked food was as good as a solemn sacrifice. It also says (VI.16.47) that oblation of food made to the accompaniment of heart-felt hymns become like bulls, oxen, and cows in sacrifice. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI.6.13) postulates that eater of meat is eaten in the next birth by the animal killed, and, as will be shown presently, Manu advocated this doctrine. The *Chāndogya* (3.17.4) emphasizes the importance of *ahiṁsā* (non-injury), which is declared in the Mbh. several times as the greatest virtue (*ahiṁsā paramo dharmaḥ*). In the *Gītā* (9.26) the Lord says that He accepts with pleasure a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or (even) water which the devotee offers Him with heart-felt devotion. This declaration had great influence in stopping animal slaughter in the Vedic sacrifices, and consequently the eating of meat by the *brāhmaṇas*.

Manu's position may appear to be ambivalent, but in reality it is possibly not so. Manu begins (5.11-19) with a list of birds and beasts whose flesh could not be eaten. He (5.27) permits the eating of meat in *madhuparka*, in sacrifices, and in the rites for gods and manes. In the following three verses (5.28-30) Manu justifies the eating of meat as being ordained by Brahmā, the Creator. But in the next verse (5.31) he says that one can eat meat which has been offered in sacrifice, but the eating of 'non-sacramental' meat is denounced as *rākṣaso-vidhi* (demoniacal custom). He then states that (5.32) no blame is attached to meat-eater after it is offered to god or manes, whether such meat be purchased or obtained from one's own animal, or received as a gift, and condemns (5.33-37; which is repeated in Mbh. 13.16.36-63) the eating of meat which has not been similarly sanctified. Then Manu (5.39, repeated in Mbh. 13.117.15ab, and 12.260.39) says that animals were created for being slaughtered in sacrifices. In the following verses (5.40-47) it is clear that Manu is sanctioning the slaughter of animals because it was ordained in the

[1]Quoted in *HDK*, III, p. 946.

Vedas. In the next three verses (5.48-50) he again condemns meat-eating and praises those who avoid it. He then states (5.51-55) that the man who permits, he who slaughters, he who makes it into pieces, he who sells meat, he who cooks meat, he who serves, and he who eats meat are murderers (*ghātakāḥ*). He who eats meat which has not been offered to gods or manes is the most sinful man on earth. The man who performs one *aśvamedha* ceremony annually for one hundred years, and he who abstains from eating meat gain equal merit. The three upper-castes gain greater merit by vegetarian diet than the *munis* (sages) who subsist on fruits and roots. The word *māṁsa* is derived by the wise as *mām* and *saḥ* meaning 'he whose flesh I eat today will devour me in the next world or birth.' Then he closes his discussion by his famous saying (5.56) that 'natural appetites lead men on to eat meat, to drink wine, (and) to indulge in sexual gratification; there is no harm in such indulgences, but abstention from them brings great rewards.'[1]

Manu (3.268-272) has recommended the offering of the flesh of certain animals as oblations to the manes, and gives the number of years which a particular flesh will keep the manes happy. This was an old custom and was recommended by Āpastamba (2.8.19.13-15) and by the later Smṛtis as well. Yājñavalkya (1.258-261) gives the shortest list which is as follows: '*Pitṛs* (manes) are gratified for one month by the serving of sacrificial food (*hāviṣya* rice, fruits etc.), for one year by *pāyasa* (rice cooked in sweetened milk); with fish, venison, mutton, meat of birds, goat, spotted antelope, *eṇa* (deer), pork, and hare's meat successively for one more month. The meat of rhinoceros and *mahāśalkam* (mahseer?), honey, food of a *muni* (wild rice etc.), meat of a red goat, *mahāśākam*, old white goat (offered) at (a *śrāddha*) at Gaya or on the 13th day of a fortnight marked by Maghā in the rainy season (that is, in the month of Bhādra), is to yield inexhaustible result.'

As the *brāhmaṇas* were invited at the *śrāddha* dinner, it follows that they used to eat meat and fish, since it was obligatory to eat whatever was offered at a *śrāddha*. Hence MM. Kane remarks: 'Yet it is remarkable that even the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Kalpataru* written about AD 1100-1120 do not expressly say that in the Kali age flesh eating at *śrāddha* is totally prohibited at least for *brāhmaṇas*.'[2] However, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (7.15.7) written before the 11th century AD, unequivocally states: 'A man knowing religion should neither offer meat or fish (*āmisa*) at a *śrāddha* nor himself eat such food. (The manes) derive much greater pleasure from wild rice, fruit etc. (*muny=anna*) than from injury to animals.' The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* soon became the authoritative text of the Vaiṣṇavas, and other texts written in the 12th and the 13th centuries condemned the offering of *āmisa* food at *śrāddha* as being prohibited in the Kali age. It is from about this period that total prohibition of non-vegetarian food for the *brāhmaṇas* came into force except in some areas to be noted presently.

[1]Medhātithi declares several of these verses as *arthavāda*. For details on 'forbidden food', see S. Sen Gupta, Food Prohibition in Smṛti texts, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, XXII, 1956, pp. 163-209.

[2]*HDK*, IV, p. 424.

The reason for this prohibition may be traced to Manu. It is apparent from his conflicting statements that he was personally in favour of a vegetarian diet, but had to make concessions because of the Vedic tradition. With the passage of time, performance of Vedic sacrifices involving animal slaughter became rare, and the sentiment against meat-eating hardened. A contributory cause was that the *brahmacārins* were forbidden to eat meat, and in case they ate it, had to perform a penance.[1] There are also other grounds for believing that the *brahmacārins* lived on a vegetarian diet. Having passed the formative years of their lives as vegetarians, they may be presumed to have developed aversion to non-vegetarian food.

There was also the influence of great teachers like Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and others, who prescribed strict vegetarian meals for their followers. Another factor was the widely prevalent belief among the Hindus that in order to gain spiritual insight, the body has to be kept under perfect control which can only be done by abstinence from many kinds of food including fish, meat, and alcoholic beverages. This was also the teaching of Yoga, which is a very ancient method of physical and mental control as explained below. Then there was the influence of Vaiṣṇavism. As stated above, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* prohibits the eating of meat and fish. Though Rāmānuja does not mention the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, it was revered by the later Vaiṣṇavas as the 'fifth Veda.' Large number of *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* were converted to Vaiṣṇavism, and the prevalence of vegetarianism among these two castes may be traced to the influence of this Purāṇa.

In this connection the advice of the *Gītā* (17.8-10) regarding the proper type of food is instructive. Kṛṣṇa being a *kṣatriya* prince, was a non-vegetarian, therefore he does not exhort others to give up meat and fish but contents himself by pointing out: 'Juicy, soothing, fresh, and agreeable food increase longevity, energy, strength, and health, (and) add to physical pleasure and mental satisfaction. Such foods are dear to *sāttvika* men. Men of *rajas* prefer food which are bitter, sour, salty, very hot, pungent, and burning.[2] (and) men of *tamas* take a (perverse) pleasure in foods which are stale, tasteless, rotten, and impure, and they like to eat the leavings of others.'[3]

The situation was different in Bengal, where large sections of people, *brāhmaṇas* and non-*brāhmaṇas*, continued to take non-vegetarian meals, though they stopped offering such food at *śrāddhas*. One of the reasons may have been that fish was plentiful in this riparian country in parts of which (like Bangladesh) large areas are inundated for several months every

[1]Vasiṣṭha, 2.3.11; Viṣṇu, 51.45; Manu, 11.158; Yājñavalkya, 3.282; The *brahmacārins* were also forbidden to eat food at *śrāddhas:* Vasiṣṭha, 23.12; and Viṣṇu 51.43-44. Manu 11.157 forbids them to join monthly *śrāddhas*.

[2]Śaṅkara and several other commentators point out that though the verse says *atyuṣṇa* (very hot), *ati* (very) is to be read with all the other qualities, that is 'very bitter' 'very sour' etc.

[3]One can always eat the leavings of one's father, teacher etc., what is intended here is that the *tāmasa* people eat the leavings of unworthy people which should not be eaten.

year when fish becomes plenty and vegetables scarce. Whatever the reason, the Bengalis continued to eat fish and meat, and Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva defended this practice in a lengthy argument. After quoting the opinions of previous authorities like Manu and Yājñavalkya and of a few others he observed: 'All this (prohibition) is meant for (the prohibited days) like *caturdaśī* etc. . . . so it is understood that no blemish (*doṣa*) attaches to eating fish and meat.' The *Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa* (3.5.44-46) also permitted a *brāhmaṇa* to eat fish. Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana, whose advocacy of meat-eating has been quoted above, was from Bengal. After the advent of Caitanya, a large section of the people in Bengal gave up non-vegetarian food under his influence, for he upheld the authority of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. On the other hand, there remained the influence of *tantra* which prescribed the eating of meat on certain occasions. The *Devī-Bhāgavata* (Chapter 110) for example says that the meat of cocks is the most strengthening.[1]

There is, however, no doubt that the ancient Indians ate meat and fish. Any number of examples can be cited from the Vedic texts and from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Mbh. In the P.E. no. 5, Aśoka declares:

'Twenty-six years after my coronation, I have declared the following species of animals exempt from slaughter, namely, parrots *mainas*, ruddy geese, wild geese, *nandīmukhas*, *gelāṭas*, bats, queen-ants, terrapins, boneless fish, *vedaveyakas*, *gaṅgāpuputakas*, skate-fish, tortoises, and porcupines, leaf-hares, twelve-antler stags, bulls set at liberty, household vermin, rhinoceros, white pigeons, village pigeons and all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.' Of these porcupine and rhinoceros meats were approved by the Dharmaśāstras, and this edict shows that people ate such meat. The eating of household vermin is very strange. However, the edict adds:

'Those she-goats, ewes and sows which are either pregnant or milch, are not to be slaughtered, nor their young ones which are less than six months old. Cocks are not to be caponed. . .' The edict then adds that fish should not be killed on certain specified days. Cocks were caponed presumably to train them as fighting cocks.

About the Emperor's own food his R.E. no. I declares: 'Many hundred thousands of living beings were formerly slaughtered everyday in the kitchen of Priyadarśī, Beloved of the Gods, for the sake of curry. But now, when this record relating to *dharma* is written, only three living creatures are killed daily for the sake of curry, namely, two peacocks and one deer.'

Kauṭilya (2.26) mentions a *sūnādhyakṣa*, which is usually rendered as 'superintendent of slaughter-house.' But the section (2.26) does not contain any reference to slaughter-house. The duty of the *sūnādhyakṣa* was to regulate the sale of meat. His primary duty (2.26.1-2) was to prevent the unauthorized killing of certain animals, birds, and fish kept in reserved parks or whose 'slaughter is not current.' Kauṭilya then (2.26.5) prohibits the killing of some fanciful sea animals, and certain specified birds including

[1]Quoted in R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, II, Calcutta, 1963, p. 64 fn. 142. *Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, ed. by G.L. Vidyaratna, Rajshahi, pp. 67-68, for Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva see above I, p. 413.

peacocks, which as we have seen, Aśoka used to eat. Kauṭilya then ordains (2.26.7-11): '(Traders) shall sell meat without bones, of deer and beasts freshly killed. For (meat) containing bones, they should give a compensation for loss. For what is short in weight, (the fine shall be) eight times the short measure. The calf, the bull and the milch-cow among these (animals) are not to be killed. For one killing (them, there shall be) a fine of fifty *paṇas*, also for (one) torturing (them) to death.'

Kauṭilya (2.15.47-49) has given a sort of recipe for cooking fresh and dry meat which is not very illuminating. It is interesting to note that he includes (2.15.21) dried meat and dried fish among vegetables. Cooked food was sold, and apparently those eating places also had residential accommodation, for Kauṭilya (2.36.8) says: 'Vintners, vendors of cooked meat, vendors of cooked rice, and prostitutes shall give lodging (only) to one thoroughly known to them.'

Another monarch who attempted to prevent the slaughter of animals was the Caulukya Kumārapāla of Gujarat (*c.* AD 1143-1172). The Gujarat chronicles give details of the measures adopted by Kumārapāla for this purpose, but it is evident that their accounts are exaggerated. In western India, including Gujarat, the people, except for the *kṣatriyas*, are vegetarians, and this may have been due to the influence of Jainism, which Kumārapāla patronized as well as of Vaiṣṇavism. For, while an influential section of the people in this region are Jaina, the hold of Vaiṣṇavism is equally strong, and Vaiṣṇavism is more popular among the mass. It is, however, difficult to generalize. The people of Karnataka also are mostly vegetarians now, but the Western Cālukya king Someśvara, who was Kumārapāla's near contemporary, gave various recipes of meat preparation in his famous work, the *Mānasollāsa*.

ii. *Kāladuṣṭa:* Those foods which have become stale or sour should not be eaten. The Dharmaśāstras forbid the eating of most cooked food after those become stale, except such as are boiled in oil, and rice boiled in milk or when mixed with honey, and articles of wheat and *yava* flour provided they have not turned sour.

iii. *Nimittaduṣṭa:* Food is sometimes forbidden due to some particular reason. For example, one should not eat food from a house whose inmates are in mourning. One should not eat food touched by a woman in her menses.

iv. *Saṁskāraduṣṭa:* Food which is cooked only for oneself and is not offered to gods or guests is unpurified and should not be eaten. The RV (X.117.6) declares: 'The foolish man (who does not share with others) obtains food to no purpose. I say the truth that it is really his destruction; he does not offer food to Āryaman (that is, to the gods) nor to his friends (or guests); one who takes food alone (without sharing it with others) partake simply of sin.' Similar statements are found in the *Gītā* (3.13) and Manu (3.118) and both may have been inspired by the RV.

v. *Parigrahaduṣṭa:* The food may be good by itself, but it is forbidden because of its association with certain types of persons who may either serve

or own the food. All Dharmaśāstra texts give a list of people whose touch or ownership would soil the food. In connection with *veśyā*, whose food was forbidden, we have given above Yājñavalkya's list which will serve as a fairly good example.

All these admonitions seem to have produced a cumulative effect. Fa Hien says, doubtless with some exaggeration, that killing animals, drinking wine, and eating onions or garlic were unknown throughout Madhyadeśa. Hiuen Tsang's detailed account is more reliable. He says that while cakes and parched grain, milk and sugar and their preparations, and mustard oil formed the common articles of food, fish and the flesh of goats and sheep were occasionally taken, but some kinds of meat were forbidden. The eating of onions and garlic entailed loss of caste. This account is partly corroborated by I-tsing who says that, Indians do not eat onions, and the Buddhist monks in India, unlike those of the 'islands of the Southern Sea,' abstained from eating even the three pure kinds of meat on the Upasotha day.[1]

There was one exception to all these rules about prohibited food: when life was in danger, one could eat anything. The *Chāndogya* (1.10.4) relates how the sage Uṣasti had to eat *ucchiṣṭa* to keep himself alive. The Br. S. apparently relies on this passage, when it states (3.4.28): 'And there is permission of all food, (only) in the case of danger of life, on account of this being shown (by scripture).' Commenting on this *sūtra*, Śaṅkara writes after referring to *Chāndogya* (1.10.4): '.....Scripture in thus showing how the stale leaving of a leaving was eaten, intimates as its principle that in order to preserve one's life when in danger one may eat even unlawful food....' This dispensation to a *brāhmaṇa* in distress is granted also by Manu (10.104-108), who cites as an example the conduct of the Sage Viśvāmitra, who once ate dog's flesh taken from a *caṇḍāla's* house when he (the sage) was famished. The full story is related in the Mbh. (12.139) and is the only Mbh. story referred to by Manu. In the Mbh. there is a long dialogue between Viśvāmitra and the *caṇḍāla*, who tries to prevent the sage from eating the dog's flesh. Ultimately Viśvāmitra says (12.139.86): 'There is no scriptural authority for holding that by eating this food one is committing a grave sin; a *brāhmaṇa* is degraded by drinking *surā*. These acts (have to be morally evaluated) each as it actually is and by itself. So my proposed action does not violate the law in the least.'

This practical advice had little effect. At a later age the moribund Hindus preferred death to eating forbidden food.

MADYAPĀNA

Madyapāna, or drinking, was prevalent in India from most ancient times. The two intoxicating drinks mentioned in the Veda are *soma* and *surā*. Of these, *soma* was most probably a hieratic drink, while *surā* was the popular drink, not usually offered to the gods. According to MM. Kane, the word *surāma* in RV (X.131.4-5) means '*surā* mixed with *soma*.'[1] The reward for per-

[1]The Travels of Fa Hien (AD 399-414), retranslated by H.A. Giles, Cambridge, 1923, p. 21; T. Watters, op. cit., I, p. 178; I-tsing tr. by Takakusu, op. cit., p. 46.

forming sacrifices is, according to the AV (IV.34.6), heaven, where lakes are full of *ghī* and honey, and *surā* flows like water. Evidently *surā* was very popular, but its exact nature is not known, except that it was an intoxicating beverage. The evils of intoxication were generally recognized, and from a passage in the *Kaṭhaka Saṁhitā* (XII.12), it appears that the *brāhmaṇas* had generally given up the practice of drinking *surā*. In the *Chāndogya* (5.11.5) imbibers of intoxicants (*madyapas*) are grouped with thieves and misers. Incidentally, this is the only use of the word *madya* in the Vedic literature.

In three Gṛhya-sūtras, *surā* is offered with *piṇḍa* to the three female ancestors. Hence MM. Kane observes: 'It is difficult to account for this. If a conjecture may be hazarded, it is possible that women drank (perhaps secretly) liquor when their husbands had given up the practice owing to the force of public opinion, or that in those days (before the *gṛhya sutras*,) intercaste marriage being allowed, the women ancestors might have been *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* women and so were not unfamiliar with drinking. Manu XI.95 forbids drinking to *brāhmaṇas* and Kulluka notes that there were commentators who held that the prohibition did not apply to *brāhmaṇa* women.'[2] It is difficult to believe that if the ladies drank secretly, their descendants would publicly proclaim their vice, nor is MM. Kane's alternative suggestion that only the non-*brāhmaṇa* wives drank very convincing. Kulluka differed from the commentators which he would hardly have bothered to do if he knew that the mother, grand-mother, and the great-grandmother of the person offering wine as *piṇḍa* were non-*brāhmaṇas*. For, in Kulluka's day, such a person would not be considered as a *brāhmaṇa* at all. Moreover both Manu (9.80) and Yājñavalkya (1.73) declare that a wife, presumably irrespective of her caste, is to be abandoned if she drinks liquor. It has to be concluded therefore that in ancient age the women also drank wine. Possibly they continued to do so even after their husbands had generally given up drinking, but opinion may differ on this point.

The Smṛtis condemn drinking *surā* by *brāhmaṇas*. In this connection the following verses from Manu (11.94-95) are held to be most authoritative: '*Surā* is the filthy refuse of food, and sin indeed is called *mala* (filth); therefore, a *brāhmaṇa*, a *rājanya* (*kṣatriya*) and a *vaiśya* should not drink *surā*. *Surā* is of three kinds, namely, *gauḍī*, *paiṣṭī*, and *mādhvī*; a *dvijottama* (*brāhmaṇa*) should never drink any of these.' According to the commentators, *gauḍī* is from *guḍa* (molasses), *paiṣṭī* is from *madhuka* flowers (according to Mbh. from honey). Besides these, Pulastya quoted by Kulluka on Manu 11.96, gives the names of twelve varieties of *madya* of which the last is *surā*. The other eleven are derived from jackfruit, grapes, *mādhvīka*, dates (*kharjūra*), palm (*tāla*, toddy), sugarcane, *ṭāṅka* (prepared from *kaipittha*), *mārdvika* (from grapes) *maireya* (spiced liquor with guḍa and sugar or honey prepared from the bark of *meṣaśṛṅgī*, see Pāṇini VI. 2.70 *aṅgāni maireye* and Kauṭilya 2.25.22)

[1] *HDK*, II, ii, p. 792. According to the *Vedic Index*, *surāma* 'refers to the illness caused by drinking *surā* to excess. . .' For the nature of *surā* and *soma* see *Vedic Index*.

[2] *HDK*, II, ii, p. 794.

and from cocoanut water.[1] This makes eleven, because Pulastya has given *mādhvīka* twice. Vijñāneśvara, who also quotes Pulastya, on Yājñavalkya 3.253 instead of the second *madhvika* has *madhuttha*, that is derived from honey which seems to be correct. Pulastya ends by stating that '*surā* is the worst of the twelve kinds of *madyas*.'

Medhātithi and Kulluka on Manu 11.95, Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkya 3.222, and Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya 3.253 establish that only *paiṣṭī* is forbidden to the three upper *varṇas*, while the other two, *mādhvī* and *gauḍī*, are forbidden for the *brāhmaṇas* only and not for the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas*. Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara pertinently point out that the Mbh. describe drinking *madya* by the Bhāratas and the Yādavas, and *mādhvī* and *āsava* by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. Vijñāneśvara concludes by stating that the *śūdras* could drink anything.

Barbarous punishment for *brāhmaṇas* who have drunk liquor is recommended by Gautama (23.1), Baudhāyana (2.1.18), Āpastamba (1.25.3), Vasiṣṭha (20.22), Manu (11.91-92), Mbh. (12.159.45) and Yājñavalkya (3.253). Red hot liquid is to be poured down the throat of the offender till he dies. Manu's verse uses the word *dvija*, which includes the three upper castes, but Medhātithi and Kulluka say that the punishment is for the *brāhmaṇas* only. Kulluka quotes a verse from the *Bhaviṣya-purāna* which excludes the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* from punishment if they drank *gauḍī* and *mādhvī*. They could also drink the other varieties of *madya*, for Manu's prohibition only extended to *surā*. But, Vijñāneśvara, on the authority of a verse from the *Bṛhad-Viṣṇu* quoted by him, forbids the *brāhmaṇas* from drinking any of the varieties of *madya* mentioned above.

The fact is that whatever the sages may have intended, nothing could prevent the *kṣatriyas*—male and female—from drinking of which there is ample evidence.[2] Therefore we have to rely on Kauṭilya who provides for an officer called '*surādhyakṣa*.' The term *surādhyakṣa* literally means 'controller of liquors,' but in modern administrative term current in India he would be called 'excise commissioner.' The duty of this officer was to control the trade in wine both in country-side and in towns, with power to fine those who manufactured, sold, or purchased wine in other than approved places. The trade was to be carried on by people 'born to it,' (*taj-jāta*, 2.25.1), that is selling wine had become a hereditary trade. Liquor could neither be taken out of a village, nor its stock accumulated except that a small quantity could be taken out by men of known integrity (2.25.3-4). Kauṭilya prefers drinking in public bars (*pānāgāra*), and provides that the *surādhyakṣa* 'should have alehouses built with many rooms, (and) provided with separate beds and seats, (and) decorated with sweet scented garlands and water, pleasant in all seasons' (2.25.11). Kauṭilya (2.25.16-25) describes the following wines and their

[1]A slightly different version giving the names of twelve *madyas* is given in the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya 3.253.

[2]For details and references see Om Prakash, op. cit., pp. 116-19, 151-53, 185-86 etc. *HCIP*, III, p. 578 fn. 8, and IV, pp. 388-89.

methods of preparation: i. *medaka*; ii. *prasannā*; iii. *āsava*; iv. *ariṣṭas*; v. *maireya*; and vi. *madhu*. The *medaka*, which is prepared from rice (*taṇḍula*), seems to correspond with *paiṣṭī*, and is probably the ancient *pacāi* or *hāḍiyā*. The *āsava* is prepared from *kapittha* and is analogous to *ṭāṅka*. According to Kauṭilya (2.25.19), *kapittha* (wood-apple) has to be mixed with treacle (*phāṇita*) and honey to prepare *āsava*. For *ariṣṭa* Kauṭilya states (2.25.21): 'The *ariṣṭas* are as prescribed by the physicians for each separate malady.' It is clear that the *ariṣṭas*, then as now, were alcoholic tonics. 'The *maireya*,' Kauṭilya says (2.25.22), 'is distilled from a decoction of the bark of *meaṣaśṛṅgī* with the addition of *guḍa* (jaggery), having a mixture of *pippalī* (long pepper), *marica* (black pepper), or mixed with *triphalā* (lit. 'three fruits,' but in Āyurveda *triphalā* means three particular fruits, namely *harītakī* or Myrobalan, *āmalaka* or Embelic Myrobalan, and *vibhītaka*, Terminalia Balerica; or 'nutmeg, areca-nut, and clove.') Kauṭilya then adds: Or, there should be a mixture of *triphalā* in all liquors mixed with *guḍa*'. (2.25.23). Apparently, wine is excluded, for, in the next sentence (2.25.24) he says: 'The juice of grapes is *madhu*. Its name derived from its place of origin is *kāpiśāyana* and *hārahūraka*.' Kapiśā here stands for Afghanistan, while Hārahaura was the name of the country lying between the Indus and the Jhelum, and the Gandgarh mountain and the Salt Range.

Kauṭilya prescribes (2.25.26) a fermenting agent which he calls *kiṇva*. It was composed of *māṣa* (bean), rice (*taṇḍula*), and *moraṭa* (root of sugarcane).[1]

Kauṭilya had in mind state-distilleries, for he says (2.25.39): 'Dealers in goods not manufactured by the state (*arāja-paṇyāḥ*) shall pay a duty (*śulka*) of 5% on *surā*, *medaka*, *ariṣṭa*, *madhu*, sour fruit juices, and sour liquors.' Householders were allowed to prepare white wine (*śveta-surā*) on festive occasions, as well as *ariṣṭa* for medicinal use (2.25.35).

In the section on *aticāra-daṇḍa* (punishment for transgressions) Kauṭilya (4.13.1) provides punishment for all the four *varṇas* for consuming food or drink which is unfit for human consumption (*apeyam abhaksyam*). The transgressors were to be fined in a descending order, the *brāhmaṇas* paying the highest and the *śūdras* the lowest fine. Kauṭilya does not state as to what food and drinks are unfit, but since he includes the *śūdras*, it is evident that his rule is unrelated to the *bhakṣyābhakṣya* section of Dharmaśāstra.

Kautilya was conscious of the evils of drinking, and points out (8.3.61) that drinking results in loss of consciousness, insane behaviour, stupor and loss of learning, intellect, strength, wealth, friends, and property.

Kauṭilya's directions seems to have been followed in ancient India. *Pānāgāra* is mentioned in many Sanskrit texts including the KS as mentioned above. Duty on liquor continued to be a rich source of revenue. The drama *Moharājaparājaya* (IX) represents that when King Kumārapāla of Gujarat was introducing prohibition, one of the grounds of objection to the measure was

[1]Prof. Kangle has rendered *moraṭādīnām* as '*moraṭa* and others': the present rendering is from the *Amarakoṣa* and the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*.

that the sale of liquor fetched a good revenue. Kumārapāla's mentor, Hemacandra, has given in his *Deśīnāmamālā* (i. 46; 2.2; 3.41 and 45; 5.34; 6.35; 6.41; 6.50; 6.75; 7.4; 8.4) the names of several types of wines, wine-glasses, and wine-sellers.

From the accounts left by foreigners, it appears that drinking, or at least drinking in public, was not very popular. Megasthenes has stated that the Indians drink only during religious festivals. The Arab traveller Sulaiman has praised the Indians for their abstinence. However, Māsudi, who had personally visited Cambay (AD 943-955) states that Indians sometimes make girls drink in order to excite them to show their mirth, so that the beholders may be inspired with gaiety by their merriment.[1]

It is noteworthy that the Indians imported wine from Greece and Rome,[2] but is not known to have ever exported wine. Possibly, the quality of Indian wine, then as now, was inferior to foreign liquor.

GAMES

Games were a part of social life. In the Vedic age, chariot-race was popular, while race in general is the source of several similes and metaphors in the RV. The word '*āji*' is frequently used in the RV and the later Vedic literature to express the sense of 'a race,' horse-racing being one of the favourite amusements of the Vedic people. The racecourse was broad and quasi-circular, and the distance was measured out. The victors were given prizes. A formal race was a feature of the Rājasūya ceremony.[3]

Races are not mentioned in later literature, either because they were too common, or had ceased to be popular. It appears that instead of race, the *samāja* became the chief source of popular amusement. Āpastamba (1.11.32. 19) lays down that a *snātaka* should not visit a *sabhā* or a *samāja*, of which *sabhā* is probably a gaming-house, while *samāja* seems to have acquired an evil reputation, for Manu (9.264) directs that a thief should be searched for in a brothel, wine-shop, and *samāja* etc. The Mbh. however, uses the word *samāja* several times in different contexts.

The tournament in which the young Pāṇḍava and Kaurava princes displayed their feat of arms is called *samāja* (1.126.7) and *raṅga* (1.127.18-19). Dhṛtarāṣṭra tempted the Pāṇḍavas to go to Vāraṇāvata by pointing out that a *samāja* would be held in connection with Paśupati, by which possibly a fair to celebrate Śiva's worship on a particular day was meant (1.131.3). Later, the same festival is called an *utsava* (1.131.8-9; 1.132.6) where musicians were likely to participate. The tournament, which Drupada had arranged to select a husband for Draupadī, is also called *samāja* (1.176. 16,28-29). But here

[1] J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 27; S.M.H. Nainar, *Arab Geographer's Knowledge of South India*, Madras, 1942, p. 102.

[2] *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, translated and annotated by W.H. Schoff, New Delhi, 1974, p. 42; see also above I, p. 230.

[3] For references see *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 53-5.

the people, who had gathered from country-side as well as the residents of the city were entertained for the first fifteen days by actors and dancers, and the tournament was held on the sixteenth day (1.176.28-29). Both the events are called *samāja*, and it appears from two verses (1.178.18; 179.17) that the assembly of the spectators was also called *samāja*.

While describing to Yudhiṣṭhira the role he would adopt at Virāṭa's court, Bhīma suggested that he would take part in *samāja* (4.2.5), by which he seems to have meant wrestling bouts. This meaning is confirmed by another verse (4.12.13) which state that in 'Brahmā's *samāja*, which was like Paśupati's, wrestlers assembled from all directions.' *Samāja* mentioned in 7.107.30 might have been either a tournament or a theatrical show. *Samāja* is also mentioned in 12.59.67 and 12.87.10, but coupled with *utsava*, and in the latter verse Bhīṣma recommends that a city should have, among other things such as fortifications, craftsmen, wealthy men etc., *samāja*, and *utsava*. He had already advised Yudhiṣṭhira to collect actors, dancers, wrestlers, and magicians, along with weapons, armour, medicines, and physicians.

The word *samāja* has also been used in the *Rāmāyaṇa* many times but usually as a compound with *utsava*, indicating a special kind of festival (2.51.11; 2.61.13; 2.80.21; 2.94.38; 3.36.20).

The importance of *samāja* is that it is mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions as a great festival. It appears that during Aśoka's reign, there were two kinds of *samājas*: in one people were treated to dainty dishes in which meat played the most important part; in the other they were treated to dancing, music, wrestling and other performances. Aśoka condemned the former but encouraged the latter. King Khāravela also enjoyed *samāja*. The Nasik Cave Inscription describes Gautamīputra as *samāja-kāraka*, that is, 'the producer of festivals.'[1]

Yājñavalkya (1.84) says that a woman whose husband is away should renounce *krīḍā* (games), personal toilet, attending *samāja*, *utsava*, laughing, and visiting other people's house. Vijñāneśvara explains *krīḍā* as *kandukādibhiḥ*, showing that women also played games with balls. He then explains *samāja* as 'crowd' (*jana-samūha*), and *utsava* as 'marriage etc.' none of which appear to be convincing. It is impossible for a Hindu married woman, whose husband is living, to avoid attending the marriage ceremony of her near relatives. *Jana-samūha* is of course no explanation, for a woman should always avoid a crowd. Hence it appears that by the time Vijñāneśvara wrote, the meaning of *samāja* was lost.

In contrast, the commentary on the KS (1.4.27) gives a more or less correct explanation of *samāja*, which was a festival of particular type. This is apparent from Vātsyāyana who says (1.4.27) that on a fixed day of every fortnight a *samāja* should be convened in the temple of Sarasvatī. The commentary explains that Sarasvatī is the presiding deity of learning and arts (*vidyā* and *kalā*). In Her precincts drama and dances were arranged on every fifth day of each fortnight by the *nāgarakas*. It appears from the commentary

[1] *EI*, VIII, p. 60.

that the *samāja* of the KS was confined to the *nāgarakas*, which may not be true for Vātsyāyana's time.[1]

It thus appears that originally *samāja* included sports such as wrestling, and tournaments, along with some other forms of entertainments. Gradually, the *samāja* was divested of its athletics and was transformed into a festival of dance and drama.

Among the games played in ancient India, the most important were hockey and polo. There is a verse (3.10) in Hemacandra's (AD 1088-1172) *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* which refers to a game played with a ball and sticks resulting in fisticuffs among the players. Commenting on this verse, Abhayatilaka-gaṇi (*c.*AD 1265) explains that the game was played by young men in villages during the autumn, when the mud had dried but had not turned into dust. The participants in the game divided themselves into two teams (*śreṇī-dvayam*) and each team tried to push the ball across the other's area. The ball was pushed, or rather hit, very hard by the players with a stick which had a carved top (*vakr-āgrya krīḍana-yaṣṭyā*). Sometimes, instead of striking the ball a player used to hit slyly with his stick the leg of one of the players of the opposite side with equal force, and this act led to the fisticuffs among the two teams.

Polo is described in the *Mānasollasa*[2] as a royal sport. The king divides the horsemen into two teams of eight each. There are two goal-posts on each side, separated by a prescribed distance. The sticks, made of cane, have carved end, and are encased in red leather. The team which succeeds in driving ball through the opposite goal-posts is the victor.

The *Mānasollāsa* also describes elephants' race, elephant fight, duel, and wrestling. There were also fights between other animals and birds, particularly among pigeons. Royal sport also included hunting, hawking, and angling. Of these pigeon race and cock-fighting are mentioned by Hemacandra, and a fine description of the latter is given by him in his *Triṣaṣṭi śalākā puruṣa caritra* and by Dandin in his *Daśakumāra-carita.*

Among younger people the game of hide-and-seek was popular. It was played by both boys and girls. Exclusively girls' game was *karkaraka* which was played with pebbles thrown in the air and then catching them. Another game was *muṣṭi-dyūta* in which a player took a few cowrie shells or seeds of fruit (like tamarind) in her hand, and asked her friends to guess whether it contained odd or even number. A correct guess lost the challenger her cowrie shells or the seeds, while she won an equal amount if the guess went wrong.[3]

Among indoor games, the most popular and most ancient was gambling away at dice. The Vedic people were addicted to this form of gambling, and

[1]The commentator Yaśodhara is said to have lived in the court of Vīsaladeva of Gujarat (*c.*AD 1245-1263), when theatrical shows in the temple precincts used to be held. It is therefore possible that Yaśodhara's explanation of *samāja* is based on his experience which may not be true for Vātsyāyana's time.

[2]*Mānasollāsa* by King Someśvara, ed. by G.K. Shrigondekar, 2 vols., *GOS*, Baroda, 1925, 1939, Chapter IV.

[3]For references see A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 361-62.

the RV (X.34.1-14) describes the miserable plight of a gambler who has lost everything at the game. He is forsaken by his relatives, and his wife commits adultery, presumably to maintain herself. The description seems to portray real life, and is intended as warning to others. But, as is well known, Yudhiṣṭhira gambled away at dice his kingdom, brothers, and wife.

Āpastamba (2.10.25.12-13) provides that in the midst of the hall (*sabhā*), having raised a table for playing dice, one should place thereon dices even in number, and made from the *vibhītaka* wood. The players should be men of the three higher castes.

Manu (9.223-224) makes a distinction between gambling and betting. Gambling with inanimate objects is called *dyūta*, while betting on animals is called *samāhvaya*. Kulluka explains that by 'animals' is meant 'ram, cock etc.'. Evidently, fights between rams and cocks were organized, which, as has been noted above, were the pastimes of the *nāgaraka*.

Kauṭilya (8.3.62-64) denounces gambling as a worse vice than drinking, and describes it as 'the most evil among vices, as it favours evil men, (and) since it leads to weakness in administration.' He contemplates regulation of gambling by conducting the game in one place under the Superintendent of Gambling (*dyūtādhyakṣa*), and making gambling at unauthorized places punishable (3.20.1-2). The Superintendent (*adhyakṣa*) was to provide for clean cowrie shells and dice. He was to take 5% of the winnings as well as hire charges for the cowrie shells, dice, leather straps, ivory cubes, charges for water, accommodation, and the act of gambling. Kauṭilya has also given directions for disposing suits arising out of gambling where he ends by saying: 'Gamblers indeed are generally fraudulent players' (3.20.3-7, and 9).

Yājñavalkya (2.199-203) is similar to Kauṭilya, in that he holds gambling regulated by the king to be legal. The man who arranges gambling (*sabhika*) is to receive 5% of the winnings when the stake was 100 *paṇas* or more, and 10% if the stake was less than 100 *paṇas*.

Nārada (16.1-8) accepts Manu's classification of *dyūta* and *samāhvaya*, but he practically follows Kauṭilya and Yājñavalkya. According to Nārada, it is legal to gamble openly with dice etc., after giving the king his customary dues, which is also provided by Yājñavalkya (2.201). Nārada further provides that a person who gambles without the king's permission will receive punishment instead of the winnings.

Manu (9.221-222) advised the king to banish gambling and betting from his realm, for 'these two vices cause the ruin and destruction of kingdom.' No one seems to have heeded his sage counsel.

Chess was the other popular indoor game. It may have originated at an early age, but it is only in the early *Caryāpadas* (*c.* AD 1000) that we come across clear references to the details of chess such as sixty-four squares on a piece of cloth, and the pieces known as *rājā* (king), *mantrī* (queen), *gaja* (castle), and *vaḍiā* (pawn).[1] It is evident that it had become popular before

[1]*History of Bengal*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar, I, Dacca, 1943, p. 615.

the 11th century AD. Chess remained a popular game, and a Gujarat chronicle relates how an indiscreet remark uttered by a Cāhamāna king during the course of a game with his Caulukya spouse led to a war between the two kingdoms.[1]

FESTIVALS

Vātsyāyana (1.4.42) has given the names of a number of festivals which he calls '*samasyākrīḍā*' and '*sambhūya krīḍa*'. These are:

1. *Yakṣarātri:* This festival is *diwālī*, for in the *Deśīnāmamālā* (3.43) Hemacandra has given the words *divālī* and *dipālikā* as the Sanskrit equivalents of the *Deśī* word *jakkharātti*. Al Beruni gives the following description of the *divālī:* 'The first Kārttika, or new moon's day when the sun marches in Libra [*Tulā*] is called *divālī*. Then people bathe, dress festively, make presents to each other of betel leaves and areca nuts; they ride to the temples to give alms and play merrily with each other till noon. In the night they light a great number of lamps in every place so that the air is perfectly clear...'

2. *Kaumudījāgara:* This was held on the full moon night of Āśvina when people engaged themselves in gambling. This festival also is still observed, as part of Lakṣmī-*pūjā*.

3. *Suvasantaka:* This was a spring festival, also known as the *Madanotsava*. Possibly it is the same as the *Vasantotsava* mentioned in the prologue of the drama *Dūtāṅgada*. The main features of this festival were singing and music. The *Deśīnāmamālā* (6.82) states that *phaggu* was *vasantotsava*, which indicates that the modern practice of playing with coloured powder was prevalent in those days. The *Kuṭṭanīmatam* (*Mañjaryākhyānam*, 886) refers to the performance of *carcarī* during the *Madanotsava*, and in the following verses (889-928) describes the revelry which was a part of this festival.

These three festivals and a few others noted below were observed all over the country. The rest of the *samasyā-krīḍās* were local festivals, and are now mostly obsolete:

4. *Sahakārabhañjikā:* competition in breaking twigs from mango trees.

5. *Abhyūṣakhādikā:* eating fresh grams roasted in the field.

6. *Bisakhādikā:* plucking and eating the stalks of lotus.

7. *Nava-patrikā:* picnic at the first budding of the corns at the beginning of the rains.

8. *Udaka-kṣveḍikā:* spraying each other with water through a syringe made of bamboo. It corresponds to modern *holi*. The *Kuṭṭanīmatam* (*Mañjaryākhyānam*, 893) mentions this sport in its description of the *vasantotsava* and refers to the syringe as *śṛṅgaka*. As the *udaka-kṣveḍikā* is identical with the *holi* it may be called 'an all-India festival.'

9. *Pāñcālānuyānam:* imitating the dialects of other countries like Pañcāla etc.

10. *Ekasālmalī:* decking themselves with the flowers of a big *śālmalī* (silk-

[1] A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 104, the story appears to be fictitious.

cotton) tree as in Vidarbha.

11. *Yava-caturthi:* throwing scented *yava* powder at each other on the 4th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

12. *Āloca-caturthī:* swinging on the third day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa.

13. *Madanotsava:* worship of the image of Madana on the fourteenth day of the bright half of Caitra. Most probably it was identical with the *Suvasantaka*, but the worship of Madana was some local custom.

14. *Damana-bhañjikā:* making earrings of the *damana* flower, a part of the *Madanotsava*. It is probably identical with the *damanaka*, mentioned in an inscription of the reign of the Paramāra king Udayāditya.[1]

15. *Holaka: holi*, held on the full moon day of Phālguna, when powders of *kiṁśuka* flower were thrown at each other. This too was an all-India festival.

16. *Aśokottaṁsikā:* wearing a crown of *aśoka* flowers on the eighth day of the bright half of Caitra.

17. *Puspāvacāyikā:* competition in collecting flowers.

18. *Cūta-latikā:* making earrings from mango flowers.

19. *Ikṣu-bhañjikā:* decking oneself with pieces of sugarcane.

20. *Kadamba-yuddha:* forming two parties and fighting by throwing *kadamba* flowers at each other.

Most of these festivals have reference to a rural society, and may be presumed to have had their origin at a time when the budding of crops or the blossoming of flowers had not lost their thrill for the unsophisticated people, and the tradition continued.

Occasions for more festivities were presented by the processions of images at different parts of the year. Today, the only important procession is the *Ratha-yātrā* of Jagannātha, but an inscription of the reign of Kumāra-gupta I of AD 436-37 refers to a procession of a Śiva-image.[2] Later texts also describe the popularity of procession with a Śiva image or *liṅga*. There were also other processions with the images of other deities. These processions formed an important part of the national festivities.

THEATRICALS

The large number of Sanskrit dramas indicate their popularity. Prakrit dramas also have been found. The origin of Indian drama is not known, though the earliest dramatic elements can be discerned in the dialogue hymns of the RV. Pāṇini has used the word *naṭa-sūtra*, still it is difficult to assert that he knew of dramas. There is, however, no doubt that in Patañjali's time (*c.* 2nd century BC) dramatic shows had become popular. As Prof. Keith has observed: 'The balance of probability, therefore, is that the Sanskrit drama came

[1] *EI*, XXIII, p. 134; for *dola* and some other festival see A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 301-09 and 362.

[2] *EI*, X, p. 70.

into being shortly after if not before the middle of the 2nd century BC, and that it was evoked by the combinations of epic recitations with the dramatic moment of the Kṛṣṇa legend.'[1]

There is however, a possibility that stage shows had become popular before the 2nd century BC. Kauṭilya[2] uses the word *prekṣā* in the sense of a 'show' or 'theatrical performance' several times. After mentioning *naṭa, nartaka, gāyana, vādaka,* and *kuśīlava* etc. he says (2.27.25-26) that 'their musical instruments when coming from foreign lands shall be charged a fee of five *paṇas* per show (*prekṣā*).' Kauṭilya (3.3.21) refers to 'show by women' (*strī-prekṣā*) and 'shows by males' (*puruṣa-prekṣā*). An 'all female dramatic company' is also referred to in the *Rāmayāṇa* (1.5.12) as *vadhu-nāṭaka-saṅgha* ('company of female actresses).' The city of Ayodhyā had several such *saṅghas.*

Kauṭilya lays down (3.10.37-38) that 'one who does not contribute his share in a stage-show (*prekṣā*) shall not witness it with his family,' and will be punished if he witnesses it secretly. Here Kauṭilya has used the words '*pracchanna-śravaṇekṣaṇe*' (listening or seeing secretly) which shows that he meant either song and dance, or, what is more likely, a drama.

Kauṭilya (5.1.43) refers to strifes which took place on certain occasions, one of which was 'shows and festivals' (*prekṣā-kṛtyotsaveṣu*). He again refers to 'festival with shows' (13.2.4) and also to a king witnessing a 'show' (*prekṣāḥ prekṣate* 13.2.45).

Manu (9.264) has mentioned *prekṣaṇa* as one of the places where one might search for a thief. Evidently, in his time, or according to his puritanical views, it was not a desirable place. This attitude is reflected when he mentions *kuśīlava* (8.65 and 102). It is apparent that Manu deemed the profession of a *kuśīlava* (actor) to be low, for he relegates it to the *śudras,* and ordains that a *brāhmaṇa* adopting this profession would be degraded. In a corresponding passage, Yājñavalkya (2.70) refers to actors as *raṅgavatārins.*[3] The Mbh. (12.283.3-5) permits a *śūdra* to earn his livelihood by *raṅgavatāranam* (acting). Apparently the profession of acting was reserved for the *śūdras.* Kauṭilya has used the words *raṅgopajīvin* (2.27.29) and *rangopajīvinī* (2.27.28).

Among the sixty-four arts and crafts mentioned by Vātsyāyana (1.3.16), the thirty-second is *natak-ākhyāyikā-darśanam,* which means 'ability to describe skilfully a drama or a story.' Another art, the sixteenth, was the *nepathya-prayoga,* which means, according to the commentary, 'appropriate dressing with reference to the place and time'. The word *nepathya,* however, also means a stage costume, and Vātsyāyana seems to have used it in this sense. Vātsyā-

[1] A.B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama,* Oxford, 1924, p. 45.

[2] Prof. Keith, ibid, p. 300 held that Kauṭilya flourished in *c.* AD 300. For a discussion of Kauṭilya's date see II, p. 19.

[3] Manu 8.65 and Yājñavalkya include actors in their lists of incompetent witnesses. Manu 8.102 says that a *brāhmaṇa* who takes up the profession of an actor is to be treated as *śūdra.* For oath see *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya 2.73, and *HDK,* III, p. 344. Manu has referred to actors in both the verses as *kuśīlava;* according to Kauṭilya (3.7.32) *kuśīlava* is a mixed caste.

yana has also said (1.3.20) that a prostitute who knows all the sixty-four arts is a *gaṇikā*, from which it would appear that they learnt *nepathya-prayoga*, to enable them to appear on the stage. The *Dvyāśraya-kavya* (1.180) says that the female roles were played by women trained by the *raṅgācārya*.

Kauṭilya, as we have seen, provided for arranging shows by raising public subscription. Though there is no evidence to corroborate Kauṭilya, a Gujarat inscription of vs 1348 (AD 1290-1291) records corporate effort to put up theatrical shows. The inscription relates that on former occasions, gifts were made for the worship, offerings, and theatricals (*prekṣaṇaka*) before the god Kṛṣṇa for which purpose the local administration and the custom-house had granted in perpetuity 180 *drammas* and 72 *drammas* respectively. All these sources having proved insufficient, the local administration held a meeting and imposed taxes on various articles.[1]

There is a similar but less detailed Yādava inscription which records that the village headmen and the villagers made a 'pious endowment for theatrical entertainment and offering of oblations to (the deity) Kṣetrapāla.'[2]

The development of Indian theatre was due to its popularity. Kings and nobles wrote and produced plays. The stage was the most suitable mass-media for the propagation of religious themes.

The most well-known royal playwright was Harṣa-vardhana. He wrote three plays, namely, *Priyadarśikā*, *Ratnāvalī*, and *Nāgānanda*, and the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* refers to the staging of the *Ratnāvalī*. In the latter part of the 11th century AD, the drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* was produced in the Candella court. The Dhar Praśasti of the Paramāra Arjunavarman I (*c.* AD 1210-1218) states that the drama *Pārijātamañjarī* was enacted for the first time during the *Caitra-parva*, which is also called *vasantotsava*.[3] Prahlādana, the feudatory Paramāra prince of Abu, wrote the *Pārtha-parākrama*, and Vastupāla, who occupied a unique position in Gujarat, wrote the *Naranārāyanānanda*. The play *Dūtāṅgada* was staged on March 7, 1243 on occasion of the *dola-parva* at the command of the Caulukya king Tribhuvanapāla.[4]

There is at least one instance of a play being written and produced at the request of the author's wife. This was the Prakrit drama *Karpūramañjarī* which Rājaśekhara wrote at the request of his wife, Avantīsundarī. Rājaśekhara (*c.* AD 900) was a *brāhmaṇa*, but Avantīsundarī came from a *kṣatriya* Cāhamāna family. She was a gifted woman, and Rājaśekhara refers to her views in his

[1]For details see above II, pp. 206-07.

[2]ibid, p. 242.

[3]*EI*, VIII, p. 96.

[4]The *Dūtāṅgada* is a *chāyā-nāṭya* or 'shadow play.' The shadow play made its appearance in Arabia in the 13th century AD in a highly developed form;' P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 690. The Arabs may have adopted the shadow play from South-East Asia, but there is a probability that the Arab merchants who gathered at the Gujarat ports learnt this art from the Indians. There is, however, doubt about the nature of the '*chāyā-nāṭaka*', see *HCIP*, IV, p. 182. For another record mentioning theatrical performances, see Jalor Inscription, *EI*, XI, p. 54.

Kāvyamīmāṁsā, a standard work on poetics.

Kings and commoners are said to have watched the shows together. A Gujarat chronicle relates that King Jayasiṁha Siddharāja was one night watching a play in the temple of Karṇameru when an ordinary merchant placed his hand on the royal shoulder. Though astonished by this familiar attitude, many a times did the great king accept from the merchant the prepared betels which were readily offered. Next morning the king had the merchant brought to the court, and complained that his neck was aching due to the heavy hand which the merchant had rested there the previous night. The clever man replied: 'If your Majesty's shoulder does not feel pain from bearing the weight of the whole earth .... what pain can it feel from the weight of me....' The merchant, so ends the story, was let off with a present.[1] This incident may not have actually taken place, but had such a situation been impossible, the chronicler would not have invented this story.

The Sanskrit plays were meant for the enjoyment of the educated. The illiterate villagers also had their entertainment. The *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita* gives a long but more or less conventional description of a dramatic performance except the following passage in which Hemacandra evidently describes a burlesque: 'Sometimes (during the show) even the sophisticated townsmen were made to laugh, like the villagers, by fat men, men with projecting teeth, lame men, hunchbacks, flat-nosed men, men with dishevelled hair, bald men, one eyed men, and other deformed men; by ash-coloured men; by men with buttock-bells, by musicians of the armpit and the nose, by dancers of the ear and brow, by imitators of the speech of other people....'[2]

[1] *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga, text ed. by Jina vijaya Muni, *SJS*, Santiniketan, 1933, pp. 70-1; English translation by C.H. Tawney, *BI*, Calcutta, 1901, p. 106.

[2] *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa-caritra*, English translation by Helen M. Johnson, III, p. 239.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION OF THE VEDA

VEDA

General Character

The word *veda*, derived from the root *vid* (=to know) literally means 'knowledge,' 'true or sacred knowledge,' or 'lore.' The word, however, is usually used to denote a class of religious texts to which the Hindus trace the origin of their religion and culture. It is usually held that the Vedas contain the most ancient record of the religious thought of mankind, or at any rate of the people speaking the Indo-Aryan group of languages.

The present connotation of the word '*veda*' seems to be due to a late usage. In the RV, the word has been used only once (VIII. 19.5). The word usually used for knowledge in the Vedas is '*vidyā*.'

In a previous volume, it has been stated that the Vedas are divided into four classes of texts, namely, Saṁhitās or Mantras, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads.[1] This arrangement is basically correct, but technically speaking the Vedas consist of two parts only: the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas. Thus the *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra* (24.1.39) says: *mantra-brāhmaṇyor=Veda-nāmadheyam*. Similarly, commenting on the PMS 2.1.33 (*Śese Brāhmaṇa-śabda*), Śabara states: *Mantrāś=ca Brāhmaṇaṁ ca Vedāḥ*. These terms will be discussed later.

The earliest text of the Vedic literature is the *Ṛgveda*.[2] In the hymns of the RV nature appears as a living reality consisting of animated super-natural beings or *devas*. In the imagination of the Vedic seer-poets, a natural event was seen as the action of a *deva*. Or was it the symbolical expression of a mystic experience? That is, were the seers expressing in a newly acquired art-form their realized truth purposefully shrouded in conventional descriptions? Unfortunately, the answer will never be known. There is no doubt, however, that the Vedic seers felt and expressed the synthesis of the physical world or nature with man and the Ultimate Reality or the Cosmic Soul. As the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (3.10.8.4) says: 'Agni is fixed in speech, speech in the heart, the heart in me, myself in the immortal, the immortal in the Brahman.' However, as Yāska said in the epilogue to his *Nirukta* (XIII.12.13): 'Concerning the *mantras*, none can claim to have perceived their truths, if one is not a seer or a spiritual energizer. . . . .'

[1] Vol. 1, p. 12.

[2] *Ṛgveda* here means the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*.

Since the time of Jaimini (*c.* 400 to 200 BC), it has been recognized that the 'main purpose of the Vedas is to denote some *karma* or rite. . . . .' Criticizing this view, MM. Kane writes: 'The doctrines of the early and principal writers on Pūrva-mīmāṁsā are rather quaint and startling. Their arguments about the eternality and self-existence of the Veda are fallacious and were not accepted even by other Indian systems. Both Prabhākara and Kumārila have in their scheme no place for God as the dispenser of rewards or as the ruler of man's destiny, as being pleased with men's prayers. They do not expressly deny the existence of God, but they assign to God or the deities mentioned in the Vedic texts a secondary role or rather practically no role at all. They raise yajña to the position of God and their dogmas about yajña seem to be based upon a sort of commercial or business-like system, viz., one should do so many acts, dispense gifts to priests, offer certain offerings, observe certain ethical rules and other rules of conduct (such as not eating flesh, subsisting on milk) and then the reward would follow without the intervention of God. There is hardly any appeal to religious emotions, there is no omniscient Being, no Creator, and no creation of the world. . . .[1] Similarly, Sāyaṇācārya, the greatest commentator of the Vedas (14th century AD), has defined Veda at the very beginning of his commentary on the Black Yajurveda as 'a book which reveals the knowledge of supernatural methods (*alaukika upāya*) for the achievement of the desired object and avoidance of the undesirable.' Sāyaṇa himself was an exponent of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā system, and so far as the Vedas are concerned, the Hindus have always accepted the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā view, and particularly Sāyaṇa's commentary on Veda as the authority. As MM. Kane observes: '. . . . . the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā system came to relegate *mantras* to a secondary place and made them play a passive role in the sacrificial system. The Ṛgveda contained sublime prayers, but in the *mīmāṁsā* system the most prominent place was given to the Brāhmaṇa texts, that contained all the *vidhis*.'[2]

The present study being of an historical nature, no attempt can be made here to probe into the mystical significance of Vedic hymns or *mantras*. For more than two thousand years the Hindus have treated the Veda as manual for rituals. The Hindus began to appreciate the charm of the Ṛgvedic hymns as poems after those were translated by Max Müller (1891) and later by R. T.H. Griffith (1896-1897). In this connection mention must be made of H.T. Colebrooke whose article 'On the Vedas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindus' published in the *Asiatic Researches* (VIII, pp. 369-476) in 1821 Calcutta started modern Vedic research.

Unfortunately, the Western scholars went to the other extreme. They 'generally paid scant attention to the deep study of Vedic sacrifices and endeavoured to understand the meaning of the Vedas principally by reference

[1] *HDK*, V, part ii, p. 1217. Kumārila's date would be *c.* AD 650-700 and Prabhākara's *c.* AD 675-725, ibid, p. 1198. Fortunately for the Hindus, Śaṅkara (*c.* AD 788-820) established the supremacy of the Vedānta.

[2] ibid, p. 1244.

to grammar, comparative philology, and the comparison of several passages containing the same word or words.' But, as MM. Kane points out, 'a deep study of Vedic sacrifices is quite essential for the proper understanding of the Vedic Literature. . . . .[1] Later, the anthropologists raided the Vedic Literature to pick up isolated passages which, torn from their context, were manipulated to fit in with their pre-conceived theories.[2]

It may be noted that from quite ancient times there were traducers of the Vedas, particularly of the rituals. Yāska (*c.* 800-500 BC) condemns in his *Nirukta* the anti-Vedic beliefs of Kautsa, who criticized the Vedic hymns as devoid of meaning and lacking in consistency. The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (1.2) refers to six different views regarding the creation of the universe. However, the most trenchant condemnation of the Vedic sacrifices is found in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (1.2.7):

> Unsafe boats, however, are these sacrificial forms (*yajña-rūpa*)
> The eighteen, in which is expressed the lower work.
> The fools who approve that as the letter,
> Go again to old age and death.[3]

Apparently, by the time the *Muṇḍaka* was written, the Vedic sacrifices had become the targets of criticism by the intellectuals. However, the ritualists could cite the authority of the RV in their favour, where (X. 90.16) *yajña* is said to be the first or ancient *dharma: yajñena yajñam=ayajanta devās=tāni dharmāṇi prathamānyāsan.*[4] Śabara quotes this passage in his comments on

[1]ibid, II, part ii, p. 976.

[2]For criticism of Western scholars see *HDK*, V, part i, pp. 141, and pp. 511-18. Another defect of the Western scholars was due to their deliberately ignoring the works of Indian scholars who differed from them. As MM. Kane observes: 'It is somewhat remarkable and also indicative of the bias of most Western scholars that while Prof. Keith in his work on the "Religion and Philosophy of the Veda" refers *ad nauseam* to all sorts of lucubrations by European scholars on the origins of the Vedic sacrifices, about rain spells, and fertility rites and similar lore, he does not condescend to notice the views of Dr. Sham Sastry or Mr. Tilak, which have far more probability than many of the learned hypotheses advanced by European scholars who appear to be obsessed by the notion that Vedic usages must be similar to practices found in the 19th century among the backward races of Africa, America, and Oceania.' *HDK*, II, part ii, p. 1245.

[3]Tr. by R.E. Hume, *The Thirteen Principle Upaniṣads*, sec. ed., London, 1958. In a fn. p. 368 Hume explains the word 'eighteen' as: 'That is, the four Vedas, each including Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra, and in addition the six Vedāṅgas which are enumerated at Muṇḍ. 1.1.5.' This explanation does not appear to be satisfactory, as neither the Sūtras nor the Vedāṅgas (of which the Sūtras are a part) are parts of the Veda, while the Upaniṣads are a part of the Veda, and technically a part of the Brāhmaṇas. Śaṅkara's explanation, namely, 16 priests, wife, and the *yajamāna* (the sacrificer) himself constitute 18 seems to be the correct explanation. For details of the 16 priests see below.

[4]This is the famous *Puruṣa-sūkta*, which describes the origin of the four castes. As this hymn also mentions the rise of Ṛc, Sāman, and Yajus, it seems to be one of the latest hymns of the RV. However, as Sri Anirvan points out, 'the *Ṛgveda* repeatedly draws attention to the esoteric meaning of the *mantras*, cf. 1.164.39; IV. 3.16; VIII.100.10; X. 71.3.4.5; X. 114.8; X.125.7; etc. The *Nirukta* insists upon a thorough knowledge of

PMS 1.1.2 in support of his proposition that Veda clearly says that *dharma* means *yāga*.

Manu (2.140) gives equal importance to the study of the Upaniṣads and of the ritual part of the Vedas when he declares

upanīya tu yaḥ śiṣyaṁ
vedam adhyāpayed dvijaḥ
sa-kalpaṁ sa-rahasyaṁ ca
tam ācāryaṁ pracakṣate

(The *brāhmaṇa* who having initiated his disciple, teaches him the Veda with the *kalpa* and *rahasya* is called the *ācārya*).

Kulluka explains *kalpa* as *yajña-vidyā*, that is 'knowledge of *rituals*,' and *rahasya* as 'the Upaniṣad.'

There must have been a general demand for learning the ritualistic part of the Vedas. Three modes of earning were open to a *brāhmaṇa:* begging, teaching, and officiating as priests. Begging was meant for the *sannyāsins*, and teaching, which brought small reward, could be adopted as a profession by the learned few, for the majority of the *brāhmaṇas* performance of Vedic rituals as priests provided the means of livelihood.

Age of the Vedas

The problem of the age of the Vedas has been discussed in a previous volume and need not be repeated here. A brief description of the geographical locations and people mentioned in the Vedic literature will also be found in the same volume.[1]

Division of the Vedas

It has been stated above that the Vedas are divided into Mantras, and Brāhmaṇas. The problem is the definition of *mantra*.

The PMS (II.1.31-32) defines *mantra* as that which 'can assert something (*prayoga-samarthāt*).' However, commenting on PMS 1.4.1, Śabara describes *mantra* as one, which, during a sacrifice, recalls, reminds, or makes clear to the performer the matter that is prescribed. *Mantras* are not supposed to be efficacious by their mere recital (*uccāraṇa*), but they are *abhidhāyaka*, that is, reminders of what is to be done or is being done. Medhātithi on Manu (3.121) says that a *mantra* primarily means a part of Veda comprising of the RV, SV, and the YV treated as such by those who have studied the Veda, and that expressions like '*Agnaye svaha*' employed in rites like the Vaiśvadeva are called *mantras* in a secondary sense by way of praise.[2]

the secret of the Vedas (1.18). The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, while fully defining the scope of the Vedas speaks expressly of their *rahasyam* (1.2.10).' Shrimat Anirvan: Vedic Exegesis, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 313 fn. 2.

[1]Vol. 1, pp. 12-4; 76-86.

[2]Manu 3.121 says that the housewife should offer food to Vaiśvadeva in the morning and evening without uttering any *mantra*. Obviously it was customary to utter '*Agnaye svāhā*' on such occasions, which Medhātithi says is not a *mantra*. For a discussion on *mantra* see Sir Ganganath Jha, *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and Its Sources*, Varanasi, 1964, pp. 159-72.

The Vedic texts are divided into four groups, namely, the Ṛk, Sāman, Yajus, and the Atharvan on the basis of the Mantra or the Saṁhitā part, it being usual to refer to the Mantra texts as Saṁhitās. The basis of this division has been given in PMS II.1. 35-37 as follows: *teṣām ṛg yātra-ārthavaśena pādavyavasthā* (of these [*mantras*] those are *ṛks* which are versified lit. 'divided into feet or *pāda*,' which means the fourth part of a stanza); *gītiṣu sām= ākhyā* (the songs are called *sāmans*) *śeṣe yajuḥ śabda* (*the rest are yajus*; that is, the prose passages are *yajus*.

This definition excludes the AV, which is partly in verse and partly in prose. If the definition of the PMS is accepted as valid for all the four Vedas, the verses of the AV are to be considered as *rks*, and the prose passages as *yajus*.

The PMS II.1.38 mentions another class of *mantras* called the *nigada*, which are addressed by one person to another calling upon the latter to perform a certain act. The *nigadas* are in prose, but are distinguished from the *yajus* by the fact that they are loudly uttered, so that the person to whom they are addressed may hear them, while a *yajus* is usually repeated in a low voice.

Recitation of Veda

The correct mode of recitation and of pronunciation of Veda was possibly the most important part of Vedic studies, at least for the ordinary students. The *Pāṇinīyaśikṣā* relates the sad incident in which a sacrificer was destroyed because he mispronounced a compound word. The incident is described in the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (II.4.12.1) and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (1.6.3.8) which relate that Tvaṣṭṛ wanted to pronounce the compound *Indra-śatruḥ* as a *Tatpuruṣa* compound (meaning 'destroyer of Indra') in which the last syllable has the *udātta* (acute) accent. Unfortunately, Tvaṣṭṛ accented the first syllable which transformed the word into a *Bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'whose killer would be Indra.' And sure enough, Indra promptly dispatched him.[1]

The merit of this story was that it helped to preserve the Vedic texts in their original form. The Vedas were never written down; actually it was considered to be a heinous crime to do so. The priestly class performed the incredible feat of committing the Vedas to memory. Of course a priest did not have to memorize all the texts, but did that part which was necessary for his profession. Still, to remember the dry prose passages of a Brahmana text—generation after generation—is a unique achievement.

For this *tour de force* certain aids to memory were developed. A student had to recite each line in various ways. The earliest method was *padā-pāṭha* (word recitation) attributed to Sākalya. In this system instead of reading the text continuously or continuous recitation, which is known as *saṁhitā-pāṭha*, each word is pronounced separately neglecting the rules of euphony. For example RV. 1.19.7 *saṅgomadindra vājavadasme pṛthuśravo bṛhat viśvāyurdhe-*

[1]The Vedic accents were lost in classical Sanskrit; *Pāṇini* 6.1. 123 and 6.2.1 mentions them.

hyakṣitaṁ (O Indra, give us indestructible wealth with cows, food, in large quantities, [and] big, the means of all life). According to *pada-patha*, the same stanza should be read as *saṁgomat indra vājavat asme pṛthuśravan bṛhat/ viśvāyuḥ dhehi akṣitaṁ.*

The third mode of recitation is the *krama-pāṭha* (step by step recitation) in which words are recited in pairs, being connected both with the preceding and the following words. For example we shall take the opening line of the RV: *agnimīle purohitaṁ yajñasya devaṁṛtvijaṁ* (I worship Agni, the priest of sacrifice and the priest of gods). This line should be first read as: *agnim īle, īle purohitaṁ, purohitaṁ yajñasya, yajñasya devaṁ, devaṁ ṛtvijaṁ, and later as agni gnimī mīle lepu purorohi* etc.

Next was the *jaṭā-pāṭha* (woven recitation) based on *krama-pāṭha* in which the words were recited twice, the second time in a reverse order such as *agniṁ īle, īle agniṁ, agniṁ īle purohitaṁ, īle purohitaṁ. purohitaṁ īle, īle purohitaṁ yajñasya, yajñasya purohitaṁ īle, īle purohitaṁ yājñasya.*[1]

Today these mnemonic gymnastics appear odd, but they served their purpose successfully. The Vedic texts were preserved for several thousand years free from interpolations modification, or corruption. The text of the RV contains 1028 hymns, consisting of about 10,462 *mantras* or about 74,000 words with only one variant reading, namely *maṁścatoḥ* for *māṁścatoḥ* in VII.44.3.[2] The only probable interpolations are the eight hymns which are traditionally known as the Vālakhilya or the *khila* (supplementary) hymns.

Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā Classification

The Mīmāṁsā doctrine, which was accepted by the Hindus in general, was that the Veda is self-existent, that it is not the work of any author, human or divine, and that every sentence in it are of infallible authority. Now, some Vedic passages, of which examples are given in Mīmāṁsā texts (e.g., PMS.III, 2.6.) had to be explained. For this purpose Mīmāṁsā has divided the Vedic passages sometimes into three groups, namely, *vidhi, arthavāda,* and *mantra,* but usually into five categories, namely, *vidhi, arthavāda, mantra, nāmadheya* and *pratiṣedha.*

Vidhi is usually rendered as 'injunction', though 'exhortation' would be a preferable rendering. The core of the Vedic texts consists of the *vidhis* which refer to many specific rites.

An *arthavāda* is a declamatory passage which serves the purpose of eulogizing and commending what is laid down in the *vidhi.* The *arthavāda* passages constitute the largest part of the Veda, particularly of the Brāhmaṇa texts. According to Kumārila, Upaniṣadic passages about the knowledge of *ātman* are really *arthavādas* as they convey to the performer the knowledge that he

[1]The earliest mention of different modes of reading is found in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 3.1.3 which states:' . . .when he (reciter) unites the words, that is the Nirbhuja form; when he pronounces the two syllables pure, that is the Pratṛṇṇa form. . .By the Ubhaymantareṇa both are fulfilled.' Tr. by A.B. Keith, Nirbhuja is Saṁhitā, Pratṛṇṇa is the Pada, and the Ubhayantareṇa is the Krama-pāṭha.

[2]See H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII,* Bombay, 1963, fn. p. 111.

has a soul, and that the soul has certain characteristics. This view is refuted by Śaṅkara on Br. S. 1.1.1, where he establishes the view that the subject of investigation and the Vedic exhortations are different in Pūrva-mīmāṁsā and Brahma-mīmāṁsā.

The characteristics of the next category, namely, the *mantras*, have been described above.

The fourth category is the *nāmadheya*, or 'passages or words concerning proper names of sacrifices.' The problem arises with such sentences as *udbhidā yajeta* ('one should sacrifice with *udbhid*,' *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*, 19.7.2) or *citrāya yajate* ('one should sacrifice with *citrā*' that is, a female animal of variegated colour, *Tai. S.*, 2.4.61). According to *nāmadheya* rules, it has been decided that in these sentences *udbhid* or *citrā* mean the names of particular sacrifices.

The fifth and the final category of Vedic passages is known as the *pratiṣedha*, meaning, prohibition, that is negative *vidhi*.[1]

These categories and the structure based on them, particularly on *vidhi* and *arthavāda*, provided important tools for logical analysis, and have been used in modern times to interpret Hindu law.

Śākhā or Branch

A Vedic *śākhā* or branch does not mean a part, but stands for an entire system of a particular Veda, which may properly be called a 'school.' Each *śākhā* should have its own Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa, and Kalpa-sūtra, but there are exceptions.

The *Caraṇyavyūha-sūtra* of Śaunaka, admittedly a late text, gives a short account of the Vedic *śākhās:* RV has 5, YV 86, SV 1000, and AV 9 branches. The Bh. P. (12.6.51-79) gives an account of the evolution of the Vedas, including the schools, but scholars are apt to disregard these semi-mythical accounts.

The RV actually has three *śākhās :* Śākala, Śāṅkhāyana, and Bāṣkala. The Śākala divides the RV into *maṇḍalas* and *sūktas* while the Bāṣkala divides it into *aṣṭakas* and *vargas*. At present, the system prescribed by the Śākala school of the RV is usually followed.

The YV is divided into two recensions: the Black (Kṛṣṇa) and White (Śukla). The Black YV has four *śākhās:* Kaṭha, Katha-Kapiṣṭhala, Maitrāyaṇī (or Kalāpa) and the Taittirīya, the last being the most popular, particularly in south India. The White YV has two *śākhās:* Kāṇva and Mādhyandina, the latter being found mostly in north India. A peculiarity of Mādhyandina and the Taittarīya school mentioned above is that their followers pronounce *ṣa* as *kha*.

The SV has three *śākhās:* Kauthuma Rāṇāyaṇīya, and Jaiminīya. The followers of the first *śākhā* is found in Bengal and Gujarat, of the second in Maharashtra, and of the third in Karnataka.

[1]For detailed description of *vidhi*, *arthavāda*, etc., see G. Jha, op. cit., pp. 160-82, and *HDK*, V, part ii, pp. 1225-250.

The AV has two *śākhās*: Pippalāda and Śaunaka.[1]

The mode of the same ritual prescribed in one *śākhā* usually differs from that prescribed in another. The problem therefore is: whether a rite (for example, Agnihotra) performed according to the rules of one *śākhā* will be different from the same rite (that is, Agnihotra) performed according to the rules of another *śākhā*. The PMS (2.4.8-33) after discussing the problem comes to the conclusion, that even if the *śākhās* (that is, rituals) differ, the same sacrifice performed according to various *śākhās* must be treated as the same sacrifice.

SAṀHITĀ

Ṛgveda

The Ṛgveda (RV) or the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, as noted above, is divided into ten *maṇḍalas* containing 1028 (or 1017 hymns as one includes or excludes the eleven *vālakhilya* hymns of Maṇḍala VIII) with a total of 10,462 verses. As stated above, division of the text into eight books or *aṣṭakas* are also found, but the *maṇḍala* division is practically universally used now.

The peculiarity of the Maṇḍalas is that the 1st and the 10th contain equal number of hymns, namely, 191 each. The reason for this parity is not clear, but it is unlikely to be accidental. However, the kernel of the RV is the six successive *maṇḍalas* from the 2nd to the 7th. Each of these *maṇḍalas* was composed by a particular sage, and except for *Maṇḍala* VII, or their family. Therefore, these *maṇḍalas* are known as the 'family *maṇḍalas*.' The composers of *Maṇḍalas* II to VII are respectively Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, and Vasiṣṭha. Several sages have composed the hymns of Maṇḍala VIII, of whom the predominant group is formed by Kaṇva and his family. Maṇḍala VIII is known as the *Pragātha-maṇḍala*, for the hymns are composed in mixed meters, called Pragāthas. These hymns in Pragātha metre are indispensable for the rituals performed by the *udgātṛ* priests and are drawn mostly from this *maṇḍala*. The hymns of Maṇḍala IX are also written by different sages, but as all the hymns are addressed to Soma Pavamāna, this Maṇḍala is sometimes known as the *Soma-maṇḍala*. Maṇḍala I can be divided into two parts, the first fifty hymns being composed by the Kāṇvas as in Maṇḍala VIII and are arranged accordingly, while the rest of the hymns composed by other sages are arranged as in the family *maṇḍalas*.

A 'family *maṇḍala*' opens with a group of hymns addressed to Agni, followed by a group addressed to Indra. It has been suggested that though Indra was the principal deity, Agni was given precedence because all oblations reached the deities through the sacrificial fire or Agni. The Indra hymns are followed in the 'family *maṇḍalas*' by hymns addressed to other deities, their relative positions being determined by the number of hymns addressed to the

[1]The account of the *śākhās* given here is based on Anirvan, *Veda-Mīmāṁsā* (Bengali), I, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 46-7. Many scholars are of the opinion that the non-Śākala recensions are spurious. See *HCIP*, I, p. 226.

deities in a descending order, the prayers to the deities with a single hymn coming last. When deity-groups contain the same number of hymns, the group whose first hymn contains larger number of verses has precedence. Within each deity-group, the order is chiefly determined by metres, the hymns in longer metres like Jagatī coming first, and those in Gāyatrī last, exceptions to these orders being very few.

The arrangement of hymns in Maṇḍala VIII is different. Here the hymns of an individual author have been formed into separate groups. Hymns addressed to particular deities form sub-groups, in which the hymns are arranged according to the number of their verses in a descending order. The most peculiar feature of this Maṇḍala is the Vālakhilya group of eleven hymns (49-59) which Sāyaṇa has not commented upon, though these hymns are referred to as Vālakhilya in the Brāhmaṇas.[1] These hymns are also called Khila or 'Supplementary' hymns. This nomenclature, coupled with the fact that Maṇḍala IX contains only Sāma hymns which were originally meant for the *sāma* singing *udgātṛ* priests, while the other hymns were meant for the *hotṛ* priests, have induced scholars to suggest that originally the RV ended with Maṇḍala VIII, and Maṇḍala X was a later addition. The arguments are not very convincing. For, though the Vālakhilya hymns are called Khila, had they been really supplementary, they would have come at the end of the *maṇḍala*, and not in the middle. Secondly, they were as authoritative as any other hymn. Thirdly, as R.C. Dutt has pointed out, Sāyaṇa refers to only eight hymns as Vālakhilya, while Max Müller has included eleven. Finally it is usually recognized that the equality in the number of hymns in Maṇḍalas I and X are not quite fortuitous. Hence it has to be admitted that all the *maṇḍalas* of the RV were redacted or compiled at the same time. Traditionally Vyāsa, the author of the *Mahābhārata* is said to have performed this great task, hence his cognomen Veda-Vyāsa, Modern scholars, however, do not accept this tradition as historical. It may be added here, that there are reasons to believe that some hymns of Maṇḍala X were among the last to be composed.

The unit of a Ṛgvedic hymn is the *ṛc* (first person singular number *ṛk*) from which the title of the text is derived. A hymn generally consists of between three to fifteen *ṛces* in the same metre, except the last *ṛc* which is in a different metre. A *ṛc* is generally formed of three or four *pādas* or lines each consisting of eight, eleven, twelve, or rarely of five syllables. Three *pādas* constitute the Gāyatrī, and four the Anuṣṭubh metres respectively, and in the RV their proportion is 3:1. In Maṇḍala X, the Anuṣṭubh metre preponderates and in classical Sanskrit Gāyatrī is eliminated, the Epics being in Anuṣṭubh.

'All things considered, it seems best to conclude that the hymns constituting the *Ṛik-saṁhitā*, though certainly not always composed or manufactured directly for the sacrificial ritual, yet owe their inclusion in the Saṁhitā, which

[1]For Vālakhilya see A.B. Keith, *Ṛgveda Brahmanas*, English translation, *HOS*, 1920, Introduction, p. 32, and Translation p. 280. For other references see Anirvan, op. cit., I, p. 56.

guaranteed their preservation, wholly to the fact that at one time or other the ritual offered a place to each of them.'[1] This conclusion by Dr. Ghosh seems to be correct, but his following statement appears to need modification: 'Of natural outpourings of heart there is not much to be found in the *Rigveda*, for the hymns were part of an elaborate ritual which gradually came to be regarded as capable not only of persuading but also of compelling the gods to do the biddings of the officiating priests.'[2] This disdainful attitude towards the gods is true of the Brāhmaṇas *as interpreted by the Mīmāṁsā school*. In the RV (that is, the Saṁhitā), prayers are addressed to gods begging for their favour, and sometimes cajoling them in very flattering language. Some of these hymns are among the best outpourings of human heart, in conception, and composition.

For example, the *Nāsadīya Sukta* (RV. X. 129), which begins with the memorable lines:[3]

n=āsad=āsīn no sad=āsīt tadānīṁ
n=āsīd=rajo no vyomā paro yat

and has been translated by Max Müller as:

Nor Aught nor Naught existed; yon bright sky
Was not, nor heaven's broad woof oustretched above.
What covered all? what sheltered? what concealed?
Was it the water's fathomless abyss?
There was not death—yet there was not immortal,
There was no confine betwixt day and night;
The only One breathed breathless by itself,
Other than It there nothing since has been
Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled
In gloom profound—an ocean without light—
The germ that still lay covered in the husk
Burst forth, one nature, from the fervent heat.
Then first came love upon it, the new spring
of mind—yea, poets in their hearts discerned,
Pondering, this bond between created things
And uncreated. Comes this spark from earth
Piercing and all-pervading, or from heaven?
The seeds were sown, and mighty powers arose—
Nature below, and power and will above—
Who knows the secret? Who proclaimed it here,
Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
The Gods themselves came later into being—
Who knows from where this great creation sprang?

[1]B.K. Ghosh, *HCIP*, I, 1952, p. 227.
[2]ibid, p. 226.
[3]Translation by F. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, I, p. 78.

He from whom all this great creation came,
Whether His will created or was mute,
The most High Seer that is in highest heaven,
He knows it—or perchance even He knows not.

The *Śānti-sūkta* (RV, VII. 35) which begins sonorously *saṁ na Indr-Āgnī bhavatām avobhiḥ. . . .*has been translated by Prof. Velankar as:

May Indra-Agnī be propitious to us with their favours; may Indrā-Varuṇā, to whom our offerings are brought, be good to us. May Indrā-Somā be good to us for our welfare, happiness and bliss; may Indrā-Pūṣaṇā be good to us in the acquisition of food. (1)

May Bhaga be good to us, may Śaṁsa (i.e., Narāśaṁsa) be good to us. May Puraṁdhi and Treasures be good to us. May the Speech of the easily controllable Satya be good to us; may Aryaman, who is born in many places, be good to us. (2)

May Dhātṛ and Dhartṛ be good to us; may the Extensive one (The Earth) be good to us of her own will. May the two vast worlds and the Rock be good to us; may the benevolent Invocations to the gods be good to us. (3)

May Agni with his face of flames be good to us; may Mitrā-Varuṇā and Aśvinā be good to us. May the pious deeds of the pious ones be good to us; may the ever active Vāta blow bliss towards us. (4)

May Dyāvā-Pṛthivī be good to us at the early call; may Antarikṣa be good to us in order that we may see. May the Plants and the Trees be good to us; may the victorious Lord of the region be good to us. (5)

May the divine Indra together with the gods be good to us; may the well praised Varuṇa, together with the Ādityas, be good. May Rudra, together with the Rudras (i.e. the Maruts) be good to us, since he has cooling remedies. May Tvaṣṭṛ together with the goddesses kindly listen to us here. (6)

In the following nine verses similar prayers are offered to other gods like Viṣṇu, Pūṣan etc.

Finally, we quote another passage which reflects the true spirit of the Vedic people: 'These hymns of ours which consider themselves active have nevertheless, not become a source of impulsion to a deity like you. Where indeed, is that fame of yours, O Indra and Varuṇa, by means of which you bring your food to your friends, that is, worshippers.

'The most persistent (bard) longing for wealth, very often repeatedly calls upon you two for a favour. O Indra and Varuṇa, hear my call together with the Maruts, Heaven and Earth. (RV, III, 62.1-2).

Incidentally, III. 62.10 is the famous Gāyatrī-*mantra*.

A detailed discussion of the problem cannot be attempted here, but it seems reasonable to assume that the earliest form of Vedic religion was simple prayers addressed to various deities asking for some boons. Veneration for fire was most probably handed down from the pre-historic times when man discovered that he could control fire and use it. It was felt necessary to have a small fire constantly burning in the house, and this simple act seems to

have been clothed with a religious significance, and in course of time the maintenance of a fire in the house became the most important rite for the householder. As we shall see, the householder's obligatory religious rites were very simple. Complications began with the elaborate *śrauta* rites. As the sacrifices and rituals gradually gained in popularity, they became increasingly rewarding to the priests who deliberately structured the hymns to suit their needs, namely, recitation during a sacrifice. As the priests were the only people who would spend years to commit the hymns to memory, those hymns which were of no use to them gradually passed into oblivion.

The last hymn of the RV (X.191) addressed to Agni contains a fine specimen of one of those outpourings of he art which probably preceded some solemn occasion:

> Assemble, speak together; let your minds be all of one accord.
> As ancient gods unanimous sit down to their appointed share.
> The place is common, common the assembly, common the mind, so be their thought united.
> A common purpose do I lay before you and worship with your general oblation.
> One and the same be your resolve, and be your minds of one accord.

Sāmaveda

The word *sāman* means a melody, and the Saṁhitā of the SV is really a collection of melodies. The three recensions of the SV Saṁhitā have been noticed above; of them the Kauthuma recension is now held to be authoritative. Its Aundh edition consists of 1603 hymns not counting the repetitions of which only 99 are not found in the RV. Therefore 'twins' referred to in RV III. 39.3 have justly been explained as the RV and the SV.[1]

It is, however, not strictly proper to treat a *sāman* as a *mantra* or *ṛc*. As Kumārila has remarked: 'The *sāman*, *being sung* and being a *qualification*, and the Mantra text being qualified, the word "*sāman*" denotes the *sung mantra* or *mantra set to music* in the same way as the word "cow" denotes the *class* "cow" qualified by the Individual; in this same sense the qualifying factor—the *music*—is said to be denoted by the word "*sāman*."[2]

The SV is a ritual Saṁhitā, and is rather complex. A hymn known as a *yoni* (source), can be sung in different melodies or *sāmans*, and conversely a *sāman* can be used for more than one hymn. The *Kauthuma-saṁhitā* can be divided into two parts: Ārcika and Songs. The former consisting of the Pūrvārcika (first group of verses), Āraṇyaka-saṁhitā (texts of the forests), and the Uttarārcika (the last group of verses) represent the text part of the SV. The second part consists of the Grāma-geya-gāna (songs to be sung in villages), Araṇya-gāna (songs to be sung in forests), the Uhagāna and the Uhyagāna, the last two being mystical and canonical. According to Lāṭyā-

[1]See H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala III*, Bombay, 1968, p. 96 fn. 3.
[2]*Tantravārtika*, tr. by Sir Ganganath Jha, p. 579.

yana, quoted by MM. Kane (HDK, II, p. 1169) each *sāman* in a *stotra* has five parts called *prastāva, udgītha, pratihāra, upadrava,* and *nidhana.* The *Tandya Brāhmaṇa* 4.9.9 mentions these elements and so does the *Chāndogya Upanisad* 2.2.1 where *hiṅkāra* is said to be one of the five elements of a *sāman,* while in *Chāndogya* 2.10.3 *upadrava* also is mentioned. Of these, the *prastāva,* introduced by the word *hum* (*huṁkāra*), was sung by the *prastotṛ,* the *udgītha* introduced by the word *om* was sung by the *udgātr* and the *pratihāra* also introduced by *hum* was sung by all the priests in chorus. In some cases, the *pratihāra* is divided into two parts, the second part, called *upadrava,* being sung by the *udgātṛ.* Prof. Keith adds: 'The contempt which throughout the Indian literature is more or less clearly shown for Sāman singers is justified by the extraordinary stupidity of the position assigned to them.'[1] This attitude is probably responsible for the distressing fact that today there is hardly any *sāman* singer to be found.

As stated above, *sāman* means 'melody,' and the SV is really a handbook for the *sāman*-singers. But how were the hymns sung? Prof. Renou has reproduced two musical notations of two verses of the SV.[2] MM. Kane has also reproduced from an unpublished MS. the directions for singing the *sāmans,* but he points out: 'It is very difficult, (nay, almost impossible) to convey in print how the *sāmans* are sung. The difficulty is aggravated by the fact that the notations adopted in the MSS. and the editions are different, and hardly any two MSS. agree in all respects. . . . .' After citing some published works on this subject, he adds: 'It may, however, be stated here that even on reading these books no thorough knowledge of *sāmagānas* can be acquired. Thorough investigation and research have yet to be made in these *gānas,* and the first endeavour must be to collect gramophone records of the methods of chanting adopted throughout India, and then compare them. A generation or two hence, it is feared, hardly any learned *sāma* singers will be left.'[3]

The *sāmans* have been divided into Rathantara, Bṛhat, Vairūpa, Vairāja, Śakvara, Raivata etc., which have been described in the *Mīmāṁsā-bāla prakāśa.* The division appears to be based on different methods of singing. For example, the Bṛhat-sāman is to be sung with force and very loudly, while the Rathantara in neither to be sung loudly nor with force.[4]

Commenting on PMS 9.2.31, Śabara says that in the case of all *mantras,* whenever they are recited in praise of something, they must be set to music and sung in the *sāman* form, since praise is always more pleasing when it is sung than when recited. Hence the importance of *sāman* music.

Yajurveda

The terms 'liturgical' or 'ritual' are applicable to both the SV and the YV,

[1] A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads,* II, p. 314.

[2] L. Renou, *et alii: L'Inde Classique,* I, Paris, 1947, pp. 283-84.

[3] *HDK,* II, part ii, pp. 1170-71. This volume was published in 1941, so more than one generation have passed away since these lines were written.

[4] G. Jha, *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and Its Sources,* p. 164.

but the latter is the ritualistic Veda *par excellence*, and is, therefore also known as the Karmaveda, *Karma* meaning 'rituals' or 'sacrifices.' It is also known as the Adhvaryu-veda, because it was recited by the *adhvaryu* priests.

The PMS 2.1.37 says: '*śeṣe yajuḥ-śabdaḥ*,' that is, the name *yajus* is to be applied to the rest of the *mantras* which are neither *ṛc* nor *sāman*, that is neither verse nor set to music. In other words, the *yajus* are prose passages though interspersed with verses from the RV. The *yajus* is repeatedly distinguished from *ṛc* and *sāman* in theVedic literature and the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 2.3.6. says: 'A *ṛc* verse and a *gāthā* are measured [that is, regularly divided into regular *pāda* or 'feet'], a *yajus* . . . . are not measured; a *sāman* or part of it is music.'[1]

There are five *saṁhitās* of the YV, which are divided into two groups, Kṛṣṇa or Black, and Śukla or White. In the former, the Saṁhitās also include the Brāhmaṇa parts, and to this admixture the peculiar nomenclature is sometimes attributed. But neither this explanation nor a few other which have been advanced to explain the terms Śukla and Kṛṣṇa seem plausible.[2]

The Black YV consists of the following Saṁhitā texts:

1. *Kāṭhaka* or the *Cārāyaṇīya-Kaṭha Saṁhitā* consisting of 5 *granthas* and 53 *sthānakas*.
2. *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha Saṁhitā* in 8 *aṣṭakas* and 48 *adhyāyas* is a recension of the former, but preserved only in parts.
3. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* in 4 *kāṇḍas* and 54 *prapāṭhakas*.
4. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* in 7 *kāṇḍas* and 44 *prapāṭhakas* is the most popular Saṁhitā of the Black YV.

The White YV has only one Saṁhitā, namely, the *Vājasaneya* or *Vājasaneyi* in 40 *adhyāyas*. It takes its name from its propounder, the sage Yājñavalkya, whose family name was Vājasaneya. A unique feature of the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* is that its concluding part forms the famous *Īśā* Upaniṣad. The relative chronology of the Saṁhitās of the YV has attracted scholars for a long time, but it still remains an unsolved problem.

The Saṁhitās of the YV greatly resemble each other, though certain type of sacrifices which are included in the first four are absent in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*.

It has been stated above that the Saṁhitās of the YV have borrowed verses from the RV. But the verses in the two texts, the RV and the YV, often betray variations in readings.

The Saṁhitās of the YV contain the prescribed rites for the principal sacrifices, including the Vājapeya, the Rājasūya, and the Aśvamedha. It should be noted, however, that by reading these texts one can form but a bare

[1]Translation by A.B. Keith.

[2]See *Vedic Index* under Yajus. Anirvan, *Veda-Mīmāṁsā*, I, p. 62 has proposed a new theory, See also *HCIP*, I, p. 231.

outline of the ritual ceremonies dealt with in them. In fact, it is not possible to reconstruct fully the duties performed by a single priest at one of the great sacrifices by studying the Vedic texts along with the *sūtras*. For, all these texts assume that the reader already knows the details of the ritual personally by practice or observation.

Atharvaveda

The term Atharvaveda is somewhat late being first found in the *Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, though Ātharvaṇa as the fourth (Veda) is mentioned in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (7.1.4; 7.6.2). In the Brāhmaṇas the term *Atharvāṅgirasaḥ* is used several times as the collective name of the AV, and this term has been once used in the AV (X.7.20) itself. Of the two words in the compound, *atharvan* means 'any spell against diseases' (*bhesajāni*), while *aṅgiras* means 'hostile witchcraft' (*yātu* or *abhicāra*). This theory is supported to some extent by the names of the two mythic personages, namely, Bhiṣaj Ātharvaṇa and Ghora Āṅgirasa.

It is usually assumed that 'the typically Atharvan charms and incantations are the products of a primitive culture not far removed from the dawn of human civilization.' That may be so, but it should be remembered that Tantra charms and incantations were evolved at a period when Indian culture was anything but primitive. Hinduism is a broad-spectrum religion, at one end of which is the mysticism of the Upaniṣads, while magic and sorcery form the other end. This agglutination has been working since the earliest age, as testified by the AV which contains some sublime hymns while some mantras of *atharvan* type are found even in the RV.[1] The RV was meant essentially for *śrauta mantrapāṭha*, for priests whose chief concern was the hieratic Soma ritual, hence it could not contain many *mantras* of the *Atharvan* type. The *mantras* of the AV on the other hand were meant for the Gṛhya sacrifices of the common people. Hence it is most likely, that when the Vedic *mantras* were compiled and divided into books, the two types of *mantras* were separated as far as possible, and classified accordingly.

Though it is usual to speak of the Catur-Veda, or four Vedas, the term Trayī is sometimes used, which has led some scholars to suggest that the AV was not counted among the Vedas, as the word *trayī* means 'a triad.' Reliance is also placed on PMS 2.1.34-37, mentioned above, where Veda is divided into *ṛc*, *sāman*, and *yajus*. However, the intention of the PMS seems to be that a *mantra* in a metrical form is a *ṛc*, when it is sung it *sāman*, while a prose *mantra* is *yajus*. The Atharvan *mantras* are not mentioned evidently because they are partly in verse and partly in prose. There is no reason to be-

[1]For example see RV. VII. 50, 55, 89, and 103. RV. VII. 55.5-8 known as a 'sleep charm' is found in AV IV. 5, where, as Prof. Velankar observes, 'it is changed into what may be called a "lover's charm".' H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII*, p. 124, fn. The magic songs of the AV have been compared with similar religious songs of other nations, see M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Litcrature*, I, English translation by Mrs. S. Ketkar, New Delhi, 1977, p. 128.

lieve that the AV was derided. Kauṭilya (1.9.9) recommends that the king 'should appoint a priest (*purohita*), who is very exalted in family and character, thoroughly trained in Veda with its auxiliary sciences, in divine signs (*daive*) in omens (*nimitte*) in the science of politics, and capable of counteracting divine and human calamities by means of Atharvan remedies' ; (*daiva-mānuṣīnām-atharvabhir=upayāiś=ca pratikartāram kurvīta*). This seems to be corroborated in the *Raghuvaṁśam* (I.59-60) where Kālidāsa describes Vasiṣṭha as *Atharva-nidhi* (repository of Atharvan lore), and King Dīlipa thanks Vasiṣṭha for having protected him from calamities brought about by divine and human agencies (*daivīnām manusīṇāṁ ca pratihartā tvam āpadam*).

At present, two recensions of the Saṁhitā of the AV are available, namely, the Saunakīya and the Paippalāda, but the former recension is meant when we speak of AV now. However, the Paippalāda was probably the popular recension in ancient days, for the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, which gives the initial verses of the four Vedas, as well as Patañjali, quote from the Paippalāda recension.

The AV is divided into 20 *kāṇḍas* or books, which are sub-divided into *prapāṭhakas* (lit. lectures), and *daśatis* (decades). About a seventh part of the first 19 *kāṇḍas* of the AV is taken from the RV often with significant variations, while the last *kāṇḍa*, sometimes called the *Saṁhitā of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin*, consists practically entirely of RV hymns, particularly from RV. VIII, including the Vālakhilya-hymns, to which may be compared the concluding hymns of the AV called the Kuntāpa-hymns. The *ṛcas* found in the AV are mostly from the non-family Maṇḍalas of the RV, that is, I, VIII and X.

The first 7 *kāṇḍas* of the AV contain what may be called *mantras* for 'benedictory or auspicious' ceremonies, such as for gaining long life, for driving away evil spirit, recovering from an illness, increasing prosperity, promoting amity, and for the prosperity of the realm. There are also expiatory formulas (*prayāścitta*) for expurgating all varieties of sin and guilt, which belong to the category of the charms for healing. As misfortunes are always attributed to the agency of evil spirits, 'reconciliation spells,' or those for the restoration of family harmony (III. 30), for the appeasement of a wrathful master, for influencing an assembly, or a court of law, may be called both expiatory and benedictory charms.

However, there are also various incantations, exorcisms, and curses. There are magic songs (III. 25; VI.130) aimed at winning the love of a person against his or her will, and there are songs (VI. 138; VII, 35, 90) which are supposed to induce sterility both in men and women. The second half of the hymn to Varuṇa (VI. 16) is an exorcism against the liar and the cursing rogue, and two charms (V. 14; VI. 37) not only averts black magic, but hurls it back on its perpetrator.

The *Kāṇḍas* VIII to XII also contain benedictory charms, but along with these there are long hymns of a mystic nature, such as the *Kāma-sūkta* (IX. 9), *Prāṇa-sūkta* (XI. 4), or the *Bhūmi-sūkta* (XII. I) which has been characterized by Dr. B.K. Ghosh as a possible national anthem of Vedic India. He has rendered the hymn as;

1. Truth supreme and right formidable, consecration and holiness and sacrifice are sustaining the earth; May she, the mistress of all that was and will be, the earth: make for us extensive space.

2. (She who ordains) freedom from restraint among men, whose are the streams and hills equally numerous? Who bears herbs of various virtues—may she, the earth, spread and prosper for us.

3. On whom are the ocean and the river and the waters, on whom have sprung food and the peoples. On whom quickens this that breathes and stirs—may that earth grant us cattle and also food. . . . .

8. She who in the beginning was water in the ocean, whom the sages followed (?) by means of occult power. The earth, whose breathless heart, encompassed in truth, rests in highest heaven—may she confer glory and strength on our excellent state . . .

11. Let your hills and snowy mountains and your forest be pleasant, O earth! On the earth, brown, black, red, and multiform, firm and extended, by Indra defended, I have stood unconquered, unsmitten, uninjured.

12. What is your middle, O earth, what your navel, what refreshments arose out of your body, instal us in them and be towards us gracious; Earth is the mother, and I am her son; Parjanya is the father, may he grant us plenty. . . . .

45. May the earth bearing peoples of various speeches and of customs varying according to their homes, grant me wealth in a thousand streams like a steadfast and unresisting milch-cow. . . .

56. What villages, what forests, what assemblies are on the earth, what congregations and councils, there may be speak in praise of you.

Each of the last eight *kāṇḍas* are devoted to a particular subject, and, except for Kāṇḍa XVIII, are of a gradually diminishing size. Kāṇḍa XIII is devoted to Āditya, XIV to marriage, while XV contains praise of the Vrātyas. Kāṇḍa XVI contains *mantras* for *śānti* and *svastyayana* (expiatory and propitiatory rites), particularly for averting bad dreams. Kāṇḍa XVII contains a long hymn in praise of Āditya, while the next Kāṇḍa (XVIII) is the *Pitṛmedha-prakaraṇa*, of which most of the hymns are taken from the RV. This *kāṇḍa* is not found in the Paippalāda recension. The next two *kāṇḍas* (XIX and XX) are not mentioned in the *Atharva-prātiśākhya*, hence it has been surmised that these two *kāṇḍas* are later additions. *Kāṇḍa* XIX contains miscellaneous hymns, including one for the cure of phthisis (38), and another for leprosy (39), and there are also hymns for averting bad dreams, and

directions for putting on gems with curative powers. An adapted version of the *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the RV is found in this *kāṇḍa*.

Peculiarity of Kāṇḍa XX has been noted above. The ill understood *Kuntāpa-sūktas* (127-136) are not included in the Paippalāda recension, but were chanted in Soma sacrifices by the Brāhamṇācchaṁsi priests.

The *Atharva Saṁhitā* is predominantly a text-book of *smārta* rituals. It is peculiar, therefore, that it should end with a chapter on *śrauta* Soma sacrifice. Most probably Kāṇḍa XX was a later addition.

BRĀHMAṆA

It has been stated above that technically speaking the Vedas are divided into Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas are further sub-divided into Brāhmaṇas proper, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. This section deals with the texts of the first category.

The Brāhmaṇas are in prose, and contain detailed descriptions of sacrificial rites, and modes of their performance. According to Sāyaṇa, they deal with eight classes of topics, namely, i. *itihāsa*; (legends); ii. *purāṇa* (old stories); iii. *vidyā* (esoteric knowledge about meditation); iv. *upaniṣad* (mystic knowledge); v. *śloka* (verse), vi. *sūtra* (aphorism); vii. *vyākhyāna* (explanation) and viii. *anuvyākhyāna* (elaborations).

One or more Brāhmaṇas are attached to each of the four Vedas. They are:

I. *Ṛgveda*
1. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
2. *Kauṣītak iBrāhmaṇa*
or
Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa

II. *Sāmaveda*
1. *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*
or
Tāṇḍya or
Tāṇḍyamahā Brāhmaṇa
2. *Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa*
or
Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa

Minor or Anubrāhmaṇas of Sāmaveda
1. *Ṣadviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*
2. *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa*
3. *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa*
4. *Devatādhyeya Brāhmaṇa*
5. *Saṁhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*
6. *Vaṁśā Brāhmaṇa*
7. *Mantra* or
Ṣhāndogya Brāhmaṇa

III. *Yajurveda* (White) — *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
The Black *Yajurveda* has no separate Brāhmaṇa, its Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa being mixed.

IV. Atharvaveda — *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*

The Brāhmaṇas treat the rituals from the point of view of the specialized class of priests.[1] Thus the Brāhmaṇas of the RV specify the duties of the *hotṛ* priests, and select only those hymns of the RV which were recited by the *hotṛ* priests. Similarly, the Brāhmaṇas of the SV were meant for the *udgātṛ*, and those of the YV for the *adhvaryu*. The Brāhmaṇas quote from the Saṁhitās, because every ritual had to be accompanied by a *mantra*. It was, however, not necessary to explain the *mantras*, and no explanation is given nor even attempted. The *mantras* may have had some esoteric significance in relation to the sacrifices, but such meanings, if any, are now lost.

Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas

i. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* compiled by Aitareya Mahidāsa consists of forty chapters of eight *pañcikās*. The first sixteen chapters describe the Agniṣṭoma, which was the model (*prakṛti*) of all *soma* sacrifices.[2] The next two chapters contain the description of the Gavām-ayana, a Soma sacrifice, lasting for twelve lunar months, or 360 days, and is the model of all *sāṁvatsarika sattras*.[3] Chapters XIX to XXIV describe another Soma sacrifice called the Dvādasāha, because it lasted for twelve days. Chapters XXV to XXXII describe the Agnihotra, the simplest Śrauta sacrifice to be performed daily. The rest of the text (Chapters XXXIII to XL) describe the famous Rājasūya sacrifice, and contains the stories of Hariścandra, Rohita, and Śunaḥśepa.

ii. The *Kauṣītaki* or the *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* is of the same type, but smaller with thirty chapters. It also describes important rites like the Agnyādhāna, Agnihotra, Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa, and Cāturmāsya, in the first six chapters. Agnyādhāna is the same as Agnyādheya and is an *iṣṭi*, which means a 'sacrifice performed by a sacrificer and his wife with the help of four priests.'[4] The Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa is another *iṣṭi*. From Chapter VII onwards the *Kauṣītaki* describes Soma sacrifices which are more or less similar to the *Aitareya's* but are more systematically arranged.

[1]For classification of priests, see below.

[2]The sacrifice is called Agniṣṭoma either because Agni is praised in it or because the last *stotra* is addressed to Agni. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (14.5, p. 192) says: 'The Agniṣṭoma is Agni; in that they praised him, therefore is it the praise of Agni (*agniṣṭoma*); it being the praise of Agni, they call Agniṣṭoma mystically, for the gods love mystery as it were. . .' Translated by A.B. Keith, *HOS*, 1920. See also *HDK*, II, part ii, p. 1134.

[3]*Gavām-ayana* literally means 'the course or way of the cows' that is 'the sun's rays or 'days'. These sacrifices are described in other texts also, see *HDK*, II, part ii, p. 1240.

[4]*HDK*, II, part ii, p. 986.

Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇas

The *Jaiminīya* or the *Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa* is divided into eight chapters of which only the first three describe rituals. Chapters IV to VII are known as the *Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* of which part is Āranyaka, but the last sections (18-21) of Chapter VII forms the *Talavakāra* or the *Kena Upaniṣad*. The last chapter is the *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa*. The *Jaiminīya* is one of the most important of the Brāhmaṇas, possibly next only to the *Śatapatha*.

The *Pañcaviṁśa* or the *Tāṇḍyamahā Brāhmaṇa* was compiled by the sage Tāṇḍya. As the other name implies, it contains twenty-five chapters. The subject-matter of the two SV Brāhmaṇas are more or less similar.

The *sāmans* are sung only in the *soma* sacrifices. Therefore, the Brāhmaṇas of the SV are concerned exclusively with *soma* sacrifices. A *soma* sacrifice which lasts for one day, such as Jyotiṣṭoma (which includes Agniṣṭoma), Goṣṭoma, Āyuṣṭoma, Abhijit, Viśvajit, Sarvajit etc., are known as *ahīna*. The sacrifices which last for twelve days are referred to both as *ahīna* and *sattra*, but those lasting for more are called *sattra*. A *sattra* may last for any number of days.

The general rules about *sattras* are given in PMS 6.6.16-26 and 10.6.45-59. These lay down the rule that a *sattra* should be performed by many persons all of whom must be *brāhmaṇas*. The reason is that in a *sattra* there are no priests, the *yajamānas* themselves acting as priests, and only a *brāhmaṇa* could act as a priest (*ṛtvij*). However, *brāhmaṇas* of Bhṛgu, Śaunaka, and Vasiṣṭha *gotras* could not perform a *sattra*. Śabara, in his commentary on PMS 6.2.1 quotes a *śruti* text which says: *saptadaś-ābaraś=caturviṁśatiparamāḥ sattram āsīran*. That is, a *sattra* must be performed by a minimum of seventeen and a maximum of twenty-four persons. All the participants derived equal merit.[1]

Chapter XVII contains descriptions of four *ekāhas* called *Vrātyastoma*, which were intended to bring a *vrātya* into the fold of the Vedic religion.[2]

The supplement to the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* is appropriately called the *Saḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*. It is divided into five chapters (*prapāṭhakas*), of which the first, second, and the fourth deal with evil rites (*abhicāras*). The third chapter contains directions for the performance of the following sacrifices: Śyena, Iṣu, Sandāṁśa, Vajra, and Vaiśvadeva. The fifth chapter deals with various miracles and is known as the *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa*.

[1]Later Hindus seem to be more credulous than their ancestors. Some Sūtras speak of *sattras* which continued for a 100 or even 1000 years. However, Patañjali states in his *Mahābhaṣya*, I, p. 9 on *aprayukte dirghasattravat* that the *sattras* of 100 or 1000 years were never attempted in times near to his day, and that priests prescribe rules for them following the tradition of sages. Jaimini in PMS, VI. 7.31-40 boldly asserts that in such cases a year (*samvatsara*) means a day.

[2]According to the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra* 1.1.22 to 1.1.2.10, and *Pāraskara Grhya-sūtra* 11.5, Manu 2.39, Yājñavalkya 1.37.38, a *vrātya* is one on whom and on whose ancestors the *upanayana* ceremony has not been performed. The meanings of many words in the Vrātyaṣṭoma are obscure and cryptic. See *HDK*, II, part i, pp. 385-87, and Anirvan, op. cit., I, pp. 75-80.

The *Mantra* or the *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa*, also known as the *Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, is the most important Anubrāhmaṇa. Its first two chapters contain *mantras* of a miscellaneous nature, while the remaining eight chapters form the famous *Chāndogyopaniṣad*.

The *Sāma-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa* (lit. 'rules for *sāman*') actually contains rules about *kṛcchra-cāndrāyaṇa* etc., for expiation of sins. The *Ārṣeya* practically consists of a list of names of *sāmans*, while the *Devatādhyeya* or the *Daivata Brāhmaṇa* gives in three chapters the names of the divinities of the *sāmans*. The *Saṁhītopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* in five chapters treats diverse matters such as the manner of reciting the verses, which are used for the *sāmans*, result of such recitations, fees to be paid to the teacher (*ācārya*) etc. Last is the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* which gives a list of succession of teachers extending to sixty generations, first six of which are mythical, namely, Brahmā, Prājapati, Mṛtyu, Vāyu, Indra and Agni. Agni taught this *vidyā* to Kāśyapa, and the names of fifty-four generations of teachers from Kāśyapa are given.

Yajurveda Brāhmaṇas

It is difficult to distinguish the Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa parts of the Black YV so closely do the Brāhmaṇa portions follow the Mantra portions. However, the Taittirīya school compiled an independent *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, which too follows the Saṁhitā of the same name, and combine Brāhmaṇa and Mantra. The last three sections of the third chapter of *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* are sometimes called the *Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa*. The story of Naciketas is found in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*.

The other schools of Black YV have no independent Brāhmaṇa, except that the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* has a supplement or *Khila-kāṇḍa*, which may be regarded as a Brāhmaṇa.

In contrast the White YV contains the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (the Brāhmaṇa of one hundred roads), so-called, because it consists of one hundred chapters.[1] It is the most voluminous and the most important Brāhmaṇa; indeed its importance in the Vedic literature is next to the RV. Of all the Brāhmaṇas, only the *Taittirīya* and the *Śatapatha* are accented like the Saṁhitās.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is available in two recensions: the Mādhyandina of fourteen *kāṇḍas*, and the Kāṇva of seventeen *kāṇḍas*. The two recensions show important verbal variations particularly in the earlier parts. 'It is also clear at the same time that neither the Mādhyandina nor the Kāṇva-recension of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has been handed down to us in its original redaction, for quotations from the *Śatapatha* in early literature are often missing in both the recensions.'[2] At present, the Mādhyandina recension is generally used. The first nine *kāṇḍas* of this recension give a continuous commentary on the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*.

[1]The Kāṇva-recension has 104 chapters or *adhyāyas*.
[2]B.K. Ghosh, *HCIP*, I, p. 234.

Kāṇḍas I and II of the *Śatapatha* deal with *havir-yajña* with detailed treatment of Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice.[1] The next two *kāṇḍas* deal with Soma Sacrifices, while Kāṇḍa V deals with Vājapeya and the Rājasūya sacrifices. Kāṇḍas VI to IX describe the Agnicayana, and Kāṇḍa X the Agnirahasya. Kāṇḍa XI describes the five *mahā-yajñas*, Mitravindā, and some details of the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa. Kāṇḍa XII describes the twelve years *sattra*, and the Sautrāmaṇi, while Kāṇḍa XIII describes the famous Aśvamedha sacrifice along with Puruṣamedha, Sarvamedha, and Pitṛmedha. The last Kāṇḍa (XIV) deals with Pravargya, of which the last part is the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.*

The Kāṇvā recension of the *Śatapatha* also begins with a *havir-yajña* but instead of Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa, it describes the Agnihotra which is followed by Piṇḍa-piṭṛ-yajña, Dākṣāyaṇa-yajña, and the Cāturmāsya.[2] Kāṇḍa II describes the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa, III Agnihotra and the *arthavāda* of Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa. Kāṇḍas IV and V are devoted to Soma sacrifices, VII describes the Rājasūya, the VIII is called the Ukhasambharaṇa, and Kāṇḍas IX to XII describe the Agnicayana. Kāṇḍa XIII deals with matters relating to Agnyādhāna, and some miscellaneous matters. Kāṇḍa XIV describes the Sautrāmaṇi, XV the Aśvamedha, XVI the Pravargya, while Kāṇḍa XVII contains the famous *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.*[3] It is noteworthy the *Śatapatha* contains within itself a Brāhmaṇa, an Āraṇyaka, and an Upaniṣad.

The *Jaiminīya* and the *Śatapatha* are extremely rich in stories which are introduced to elucidate details of the rituals and incidentally provide us with details of contemporary life.

As stated above, though the Brāhmaṇas may be called 'manuals of Vedic sacrifices,' it is not possible to perform an elaborate sacrifice by following their instructions, though at times these instructions are precise and detailed. In any case, these sacrifices are not performed now, so the Brāhmaṇas have lost the practical or utility value which they once possessed. The value of the Brāhmaṇas now is that they give us the most detailed picture available of the religious life of Vedic India. However, these elaborate sacrifices could not have been formulated at a time; they must have evolved into gradually more complex forms over a long period.

Atharvaveda Brāhmaṇas

The AV has only one Brahmana attached to it, the *Gopatha*. It is divided into two books, the first containing five and the second six chapters. Its con-

[1]In *havir-yajña* there is burnt offering, but no *soma*. It is also considered as a *saṁskāra* like several other sacrifices; see *HDK*, II, part i, pp. 193-94.

[2]Piṇḍa-piṭṛ-yajña, according to some authorities, is a subordinate part of Darśa, while according to PMS 4.4.19-21 it is an independent rite. Dākṣāyaṇa-yajña is a modification of the Darśa-Purṇamāsa. *HDK*, II, part ii, pp. 919 fn. and 1108 fn. For Cāturmāsya see ibid, pp. 1091-1106.

[3]The six chapters of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* form Chapters III-VIII of *kāṇḍa* XVII of the Kāṇva recension, and Chapters IV-IX of *kāṇḍa* XIV of the Mādhyandina recension. Śaṅkara commented on the Kāṇva recension of the text, and since then the Kāṇva recension of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* is usually followed.

tents are mostly borrowed from other Brāhmaṇas, particularly the *Aitareya* and the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas*, with a few passages from the *Śatapatha* and the *Pañcaviṁśa*. The *Gopatha* also contains certain passages from the *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Taittirīya Saṁhitās*. The passages quoted are slightly modified, and without acknowledgement, and the *Gopatha's* link with the AV is not readily perceptible. 'It gives the impression of being so late that Bloomfield declared it to be more recent than even the Śrauta-sūtra (Vaitāna) and the Gṛhya-sūtra (Kauśika) of the *Atharvaveda*.[1]

Nature of the Brāhmaṇas

As stated above, though the Brāhmaṇas may be called 'manuals of Vedic sacrifices,' it is not possible to perform an elaborate sacrifice by merely following their instructions, though at times these instructions are precise and detailed. For example, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, ii. 28(ix.4) :

'(The cups) for two deities are the breaths; without taking in breath he should say the offering verses for (the cups) for the deities, for the continuity of the breath and to avoid splitting the breaths. (The cups) for two deities are the breaths; he should not say the second *vaṣaṭ* for (the cups) for the two deities. If he were to say the second *vaṣaṭ* for those for two deities, he would bring to rest the unresting breaths; the second *vaṣaṭ* call is the ending. If one were then to say of him "He has brought to rest the unresting breaths; breath will forsake him," it would certainly be so. Therefore he should not say the second *vaṣaṭ* for (the cups) for two deities....' Translation by A.B. Keith.

Another example is given from the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (iii. 9)

'In that they perform in the Gārhapatya the sacrifices to the wives with (the gods), the wives share the Gārhapatya, the sacrificer the Āhavanīya; therefore they perform the sacrifices for the wives with (the gods) in the Gārhapatya. He sacrifices to Soma, Tvaṣṭṛ, the wives the gods; and Agni, lord of the house; these deities are the controllers of unions.... In that he causes the wife to speak on the grass bundle, and the grass bundle is male and the wife female, verily thus he confers union upon women; therefore the wife puts between her thighs blades of the grass bundle. In that he strews the grass bundle, thereby the new and full moon offerings are continued by him; verily also thereby the strew (*sic*) for his Agnihotra is spread....'

Translation by A. B. Keith.

The monotonous repetitions are a special feature of the Brāhmaṇas, for these served as an aid to memory of these long and tedious prose passages. Hence the simile in the RV (VII. 103) of the croaking frogs with the officiating priests seems to be quite apt. Prof. H.D. Velankar said that 'there

[1] *HCIP*, I, p. 235.

appears nothing disparaging either to the frogs or to the sacrificing priests in the whole of the hymn; on the other hand, there are flattering references to both, particularly in vv. 1,2,5,7,8-10.' With profound respect for the late Professor, we have to disagree with him. Here are some of the verses referred to by Prof. Velankar :

'When one of these (frogs) repeats the speech of the other as a pupil does of his teacher.... (5)

'Like the priests at the Atirātra sacrifice, reciting around a (Soma-) filled tub, you O Maṇḍūkas (Frogs), punctually attend on the day of the year which ushers in the rains....' (7) Is it not indicated that the priests were as much attracted by Soma-filled tub, as were the frogs by the first rain of the season? And repeating lessons like frogs can hardly be laudatory.

Another point regarding the Brāhmaṇas is that large sacrifices like the Rājasūya or the Aśvamedha could not have been fabricated by one person nor at one time. It must have taken generations to construct the complex sacrifices, and the list of teachers given may be staggeringly long, but may not be entirely fictitious. An investigation on these lines is not only difficult but would also raise the problem of the date of Veda and of the Brāhmaṇas particularly.

These massive prose texts were committed to memory by the 'intellectual' class for endless generations. They did so for the monetary recompense they expected in shape of fees (*dakṣiṇā*). However, the social effect must have been of a retrograde nature. Ancient Hindus made remarkable progress in many branches of learning; certainly they could have done more if they had not condemned the youth to a course of studies which imposed the heaviest possible burden on memory and blunted all other intellectual faculties.

It is not surprising that many Brāhmaṇas should have been lost, Dr. B. K. Ghosh found the names of the following Brāhmaṇas in Vedic literature: *Āhavaraka, Kaṅkati, Kālavavi, Caraka, Chāgaleya, Jābāli, Paiṅgāyani, Bhāllavi, Maṣaśārāvi, Maitrāyaṇī, Raurūkī, Śāṭyāyana, Śailāli, Śvetāśvatara,* and *Hāridravika.*[1]

It has been stated above that the Vedic religion was ritualistic. It was the Brāhmaṇas which reduced ritualism to a mechanical cult of the crudest variety. The idea already existed in the Saṁhitās that gifts and offering are correlated to divine favour, which can be obtained only through a sacrifice (*yajña*). The Brāhmaṇas established that the Vedic rites produce their effects by their own force and establishes a mysterious connection between the ritual process, the divinities, and the cosmic order. This attitude is best expressed in the *Gītā* 3.10-11, which have been compared by Prof. H.D. Velankar with RV VII.101.3.[2]

The Brāhmaṇas are the dullest among the Vedic texts and one may be inclined to agree with Dr. B. K. Ghosh: 'At the risk of a little exaggeration it

[1]Batakrishna Ghosh, *Collection of the Fragments of Lost Brahmanas*, Calcutta, 1935.

[2]*Gītā* 2.42-45 severely criticizes certain types of popular sacrifices which are eulogized in the Brāhmaṇas.

may perhaps be maintained that all that is noble and beautiful in Hinduism was foreshadowed already in the *Ṛgveda*, and all that is filthy and repulsive in it, by the Brāhmaṇas.[1]

ĀRANYAKA

The last part of a Brāhmaṇa is Āraṇyaka, sometimes forming a part of the former, and sometimes an independent text. Actually at times it becomes difficult to distinguish between a Brāhmaṇa and an Āraṇyaka.[2] There is some uncertainty as to the exact meaning of the word '*āraṇyaka*.' Sāyaṇa, in his introduction to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, has said: 'It is called *āraṇyaka* because it is to be read in the forests': (*araṇya evo pāṭhyatvād āraṇyakam it=īryate*). This definition is usually accepted by scholars, who have also expressed various views, but the following remarks by A.B. Keith seems to be the most reasonable: 'The Āraṇyaka seems originally to have existed to give secret explanations of the ritual, and to have presupposed that the ritual was still in use and was known. No doubt the tendency was for the secret explanation to grow independent of the ritual until the stage is reached where the Āraṇyaka passes into the Upaniṣad, and contemporaneously the life of the Hindu is differentiated into the four Āśramas. But originally an Āraṇyaka must have merely meant a book of instruction to be given in the forest.[3]

One should remember that in those days even the 'cities' were not far away from forests, and villages were either clearings, or adjacent to forests, which provided the nearest secluded place for imparting secret knowledge.

Āraṇyakas of Ṛgveda

Two Āraṇyakas are attached to the RV: the *Aitareya* and the *Kauṣītaki* or the *Śaṅkhāyana*.

Sāyaṇa, in the introduction to his commentary to the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, states that it was composed by one Mahidāsa Aitareya, the son of a *brāhmaṇa* father and a *śūdra* mother. A. B. Keith, in his introduction to his translation of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* rejects Mahidāsa's authorship because he is mentioned several times in the text, but he is inclined to admit that Mahidāsa was the compiler of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and that his views are recorded in the *Āraṇyaka*. The *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (3.16.7) mentions Mahidāsa Aitareya and states that he lived for 116 years, which shows that he really existed and was a famous person.

[1] *HCIP*, I, p. 418.

[2] 'As the distinction between Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka is not an absolute one, though the Āraṇyakas tend to contain more advanced doctrines than the Brāhmaṇas, so the distinction between Upaniṣad and Āraṇyaka is also not absolute, tradition actually incorporating the Upaniṣads in some cases in the Āraṇyakas.' A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, p. 491.

[3] A.B. Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, reprint Oxford, 1969, Introduction, pp. 15-6. The word '*āraṇyaka*' in the sense of a book cannot be derived from Pāṇini, and its use to denote a text is unknown to ancient literature.

The *Aitareya* consists of five books each called an *āraṇyaka*, and which are sub-divided into *adhyāyas* and *khaṇḍas*. The *Aitareya* contains the litany accompanying the Mahāvrata which involves some curious rites. According to Sāyaṇa, the two chapters describing the Mahāvrata ceremony are *karma-kāṇḍa* the rest being *Jñāna-kāṇḍa*.

The *Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka* has fifteen chapters, of which chapters 3 to 6 form the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*. The subject-matter of this Āraṇyaka is similar to that of *Aitareya*.

Āraṇyakas of Sāmaveda

The Saṁhitā of the SV itself contains the *Āraṇyaka-saṁhitā* and the *Āraṇya-gāna* mentioned above. Besides these, there is in the Saṁhitā the *Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* of which the last eight chapters, out of total of ten, consists of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* of which the first part is an *Āraṇyaka*.

Āraṇyakas of Yajurveda

i. Black: The last part of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* is the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* of which Chapters VII to IX contain the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*. Chapter V of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* contains directions for the Pravargya sacrifice and is therefore regarded as a Brāhmaṇa.

The Maitrāyaṇī school has an Āraṇyaka of seven chapters, which is known as the *Maitrāyāṇī Upaniṣad*.

The Kāṭhaka school has no Āraṇyaka.

ii. White: The last and the fourteenth chapter of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* of which the first three chapters contain directions for the Pravargya sacrifice, and allegorical explanation of Aśvamedha and other sacrifices, while the remaining six chapters form the real Upaniṣad, the first three being *Āraṇyaka*.

UPANIṢAD

Meaning of Upaniṣad

Some Western scholars, and following them, some Indian scholars too, derive the word '*upaniṣad*' from '*upa-ni-ṣad*,' which means 'to sit down near some one,' though even some Western scholars have differed from this view.[1] Śaṅkara in his introduction (*Sambandha-bhāṣya*) to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* states that the root *sad* with the prefix *upa* and *ni* means 'that which destroys; as the study of these texts destroys the shackles of human bondage, they are called Upaniṣad.' He elaborates this meaning in his introduction to the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, where he states that an Upaniṣad 'destroys ignorance by revealing the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit (Brahman), and by cutting the ties of worldly existence.' In his Introduction to the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* he says:

[1]For references and discussion see A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, p. 489; L. Renou, op. cit., p. 299; *HCIP*, I, p. 467.

'The word Upaniṣad is formed by adding the suffix *kvip* and the prefix *upa* and *ni* to the verbal root *sad*, which means "to loosen," "to destroy," and "to attain." The word denotes the "knowledge of the Entity (Brahman)" sought to be established by the book we are about to explain.

'By what etymological process does the word "*Upaniṣad*" signify that "knowledge." We reply: This "knowledge" is called *upaniṣad* because it shatters, kills, and destroys *avidyā* (nescience), the seed of *saṁsāra*, in those seekers after liberation who, having lost all thirst for objects seen and heard of, approach (*upa*) the knowledge designated as *upaniṣad*, to be explained presently, and cultivate it with utter (*ni*) firmness and devotion.

'As will be stated in this Upaniṣad (1.3.15): "Having realized Ātman. . .one is freed from the jaws of death."

'Or, the knowledge of Brahman, Brahmavidyā, is termed *upaniṣad* because it is a means to the attainment of Brahman. It enables seekers of liberation who are endowed with the above-mentioned dispassion to attain the Supreme Brahman. As will be stated later "Having received this wisdom. . . . Naciketas became free from impurities and death." (2.3.18)

'Or lastly, the "knowledge of fire" (Agnividyā) is called *upaniṣad*, because the verbal root *sad* also means "to loosen." The knowledge of fire, the first born and omniscient offspring of Brahman [the knowledge that was sought by Naciketas as his second boon] leads to the attainment of heaven and thereby loosens the possibility of such misery as repeated dwelling in a womb, birth, and old age, which one experiences in other planes of existence. As will be explained later: "The inhabitants of heaven attain immortality."

'The objection may be raised that students apply the word *upaniṣad* even to the book: one hears such statements as, "We study the *upaniṣad*," and "We teach the *upaniṣad*." In answer it may be said that there is no fault in such use of the word. The meaning of the verbal root *sad*, as has already been stated, is the destruction of *avidyā*, the cause of *saṁsāra*. This is possible only through "knowledge" and not merely through a book. But the book, also, serves the same purpose, namely, the establishment of the "knowledge of Brahman"; it is therefore properly designated by this name. For instance, one uses such an expression as "The clarified butter is, verily, life." Therefore the word *upaniṣad* means primarily "knowledge," and secondarily, the book."[1]

Śaṅkara has also given a more or less similar explanation of the word *upaniṣad* in his introduction to the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*.

[1]The following remark by Prof. Keith reveals the contemporary British attitude towards Indians however great: 'Native tradition derives the term Upaniṣad, by means which will not bear scrutiny, from roots which yield as its sense either that which destroys innate ignorance, or that which leads to the Brahman.' *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, p. 489. In the fn., he refers to Śaṅkara's introductions to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Kaṭha, Taittirīya, and Muṇḍaka Upaniṣads*. With due respects to Prof. Keith, we must say that summarily rejecting the explanation of a Sanskrit term, particularly of Upaniṣad given by Śaṅkara is a piece of presumption and arrogance.

In this connection it may be recalled that the word *upanayana*, which means the 'sacred thread ceremony,' etymologically means 'to bring near.' As the boy was led to the teacher for the investiture ceremony, the ceremony itself came to be known as *upanayana*. The trouble with the word *upaniṣad* is that its use as 'a text' cannot be derived from Panini, but from later *vārtika*. In *Chāndogya* (1.1.10) the word *upaniṣad* occurs, which Śaṅkara has explained as *yoga*, that is, meditation. In the *Kena* (4.7) the student asks: 'Sir, tell me the *upaniṣad* (mystic doctrine).' The teacher replies: 'Verily, we have told you *brāhmī upaniṣad* (mystic doctrine of Brahman).'[1] Here Śaṅkara has explained *upaniṣad* as *rahasya*, that is, 'mystic doctrine.' However, the *Muṇḍaka* (2.2.3) and the *Śvetāśvatara* (5.6) undoubtedly use the word *upaniṣad* in the sense of a text. Hence it seems to us that Śaṅkara's explanation of the word *upaniṣad* is most appropriate.

General Features

The Āraṇyakas, as we have seen, are like appendices to the Brāhmaṇas, and are often the esoteric explanations of the rituals. The Upaniṣads, which may be said to be the termination of the Āraṇyakas, are to a great extent free from the rituals, their main theme being the record of spiritual experience. If the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa parts of the Veda are said to constitute the *Karma-veda*, the Upaniṣads are *Jñāna-veda*, while the Āraṇyakas occupy an intermediate position. Broadly speaking, the Brāhmaṇas form the basis of the *karma-kāṇḍa* on which Jaimini wrote the PMS, while the Upaniṣads form the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* on which Bādarāyaṇa wrote the *Brahma-sūtra* or the *Vedānta-sūtra*.

The Upaniṣads do not contain systematic treatment of a metaphysical idea, nor any logical conclusion based on general principles. They are mainly records of 'observations' or 'spiritual experiences' not of one individual seer, but of many seers extending over a very long period. The seers related their varied experiences which are recorded in the Upaniṣads without any attempt to reconcile the divergent experiences for the sake of uniformity or consistency. Their common basis was the acceptance of the diversity of the phenomenal world, and the affirmation that all is Brahman.

More than 200 Upaniṣads have been found, most of which are late texts. *The Muktikopaniṣad* (1.30.39) gives a list of 108 Upaniṣads, of which 10 belong to the RV, 16 to the SV, 19 to the White YV, 32 to the Black YV, and 31 to the AV. This list need not be taken very seriously.[2]

The following verse gives the names of the 10 principal Upaniṣads on which Śaṅkara has commented :

Īśā-Kena-Kaṭha-Praśna-Muṇḍa-Māṇḍukya-Tittirī
Aitareyaṁ ca Chāndogyaṁ Bṛhadāraṇyakaṁ tathā

[1]Translated by R.E. Hume, op. cit., p. 339.

[2]For a list of these Upaniṣads see *Cultural Heritage of India*, I, p. 346. For a list of 112 printed Upaniṣads see S.N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 28 fn.

Of these, the *Īśā* is directly related to a Saṁhitā, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* to a Brāhmaṇa, while the *Chāndogya*, the *Aitareya*, the *Taittirīya*, and the *Kena* are connected with Āraṇyakas. The rest may be called 'independent texts,' though every Upaniṣad belongs to a particular Veda.

Besides the ten mentioned above, the only other 'principal' Upaniṣad is the *Śvetāśvatara*, on which a commentary ascribed to Śaṅkara is available, but it has been held on very good grounds that the commentary was not by the great Ācārya. The commentary on the *Kena* contains a *pada-bhāṣya* and a *vākya-bhāṣya* (verse commentary, and word commentary). It is held that while Śaṅkara wrote the former, someone else, probably Vidyāśaṅkara, wrote the latter. The benedictory verse at the beginning of the commentary of the *Taittirīya* also seems to be an interpolation, as Śaṅkara never wrote this type of verse.[1]

i. *Upaniṣads of the Ṛgveda*

The *Aitareya Upaniṣad* of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* of the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* belong to the RV. Both are in prose.

The *Aitareya* (3.1.3) contains the *mahā-vakya*: *prajñānaṁ Brahma* (Brahman is intelligence).[2]

ii. *Upaniṣads of the Sāmaveda*

The SV has two Upaniṣads, the *Chāndogya* in prose and the *Kena* in verse. The *Kena* derives its name from the first word of its opening verse.[3]

iii. *Upaniṣads of the Yajurveda*

A. *Black Yajurveda:*

Three Upaniṣads are attached to the Black YV: the *Taittirīya* in prose, and the *Kaṭha* and the *Śvetāśvatara* in verse.

Chapters VII to IX of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* forms the Upaniṣad, while Chapter X of the Āraṇyaka is known as the *Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, admittedly a late text.

The *Kaṭha* contains the famous dialogue between Naciketas and Yama, the King of Death.

B. *White Yajurveda:*

The white YV has two Upaniṣads: the *Īśa* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*.

The *Īśa*, as stated above, is the only Upaniṣad which is the part of a Saṁ-

[1]MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā* (Bengali), Calcutta, 1965, p. 134, *HDK*, V, p. 1407 fn.; Sir Ashutosh Mukherji's *Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, fn., *Orientalia*, part 2, pp. 103-10.

[2]*Mahā-vākya* ('great sayings'), means 'basic postulates', which Śaṅkara selected one from an Upaniṣad of each Veda, and interpreted all the Upaniṣads in a manner so as to reconcile them with these four *mahā-vākyas*. It has been said by Śabara on PMS, 6.4.25; *na ca māha-vākye sati avāntara vākyaṁ pramāṇaṁ bhavati.*

[3]The word '*kena*' means 'by whom'. The verse begins as *ken=eṣitaṁ patati preṣitaṁ manaḥ* 'By whom impelled soars forth the mind projected?'

hitā (*Vājasaneyī*). Like the *Kena*, it takes its name from the first word of its famous first verse, probably the most well-known Upaniṣadic passage.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, as noted above is a part of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The name implies that it is an *āraṇyaka* as well as an *upaniṣad*, and that it is 'big'; actually it is the largest Upaniṣad.

iv. *Upaniṣads of the Atharvaveda*

Three Upaniṣads are attached to the AV: *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka*, and *Māṇḍukya*.

The *Praśna* is in prose with a few verses. It belongs to the Paippalāda branch of the AV, and is a discourse given by the sage Paippalāda in reply to questions (*praśna*) by six scions of famous family of sages.

The *Muṇḍaka* is in verse. Here the speaker is the sage Aṅgiras, and the listener Śaunaka.

Last is the *Māṇḍukya*, the smallest Upaniṣad consisting of 12 prose passages or sentences ending with a benedictory verse. The importance of the *Māṇḍukya* is that Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara's spiritual predecessor, wrote a *kārikā* on it which formed the basis of Śaṅkara's philosophy.

Upaniṣad in Modern Age

Dārā Shukoh, the eldest son of Emperor Shāh Jahān, had the Upaniṣads translated into Persian. In 1775, Le Gentil, the French Resident at the court of Shujā-ud-daula, presented a copy of Dārā Shukoh's translation to his friend Anquetil Du Perron (1731-1805), the discoverer of the *Zend-Avesta*. Anquetil Du Perron translated the Persian version of the Upaniṣads into Latin in 1801-1802. Within three decades Raja Rammohan Roy translated some of the Upaniṣads into Bengali, English, and Hindi from the original Sanskrit texts.

Du Perron's translation, though largely unintelligible, was avidly read by Schopenhauer (1788-1860), who exclaimed: 'It is the most rewarding and the most elevating reading, which (with the exception of the original text) there can possibly be in the world. It has been the solace of my life and will be of my death.'

Schopenhauer's contemporary Hegel's reaction was not as enthusiastic. He wrote: 'If we wish to get the so-called pantheism with poetic, most elevated, and if one will, its coarsest form, we must look for it in the Eastern poets; and the largest expositions of it are found among the Indian.'[1]

However, as Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has said: 'The earliest Upaniṣads have an almost mysterious forcefulness in their expressions at least to Indian ears. They are simple, pithy, and penetrate to the heart. We can read and read them over again without getting tired. The lines are always as fresh as ever. As such they have a charm apart from the value of the ideas they intend to convey.[2]

Few, if any Indian will differ from this view.

[1]Quoted by R.E. Hume, op. cit., Introduction, p. 70.

[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 38. By 'earliest Upaniṣads', Prof. Dasgupta meant the Upaniṣads which have been described above.

VEDĀṄGA

The Vedic literature described above are collectively known as *śruti* or 'revelation.' In order to understand and properly utilize them a systematic course of study was formulated. They constitute the Vedāṅgas 'limbs (for preservation of the body) of the Veda.' The name is applied to certain works or a class of works regarded as auxiliary to and even in the sense of part of the Veda. These works are divided into six classes, and are mostly written in *sūtra* or aphoristic style.

The six Vedāṅgas are: 1. Śikṣā; 2. Chandas; 3. Vyākaraṇa; 4. Nirukta; 5. Jyotiṣa; and 6. Kalpa. The first two are intended to secure the correct reading and pronunciation of the Vedic texts, the next two for their understanding, while the last two are meant for help in the proper employment of the texts in the sacrifices.

1. Śikṣā, 'the science of proper articulation and pronunciation,' comprises according to the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (1.2), the knowledge of letters (*varṇa*), accents (*svara*), quantity (*mātrā*), the use of the organs of pronunciation (*bala*), and phonetics generally (*sāman*) but specially the laws of euphony peculiar to Veda (*santāna*).

Little remains now of the Śikṣā literature, which seems to have been superseded by the Prātiśākhyas, which embody the peculiarities of accent, of *saṁhitā* and *krama* orders of readings. The word *prātiśākhya* means 'belonging to each *śākhā*,' but at present only four are available, one attached to each Veda.

Several metrical Śikṣā texts are available, namely, the *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* for the RV and the YV; the *Nārada-śikṣā* for the SV; *Vyāsa-śikṣā* for the Black YV and the *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* for the White YV; and the *Māṇḍuka-śikṣā* for the AV. Usually it is held that these metrical Śikṣā texts are later than the Prātiśākhya texts.[1]

2. Chhandas or 'metre' is now represented by a solitary treatise ascribed to Piṅgala, which is called the *Piṅgala-chanda-śāstra*, considered to be a late work. It treats of the Prakrit as well as Sanskrit metres, including a few of the leading Vedic metres. Vedic metres are also treated in the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* VII. 27, the *Nidāna-sūtra* of the SV, and the various Anukramaṇis (indices).

3. Vyākaraṇa means 'linguistic analysis' or 'grammar,' represented by Pāṇini's celebrated work, written probably before 500 BC.[2] Though Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī* deals with Vedic grammar, it is more concerned with the grammar of classical Sanskrit. Actually, he was writing the grammar of Sanskrit which was current in his days. 'The results,' Macdonell has said, 'attained by

[1]Only the *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* is held to be earlier than the Prātiśākhyas; Dr. Manmohan Ghosh, *Pāṇinīya-sikśa*, Calcutta, 1938.

[2]For Pāṇini's date see S.K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915, pp. 13-8. Prof. Belvalkar's conclusion (p. 18) is '. . .there is nothing in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyi* that is inconsistent with his having flourished in the seventh century BC.....'

Indians in the systematic analysis of language surpass those arrived at by any other nation, and the credit for this achievement certainly goes to Pāṇini.' As Dr. B.K. Ghosh has remarked: 'It should not be forgotten that until the nineteenth century, Europe could not produce in the field of grammar and philology anything that can bear a comparison with Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyayī*.[1]

Pāṇini's work was the culmination of centuries of study, for he mentions sixty-four predecessors.

4. Nirukta is explained by Śaṅkara on *Chāndogya* 8.3.3 as *nirvacanam*, that is 'etymological explanation,' but the term is usually confined to the explanation of the difficult Vedic words. Nirukta is now represented by the *Nirukta* of Yāska, which states (1.15): 'Without this (science), there can be no understanding of the (Vedic) *mantras*.' The *Nirukta* is a commentary on an older list of Vedic words in 5 chapters, called the *Nighaṇṭu*, but now both the text and the commentary are referred to as Yāska's works. Yāska's date is not known, but he must have flourished before Pāṇini between 800 to 500 BC.

5. Jyotiṣa means 'astronomy,' but there is no extant astronomical work in *sūtra* style. The *Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa* is a late work of practical utility, giving rules for calculating and fixing days and hours for different sacrifices. This is done by determining the positions of the sun and the moon at the solstices, and of the new and the full moon in the circle of 27 *nakṣatras* (lunar mansions) or constellations of the zodiac. The work gives simple rules and concise formulas for the calculation of *tithis* (lunar days), *pārvaṇs* (new and full moon days, and the 8th and the 14th of each fortnight), *viṣuvats* (equinox) etc.

'Some of the astronomical theories and mathematical calculations worked out by the Vedic Aryans are really startling, considering the age and surroundings in which they originated.'[2] An interesting account of Vedic astronomy has been given by MM. Kane in the last volume of his monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra* (pp. 462-718).

6. The Kalpas are in a sense the most important part of the Vedaṅga literature, and also the oldest among them, being the most ancient *sūtra* works. The Kalpa works are further sub-divided into Śrauta-sūtras, Smārta-sūtras, and Śulva-sūtras.

The Śrauta-sūtras are directly concerned with *śruti* that is Vedic sacrifices, while the Smārta-sutras, which are divided into Gṛhya-sūtras and Dharma-sūtras derive their authority from *smṛti* (lit. 'memory'), that is, 'immemorial tradition.'

i. The Śrauta-sūtras[3] deal with the *śrauta*-sacrifices, that is those that are described in the Brāhmaṇas. A *sūtra* is a short or concise sentence used as a memorial rule and is defined as follows :

[1] *HCIP*, I, p. 424, note 67.

[2] ibid, p. 478.

[3] The *Śrauta-sūtras* are sometimes called '*Kalpa-sūtras*'; PMS 1.3.11-13. G. Jha, op. cit., p. 212. See also *HCIP*, I, p. 255; *HDK*, I, 2nd ed., 1968, p. 10.

svalpākṣaram asandigdhaṁ sāravad viśvatomukham
astobham anavadyaṁ ca sūtraṁ sūtrakṛto viduḥ

(An aphorism [*sūtra*] should be concise [contain few letters], but clear in its meaning, substantial, of universal application (lit. facing all direction), should be without pauses or interjected letters, and should be free from blemishes).

The Śrauta-sūtras systematized the rituals, and may be called 'supplements to the Brāhmaṇas.' As the Brāhmaṇas were extremely prolix and repetitive, the Śrauta-sūtras were found to be helpful in performing a sacrifice. Each Veda has one or more Śrauta-sūtra attached to it.

ii. The Gṛhya-sūtras deal with *gṛhya* rites, that is household ceremonies performed with the help of the *gṛhya* fire, by the married householder himself in the company of his wife and in the interest of the family. Hence these texts deal with the sacred domestic fire, and the Pākayajñas, the Pañca-mahā-yajñas, the regular morning and evening oblations, sacrifices on new and full moon days, sacrifices of cooked food, annual sacrifices, and *saṁskāras* (sacraments) from conception to death, rules for students and *snātakas* (a man who has completed his *brahmacarya* or student life), and holidays, that is various events of domestic and social life.

iii. The Dharma-sūtras also contain rules on some of the topics dealt with in the Gṛhya-sūtras such as marriage, but though they touch upon the rituals of domestic life, they rarely describe them. The principal topics of the Dharma-sūtras are the rules of conduct, law, and custom. They are the earliest legal texts. Though there are differences between the Dharma-sūtras and later Smṛti texts like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya, those are mostly linguistic and methodological. The Dharma-sūtras are usually in prose interspersed with verses, while the Smṛtis are metrical. Secondly, the topics dealt with in the Dharma-sūtras are neither as well arranged nor as comprehensive as those of the Smṛtis.

iv. The Śulva-sūtras are directly attached to the Śrauta-sūtras. The word *śulva* means 'a measuring string,' and the Śulva-sūtras give detailed rules for measuring and constructing the fire-altars, and the place of the sacrifice. They are the oldest Sanskrit works on geometry.

Each Vedic school or *Sūtracaraṇa* should possess the four types of *sūtra* works mentioned above, but at present complete *kalpa* tradition with the four types of *sūtra* works are found in the Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin and the Baudhāyana schools.

VEDIC RELIGION

Vedic Gods

Vedic religion was based on sacrifices. Before discussing the sacrifices it is necessary to describe the nature of the deities to whom the sacrifices were offered.

Some misunderstanding is likely to arise by rendering the word *deva*, frequently used in the Veda, as 'god.' This rendering is philologically correct,

but it is slightly misleading, since it is difficult to divest the word 'god' from its semantic relation with Christian 'God,' though no two conceptions could hardly be more dissimilar.

There is also the analogy of the Graeco-Roman 'gods' (and later Hindu deities), but unlike them the Vedic 'gods' are formless. At any rate, their forms are not described in the Veda which glorify only their prowess and narrate their mighty deeds. Yāska was confronted with this problem. His *Nirukta* devotes a section (VII. 6.7) to the discussion on the appearance of 'gods' (*ath-ākāra-cintanaṁ devatānām,*) to find out whether they are *puruṣa-vidha* or *apuruṣa-vidha*, which have been rendered by Prof. Laksman Sarup respectively as 'anthropomorphic' and 'unanthropomorphic.' Yāska's conclusion is that the gods may be 'both anthropomorphic and unanthropomorphic or else the (unanthropomorphic appearance) of the gods, who are really anthropomorphic, is their counterself in the form of action.' It is apparent that Yāska was wriggling out of an insoluble problem for he did not know the answer. Hence it can be safely assumed that none did. Thus we come to the curious anomaly that by the time of Yāska, it had to be admitted even by experts that they were not quite sure about their conception of the Vedic deities or gods.

Anticipating the future, it may be stated here, that the status of the Vedic gods was so anomalous, that in the Br. S. there is a discussion as to whether such gods are entitled to *Brahma-vidyā*, and it is only after a lengthy discussion that Bādarayaṇa says that they are.[1]

Regarding the meaning of the word *deva*, Prof. H.D. Velankar has rightly concluded that the word '*deva*' is used in the Ṛgveda in the sense of "an object of high regard," and never as an "object of physical worship. . . . . ,"[2] The Vedic people paid homage to Indra, Varuṇa etc. for purposes which will be discusssed later, for we must deal first with the nature of the Vedic deities.

Our conception of Vedic gods are mostly derived from the hymns of the RV. But these hymns were the works of various hands, and their thoughts move on several planes, and even the meaning of several words vary in different contexts. The Ṛgvedic seers were poets, not accustomed to theological exactitude.

Vedic Pantheon

Western scholars have very ingeniously contrived theories linking Vedic gods with Indo-European and Indo-Iranian gods. Some of their theories are quite plausible, but we are constrained to pass over them for want of space.

'Pantheon' is a Greek word meaning deities collectively. As the Veda mention many gods, the phrase 'Vedic pantheon' is frequently used. The difficulty,

[1]For a discussion of the position of 'gods' in Hindu religion, see A.K. Majumdar, Theism in Indian Religion, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XXVIII, 1968, pp. 80-7; G. Jha, op. cit., pp. 271, 316-17; *HDK*, V, part ii, pp. 1207 and 1217.

[2]H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII*, Introduction, p. xi.

however, is that the number of Vedic gods is not fixed, nor do they dwell on a uniform level, and there is no fixed order of seniority among them. Many functions, powers, and offices are held jointly by two or more gods. There is also 'the belief in individual gods alternately regarded as the highest.' The deity invoked by the poet is the highest, which Max Müller called Henotheism or Kathenotheism. However, as Prof. Apte has pointed out: ' "Henotheism," in the strict sense of the term, is not to be thought of because the divine host of the *Ṛgveda* is not a pantheon (technically speaking) with an acknowledged overlord.'[1]

Inconsistency is one of the palpable traits of the RV. Even the most insignificant god receives homage from others including the highest. Various theories have been advanced to explain this and other anomalies, but none of them are quite satisfactory. The traditional explanation is Yāska's triple division of the Vedic gods corresponding to the three levels of the universe, namely, *pṛthivī-sthāna* (terrestrial), *antarikṣa-sthāna* (aerial or intermediate), and *dyu-sthāna* (celestial). According to Yāska, Pṛthivī, Agni, Soma, Bṛhaspati, and the rivers are terrestrial gods; Indra, Apāṁ-napāt, Rudra, Vāyu-Vāta, Parjanya, Āpaḥ, and Mātariśvan are aerial gods; and Dyaus, Varuṇa, Mitra, Sūrya, Savitṛ, Pūsan, Viṣṇu, the Ādityas, Usas, and the Aśvins are the celestial gods.

This classification may have been based on RV X. 158.1, which invokes Sūrya, Vāta, and Agni for protection against heaven, air, and earth respectively, and led Yāska's predecessors, quoted by him, to hold that there are only three representative deities, Sūrya in heaven, Vāyu or Indra in air, and Agni on earth, each of them having various appellations according to differences in function. However, RV I.34.11, I.45.2, and I.139.11 definitely mention thirty-three gods.[2] RV I.139.11 is followed by the *Taitirīya Saṁhitā* 1.4.10.1, while the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 4.5.7.2 speaks of 33 gods consisting of 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, 12 Ādityas, Dyu (Sky) and Pṛthvi (Earth). According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 2.18, the 33 gods are divided into 11 Prayāja, 11 Anuyāja, and 11 Upayāja gods.

The Ādityas are sons of Aditi. The RV II.27.1 mentions only six of them, namely, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa, and Aṁśa. RV X. 72.8[3] states that Aditi had eight sons, of whom she discarded Mārtanda, and took the remaining seven to the gods. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* mentions the following eight Adityas, namely, Dhātā, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa. Aṁśa, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvan. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 11. 6. 38 mentions

[1] *HCIP*, I, p. 362. See also below p. 183 ff.

[2] Actually RV I, 34.11 invokes the Aśvin twins to bring down the 33 gods, which would make the total number 35. RV I.45.2 invokes Agni to bring down the 33 gods, which would make the total 34. However, RV I, 139.11 definitely speaks of 11 gods in heaven, 11 in *antarīkṣa*, (intermediate region), and 11 on earth.

[3] RV, X. 72.4 narrates that from Aditi was born Dakṣa, and from Dakṣa was again born Aditi. This reminds one of Dante's famous line in the *Divine Comedy*, 'O Divine Mother, daughter of thy own son.'

twelve Ādityas, but makes it clear that they are twelve months. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* give the names of twelve Ādityas, and the former gives the names of eleven Rudras also, but the issue need not be confused by taking into account these non-Vedic texts.

The number of gods were increased to 3339 in RV III. 9.9 but apparently they belonged to a different 'league,' for the passage states: 'Three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine gods have worshipped Agni; they bathed him in *ghee*, strew the grass for him, and immediately then made him sit down as their inviting priest.'

Another division is given in RV I. 27. 13, which pays homage to Mahat gods, Arbhaka gods, young gods, and old gods, and desires to be guarded against giving up prayers to old gods. This division is contradicted by RV VIII. 30. 1-2, which says that among the gods, there is no child, no youth, all are great, and the next verse says that there are thirty-three gods.

There is, however, the conception of unity of godhead in the RV. It has been mentioned above, that Yāska has made three divisions of gods in his *Nirukta* (VII. 5), but he begins by saying that there is only one god: on earth he is Agni, in the middle region he is Indra, and in the celestial sphere his is Savitṛ. This statement can be supported by the famous uttering of Dīrghatamas in RV I. 164. 46, which says: 'The wise call him Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, that heavenly golden winged Garutmat.[1] He is one, [but] sages (or 'priests') call him by many names: (*ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti*): they call him Agni, Yama, and Mātariśvan.' In RV III. 55. 1-22, all the verses end with the same refrain: 'The (ultimate) *asuratva* of the gods is one.' The idea is that the same or one manifests itself under many different forms and names of the gods. The famous *Haṁsavatī ṛc* (RV. IV. 40.5; *Vājasaneyī Saṁhita* 10.24; 12.14; *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 3.2.10. 1; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 6.7.3.11; and *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 2.2.2), which is extremely difficult to translate, also conceives of one principle into which all divinities are synthesized as the supreme spirit. This, however, is not a monotheistic idea, for Sāyaṇa points out that the *ṛc* tells us of the identity of the human soul, the gods, and the Supreme Soul. As Yājñavalkya (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 3.99) after describing and explaining thirty-three gods says that there is only one god: 'It is Brahman; they call it *tyat* (that).'

MM. Kane is therefore justified in stating: 'Though Ṛgvedic sages extol several gods, they had already arrived at the conception that there was only one Supreme Being that was addressed under several names such as Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni and assumed several forms (RV, I.164.46; VI. 47.18; X. 121.1; X. 129. 1-2).'[2]

[1]*Suparṇaḥ garutmān*, Sāyaṇa calls it a bird, but probably it means sun. This hymn is addressed to 15 deities, though Sun is the principal deity involved. RV, 1.164. 45 mentions four *vāks*, which may be Parā, Paśyanti, Madhyamā, and Vaikharī. RV, 1.164.50 states: *yajñena yajñam ayajanta devāh* of which Sāyaṇa has given three explanations, but it is clearly meant that the gods also performed sacrifices. All the verses of this hymn is found in the AV.

[2]*HDK*, V, part i, p. 8.

Even though the RV contains a germinal form of monism, it describes many gods, and is responsible for the spread of polytheism, the most characteristic feature of Hinduism. The Vedas were the bases of the two schools of Indian Philosophy, the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā and the Uttara-mīmāṁsā or Vedānta. Of these, the former, as explained by Śabara on PMS 9.1.9, denies the supremacy of the gods, and upholds the potency of the sacrifices. But the Br. S.1.3.26-30 contradicts this view. Hence the anomaly: Vedānta supporting polytheism.

i. *Celestial gods*

DYAUS is a personification of the sky. Generally, Dyaus is spoken as the father, '*Dyaus pitā*' and Prthivī (earth) as the mother, and they are jointly referred to as *dyāvā-pṛthivī* or 'universal parents.'

VARUṆA is one of the most important gods of the RV, though not many hymns are addressed to him. However, some of the Varuṇa hymns are acclaimed as the most exalted poetry in the RV. They describe him as a king, a universal monarch, who has lofty golden abode in heaven with a thousand columns and doors. He wears shining garments. He has spies whom none can deceive. He is called the Asura,[1] who rules by means of his *māyā* or 'occult powers,' which is applicable in a good sense to gods and in a bad sense to demons. By this power he sends forth dawn, and makes the sun, who is his eye, traverse the sky. He supports heaven, earth, and air. In association with Mitra, Varuṇa brings down rain. He is above all the *dhṛta-vrata*, or an uncompromising upholder of his laws, whose self-assigned duty was to maintain a constant watch over the good and bad deeds of men, punishing the evildoer with an unfailing precision:[2] the moral governor. He is also the ruler of Cosmic Waters.[3]

MITRA is invariably associated with Varuṇa except once (RV, III. 59), but it is not possible to delineate his individual characteristics from this solitary hymn.

SŪRYA AND SAVITṚ are solar deities. As the all-seeing god, Sūrya is often called the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni and other gods. Sūrya is said to be the son of Aditi and Dyaus.

Savitṛ is a golden deity with arms, hands, and tongue all golden, as are his

[1]The word '*asura*' is derived from the root *as*, meaning 'breath', 'life', 'life of the spiritual world or of departed spirits'. In later Sanskrit, *sura* (god) was formed from *asura* (demon) as *sita* (white) from *asita* (black) but in Vedic Sanskrit *asita* meant 'unbound.'

[2]This is the meaning of *dhṛtavrata* given by Prof. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII*, Introduction p. ii. For a different meaning see *HDK*, V, part i, p. 16. MM. Kane points out that it is not quite accurate to say that Varuṇa is called 'pre-eminently *dhṛtavrata*', as more than half the passages in which the word *dhṛtavrata* occurs refer to gods other than Varuṇa. *Vrata* in this context means 'will', 'command', 'law' etc. See *HDK*, V, part i, p. 5.

[3]For 'Cosmic Waters' see Warren, *Paradise Found*, 10th ed., 1893, pp. 250-60; and B.G. Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 233-96.

car and its pole. He also diffuses golden splendour, removes evil dreams, and drives away demons and sorcerers. Savitṛ is sometimes invoked separately, but in a large number of passages, it is difficult to distinguish between Sūrya and Savitṛ. The famous *Gāyatrī* stanza (RV, III, 62.10) is however, addressed to Savitṛ, with the result that he is the only Vedic god invoked by millions even today.

PŪṢAN is a bearded god with braided hair, whose chariot is drawn by goats. He shares some characteristics with Agni and some with Sūrya, whose daughter he has married. He is the guardian of the roads, protects travellers and animals from the dangers of the road, and recovers lost animals and objects.

VIṢṆU, who later came to be regarded as one of the most important gods, is not of major significance in the RV. He became important because of his famous three steps: *idaṁ Viṣṇur-vicakrame tridhā nidadhe padaṁ* (Visnu circumambulated this world with three steps; RV, I.22.17). According to Śākapūṇi, cited by Yāska (12.19) as an authority, the three steps indicate the earth, the intermediate region, and the heaven. However, Aurṇanāvabha, also cited by Yāska (12.19), explains the three steps as the different positions of the sun at its rising, meridian, and its setting. Hence it is possible to connect Viṣṇu with sun. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (6.15) relates that, at the time of the division of the regions, Indra proposed that the spheres covered by these three steps will belong to the gods, the rest to the Asuras (demons). The latter having agreed, Viṣṇu covered the entire world and the Vedas with three steps or *vikramas*, hence his name *Trivikrama*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.2.5) relates another version of the same story, and later (14.1.1) relates the story of his supremacy among the gods, which is also found in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (7.5) and the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (5.1).

The last six verses of RV I.22 are on Viṣṇu, of which we have discussed only one. The last but one verse, however, is extremely important though it merely says: *tad Viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ, div=īva cakṣur ātatam* (The wise steadfastly gaze upon the loftiest place of Visnu, as it were, an eye in heaven. RV.I.22.20). The importance of this verse is that even today Hindus recite it at the beginning of their prayers, and at the commencement of all rituals. Its importance, which cannot be explained, is only next to the *Gāyatrī*.

RV, VII.99.1 days: 'O god Viṣṇu you (alone) know about the highest one,' and then adds: 'O god Viṣṇu, none born in the past nor at the present has visualized the limit of your greatness' (VII.99.2). In RV, VII.100.1 Viṣṇu is qualified as *urugāya*, which according to Yāska (2.7) means 'one who makes long strides,' obviously referring to RV, I.22. But Sāyaṇa takes the word to mean 'hymned by many,' or 'much praised,' possibly following the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (10.90.26). Both RV, VII.99.7 and VII. 100.6 refer to Visnu as Śipiviṣṭa, which according to Sāyaṇa, means 'pervaded by rays,' but is most probably a proper name or epithet, the significance of which is now lost.[1]

[1]See H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII*, p. 218 fn. 6.

ĀDITYAS are the sons of Aditi, but in the RV Aditi is a riddle. The root *dā* means 'to bind,' so '*diti*' means 'binding' and '*a-diti*' would mean 'non-binding' or 'boundlessness.' Hence Aditi is invoked to release her worshippers from bondage. However, as Macdonell puts it: 'But how are we to account for so early a personification of such an abstract idea, and in particular for Aditi becoming the mother of the Ādityas'?[1]

The following Ādityas are mentioned in RV.II.27.1: Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa and Aṁśa.

UṢAS, the goddess of dawn, is gaily attired like a dancer. She rises in the east, and exhibits her graces. Though ancient, her youth is perpetual. Some of the most poetic hymns in the RV are addressed to her. Uṣas has been called the mother and the lover of Sun and also of Agni, an impious suggestion. The Ṛgvedic poets excelled themselves when they describe her as a young maiden who reveals her breasts (RV.I.92.4), undoubtedly the reflection of a pastoral scene. Uṣas is the sister of 'Night.' Uṣas and Nakta (night) are jointly invoked. From RV, VI.59.6 it appears that Uṣas was not the fleeting dawn, from which Lokamanya Tilak concluded that she represented the Aurora Borealis.

AŚVINS are the twin gods. From the number of hymns addressed to them (more than 50), their importance seems to be next to that of Indra, Agni, and Soma. According to Sāyaṇa, they are called 'Aśvin twins' (Aśvinau) because they pervade (*as*) the world, one by vital essence (*rasa*), and the other by light. Another explanation is that they are called Aśvi, because they are provided with horses. According to Yāska (12.1), they appear after midnight, and stay on till full daylight, from which it appears they were matutinal deities.

The RV relates many stories about the Aśvins. Their paths are said to be golden. They are closely attached to honey, which they desire to drink, carry in their chariot, and distribute among the bees and mortals. They are fond of Soma also. They are divine physicians, and are credited with having performed miraculous cures. It should be remembered, however, that though the Aśvins are referred to as physicians several times in the RV, Varuṇa (RV I.24.9), and Rudra (RV II.33.4 and 7) are also called physicians, at least once. The Saṁhitās of the YV condemn the Aśvins because of their practise of medicine, on the ground that it brings them too much among men.[2]

ii. *The Atmospheric gods*

INDRA is the favourite god of the Ṛgvedic poets. The largest number of hymns, about 250, which form about a quarter of the hymns of the RV, are addressed to him. According to Yāska, any action involving physical strength,

[1]A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strasbourg, 1977, p. 122. Prof. Apte's solution in *HCIP*, I, p. 368 is too involved and does not appear convincing.

[2]For references see *Vedic Index* under *Bhiṣaj*, which also gives details of wonderful cures performed by Aśvins.

like showering rain, or killing Vṛtra are due to Indra. Some details about Indra's features are given in the hymns, but he can 'assume ever-changing forms' (RV III. 53.8). He wields the thunderbolt (*vajra*) his distinguishing weapon, fashioned by Tvaṣṭṛ, his father according to some hymns, while elsewhere Dyaus is said to be his father. Agni is his twin brother, and they are often jointly invoked. The Maruts are Indra's friends, so one of his epithets is *Marutvant*, (the possessor of the Maruts), but the more famous one is *Vṛtrahan* (killer of Vṛtra). Though all the gods drink *soma*, Indra is called *Somapā* (the drinker of Soma), because he drinks more than any other god.

Fortified by copious draughts of *soma*, and accompanied by the Maruts, Indra attacked and smashed Vṛtra, pierced the mountains, and released the pent-up waters, whence his epithet *Apsu-jit* (conquering in the waters). He was the battle god. In those days the priests accompanied the kings in battle, and they composed hymns in Indra's honour.

RUDRA, the Vedic god, is usually considered by scholars to have been a malevolent deity, the source of disease and death to men and beasts.[1] However, as Prof. Ayyar has shown 'a proper reading of the Vedic hymns addressed to Rudra will not lead to such an inference.'[2] From the Rudra hymns, it appears that he had two functions: bestowing prosperity, and destroying suffering. He had dual role, in one of which, when he bestows wealth, he is a benevolent deity, but he is a wrathful god when he chastises evildoers. Sometimes the poet is afraid and exclaims: 'May we not irritate you, O Rudra, with our (ill addressed) prayers, nor with a bad praise, nor O mighty god, with a joint invocation. Raise up our warriors with your medicines; I hear you to be the most competent one among the physicians' (RV II.33.4). Another reference to Rudra as physician in the RV has been mentioned above under Aśvins. Rudra is also sought for as a refuge from the anger of the gods: 'We invoke to our succour the impetuous Rudra, the fulfiller of sacrifice, the swift;, the wise. May he drive away from us the anger of the gods' (RV I. 114.4). He is also appealed to for long life: 'May I enjoy a hundred winters with the help of the most blissful herbs given by you, O Rudra. Drive away from us hated enemy, still further the danger, and far away the diseases so as to run helter-skelter'[3] (RV II, 33.2). Other verses of the same hymn show that instead of being a malevolent deity, Rudra is the god who averts calamity, and he is very powerful.

This benevolent Rudra became the mighty Rudra of the *Śatarudriya* hymn of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 4.5. and the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (16). Parts of this hymn are difficult to explain, but it calls Rudra by the names Bhava and Sarva, which were later invariably applied to Śiva. In the AV (V. 65-66) Keśins, or 'long haired *munis*' are said to be Rudra's special attendants. The identification of the Keśins is not certain, but they were most probably a

[1] R.C. Hazra, An Overlooked Aspect of Ṛgvedic Rudra, *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, V, ii, 1971-72, pp. 123-48.

[2] C.V. Narayana Ayyar, *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in India*, Madras, 1936, p. 1.

[3] RV, II, 33. 2 and 4, translated by H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala II*, Bombay, 1966.

class of mendicants akin to the Vrātyas, who are glorified in the AV (XV.5.1). The Vrātyas were also despised, but that was possibly a later development. It may be noted that the Śaiva-Pāśupatas too were at one time objects of ridicule to a section of the orthodox brahmanical society.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Rudra is a grim deity, who might inflict injury upon the sacrificers and their cattle. The *Śatapatha* regards the *Śatarudriya* hymn as having been composed with a view to appeasing the wrath of terrible Rudra. The story of Rudra's birth as given in the *Śatapatha* and the *Aitareya* also show him to have been an embodiment of wrath, as a deity who did not protect but destroyed.

This view is, however, completely changed in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, where the One God is identified with Rudra (3.1.3-4), and prayers from scriptures are offered to Rudra for favour. Of these verses of the *Śvetāśvatara*, 3.1.3 is the same with variants as RV X. 81.3 *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* 17. 19, AV XIII. 2.26, *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 4.6.2.4, and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 10.1.3. The *Śvetāśvatara* 4.11-12 and 4.21-22 again supplicates Rudra for favour :

With the thought 'He is eternal!'
A certain one in fear approaches.
O Rudra, that face of thine which is propitious—(*Rudra yat te dakṣiṇaṁ mukham*)
With that do thou protect me ever !
(*tena māṁ pāhi nityam*) (21)

Injure us not in child or grandchild, nor in life !
Injure us not in cattle ! Injure us not in horses !
Slay not our strong men in anger, O Rudra !
With oblations ever we call upon thee.[1] (22)

The last verse is the same with variations as RV 1. 114.8, *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 4.5.10.3 and *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* 16.16.

This awesome aspect of Rudra persisted, and is found in later Śaivism. Both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism are based on *bhakti*, but there is qualitative difference in the devotional approach of the two systems. As Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has remarked: 'The Āṛvārs were probably the pioneers in showing how love for God may be on terms of tender equality, softening down to the rapturous emotion of conjugal love. The Śaivism of South India flourished more or less at the same time. The hymns of the Śaivas are full of deep and noble sentiments of devotion which can hardly be excelled in any literature; but their main emphasis is on the majesty, and the greatness of God, and the feeling of submission, self-abnegation and self-surrender to God. The spirit of self-surrender and a feeling of clinging to God as one's all is equally dominant among the Āṛvārs; but among them it melts down into the sweetness of passionate love. The Śaiva hymns are indeed pregnant with the divine fire of devotion, but more in the spirit of submissive service.'[2]

[1]Translation by R.E. Hume.
[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, p. 84.

Evidently, the Śaiva attitude was based on a modification of the conception of Vedic Rudra, which, as we have seen, changed from the RV to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and from the latter to the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, which is the only Vedic text to mention *bhakti*. As Prof. Das Gupta has remarked: 'The concept of Śiva may be traced through the Vedas and also through the Upaniṣads, and particularly so in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*. The same idea can be traced in the *Mahābhārata* and many other Purāṇas.'[1]

The MARUTS or 'storm gods' are an important group of deities. In RV V. 53. 11, the troops of the Maruts are mentioned as Śardha, Vrāta and Gaṇa. They are the sons of Rudra and Pṛśni, the cow (RV. II. 34.2), also of Vāyu, and are sometimes described as self-born. They number 'thrice sixty,' or 'thrice seven,' all of them being brothers of the same age and of the same abode. They are associated with lightning; the thunder and the roaring of winds are their noise or songs which inspire Indra. Their chief function is to shed rain, and they also produce light and make a way for the sun. Indra is always accompanied by Maruts during his exploits.[2]

VĀYU and VĀTA are practically synonymous words, but usually the former is used when referring to the god, and the latter for the element, that is, air.

PARJANYA, which in later Sanskrit meant rain, means 'rain bearing cloud' in the RV. Parjanya is also described as a bull that quickens the plants of the earth (RV V. 83.4).

Other minor atmospheric gods are Trita Āptya, Apāṁ Napāt, Mātariśvan, Ahi Budhnya, and Aja Ekapād. In RV.II. 35.1, Apāṁ Napāt is praised as the Fire of the mid-region feeding on waters, and the sacrificial Fire feeding on *ghī* on earth.

iii. *Terrestrial gods*

AGNI is second only to Indra as a Vedic god, and the very first hymn of the RV is addressed to him. His is the mouth through which all the gods receive their oblations (*havis*), hence he is known as the Havya-vāh or Havya-vāhana (carrier of oblation). In the RV he has also been referred to variously as priest, namely as Hotā, Purohita, and Ṛtvij. In RV. 1.36.5 and VIII. 39.1, he has been called the 'link' or 'ambassador between the gods and men,' but his main function was to call the gods to the sacrifice and carry the oblation to them.

Agni is said to be the son of Dyaus and also of Dyaus (heaven) and earth. RV. III. 9.1 calls him the 'child of waters.[3] In RV II. 1.3-11, Agni is said to be Indra, Viṣṇu, Brahmaṇaspati, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Aṁśa, Tvaṣṭṛ,

[1]ibid, V, 1955, p. 7. Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has also remarked: 'Some people say that the oldest form of Śaivism is the old pre-historic religion of South India, but I have not found any evidence to show the exact nature of an existent pre-Aryan, Dravidian religion which could be identified with what we now know as Śaivism.' ibid, p. 155.

[2]Dyutāna Māruta or 'descendant of the Maruts' is mentioned in some texts. For details and references see *Vedic Index*, I, p. 382.

[3]For a discussion see notes by Prof. H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala III*, Bombay, 1968, p. 29 fn.

Rudra, Savitṛ, Ṛbhu, and Aditi. There are, however, other accounts of his birth, form, and abode. The threefold nature of Agni is expressed in such words as Tripastya (having three dwellings, RV VIII. 39.8) and Trisadhastha (having triple seat) indicating the three household fires, namely the *gārhapatya*, the *āvahanīya* and the *dakṣiṇa*. This is the earliest conception of 'trinity' in Hinduism.

BṚHASPATI 'the master of the force (inherent in the incantations)' also called BRAHMAṆASPATI 'lord of prayers' is like a domestic priest or a *brāhmaṇa* priest. He is the generator of all prayers. He is sometimes identified and sometimes distinguished from Agni. Bṛhaspati is an ally of Indra in his battles, and plays a part in the myth of the rescue of the cows.

SOMA comes next to Indra and Agni as a god who has to be importuned for favours. The entire Maṇḍala IX of the RV is devoted to this deity, the plant *soma*, and the preparation of *soma* juice. Though minute details for the preparation of the juice is given in the RV, the plant has not yet been identified. Its habitat is said to be the Mūjavant mountain,[1] which has not been identified either, but Soma's true home is heaven. As the authors of *the Vedic Index* remark: 'It is difficult to decide if Soma was ever a popular, as opposed to a hieratic drink. The evidence for its actual popularity is very slight and not decisive.'

Whatever may have been the nature of the *soma* plant, apparently it became rare, if not unobtainable, fairly early even in the Vedic age, for the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* (9.3.3) says: 'If one is not able to obtain the *soma* plant, one may extract juice from the *pūtikas*.' In PMS 3.6.40 and 6.3.13-17, both Jaimini and Śabara prescribe that if no *soma* plant is available in a Soma sacrifice, the sacrificer should substitute *pūtikas* for *soma*, and no other substance must be used even if those are more akin to *soma*.

Soma is called '*amṛta*,' the drink which bestows immortality on gods and men. As a deity, Soma is a wise seer, a poet, who stimulates thought and inspires hymns. Soma's invigorating effect on Indra, who is called Somapā (the drinker of *soma*), in his fight against Vṛtra is repeated over and over again, and ultimately Indra's exploits are attributed to Soma.

PṚTHIVĪ is closely associated with Dyaus, and they are jointly invoked as stated. Pṛthivī alone is invoked only in one hymn of three verses (V.84), while no hymn is addressed to Dyaus alone. Certain rivers are lauded along with Pṛthivī; they are: Sarasvatī, Sindhu (Indus), Vipāś (later Vipāśā, Beas), and Śutudrī (later Śatadru, Sutlej).

Besides these there are other gods, who may be called 'minor divinities,' such as TVAṢṬṚ, the heavenly builder. He was the maker of divine implements, specially of Indra's thunderbolt. Tvaṣṭṛ was the teacher of the Ṛbhus.

The ṚBHUS are three gods: Ṛbhukṣan, Vāja, and Vibhvan. They are skilful artisans who have fashioned the chariot of the Aśvins. According to the

[1]For a discussion on Mūjavant, see I, p. 84. For identification of *soma*, see *Vedic Index*.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (3.30.4), the Ṛbhus, though admitted into the society of gods, are disliked because of their human odour.

PRAJĀPATI is an epithet bestowed on various deities like Savitṛ, Soma, Agni, Indra etc. In the RV, Prajāpati is mentioned only once as a supreme god above or among the Vedic deities. Later he becomes a divinity presiding over procreation and as protector of life.

FEMALE DIVINITIES do not play important role in the Vedic literature with the exception of Uṣas and Aditi. The river goddesses, mentioned above are of minor significance. So is VĀC (Word), ŚRĪ (beauty) and PURANDHI (plenitude, the spirit of fecundity). DHIṢAṆĀ used to be regarded as the goddess of vegetation, but has been rendered by Prof. Velankar as 'the goddess of inspiration.'[1] Other goddesses invoked with Sarasvatī are ILĀ and BHĀRATĪ (RV.II.3.8), SINĪVĀLĪ is at least once (RV.II.32.7) referred to as 'queen,' and the same hymn invokes INDRĀṆĪ, VARUṆĀNĪ, GUṆGU, RĀKĀ, and SARASVATĪ. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (6.4.21), prayer is offered to Sinīvālī for the boon of conception of a child.

ĀPRĪ GODS:[2] Ten hymns of the RV (I.31.1; I.142; I.188.2-3; III.4; V.5; VII.2; IX.5; and X.70) are addressed to the following gods: 1. Samiddha or Susamiddha, 2. Narāśaṁsaḥ or Tanūnapāt; 3. Īlaḥ; 4. Barhiḥ; 5. Devīr-dvāraḥ, 6. Uṣasā-naktā; 7. Daivyau; 8. Sarasvatīla-Bhāratayaḥ; 9. Tvaṣṭā; 10. Vanaspati; 11. Svāhākṛtayaḥ, all these being regarded by Sāyaṇa as different forms of Agni. The peculiarity of the Āprī hymns is that each one of them was current in the family of only one sage. Thus RV I.13 was current only in the family of Medhātithi, RV I.142 only in the family of Dīrghatamas, and so on.

Many 'evil spirits' are mentioned in the RV. They are YĀTU, DRUH, RIP, DUCCHUNĀ, VANDANA, YAKṢA, RAKṢAS, KIMĪDIN, AHI ATRA, and NIRṚTI, the last named being 'goddess of destruction.' The employers of these devils or spirits are known under various names, like Yātumat, Yātudhāna, Yātumāvat, Atrin, Rakṣas and Rakṣasvin. The following epithets applied to them reveal their background: *aśraddha* and *ayajña* (RV. VII.6.3) *adevayu* (RV VII. 93.5) and *śṛtapā* (VII. 18.16) meaning respectively that 'they had no faith in the Vedic gods,' 'did not offer any sacrifices to them,' but 'themselves enjoyed the food and drinks that should have been offered to the gods.' They also denied the existence of Indra and Varuṇa and are called *anindra* (VII.18.16) and Varuṇa-dhrut (VII.60.9) and because they worship foolish gods they are called *mūra-devaḥ* (RV.VII.104. 24). As these people are liars, and addicted to sensual pleasure, they are called *anṛta-deva* (VII. 104.14), *śiṣṇa-deva* (VII.21.5), *ābhoga* and *udadhi* (VII. 94.12). Many other epithets applied to them show that the Vedic poets abhored the evil spirits and their employers.[3]

[1]H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala III*, p. 79 fn. to 3.32.14.

[2]For the derivation of the word '*āprī*' see *HDK*, II, part ii, p. 1118 fn. For gods of the Āprī hymns see Anirvan, op. cit., II, pp. 438-90.

[3]For details see H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII*, Introduction, pp. xiv-xvii.

There were also individual demons like Vṛtra, Namuci, Sambara etc.

The APSARASES are water nymphs. They are either associated with or are the wives of GANDHARVAS. They are also dancers, and possess magical powers, which enable them to change their shapes at will. The most famous Apsaras was Urvaśī.[1]

SACRIFICE

Nature of Yajña

The main feature of Vedic religion was sacrifice or *yajña*. There are two ways of viewing sacrifice, literally and figuratively. Literally, sacrifice meant the rituals which were obligatory in order to obtain certain benefits, such as, prosperity, long life, health, abundance of cattle, male offsprings, etc. However, some scholars hold that a sacrifice is a consecration, a move from the profane to the sacred, which transforms the personality of the sacrificer.[2]

It is not for us to attempt to determine as to which of these two views is correct. Vedic *mantras* have been differently interpreted from ancient times, and Sāyaṇa has given more than one explanation for certain verses.[3] The Mīmāṁśā school, which interprets the Vedic sacrifices in the most materialistic manner, may have given an extreme view, but it happens that the Hindus by and large accepted the Mīmāṁsā point of view. A work like the present one, therefore, must accept the Mīmāṁsā view as correctly representing the Hindu attitude towards Vedic religion, particularly because we think that the Mīmāṁsā writers were basically correct. No esoteric explanation, for example, can explain away the greed of the priests, which is a charac-

[1]It is possible to compare the Vedic *devas*, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *apsarases* and the other spirits to the hierarchy of the angels. There are nine orders of angels in the Bible, namely, seraphim, cherubim, thrones, dominations, principalities, powers, virtues, archangels, and angels. The angels were not always benign, for we find in Mathew, XXV. 41: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels.' For wickedness of Vedic gods see A.B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of Veda and Upaniṣads*, II, p. 470.

It has been suggested that the Jews got the idea of angels after they came into contact with the Iranians. But since the discovery of Aśokan inscription in Aramaic, it is now possible to suggest that the Jews got the idea of angels from *deva*.

[2]L. Renou writes: 'While certain authors (Keith) maintains the view of the sacrifice as gift, the interpretation of Hubert and Mauss finds solid support in the Brahmanas themselves: that the sacrifice is a consecration, a movement from the profane to the sacred, which modifies not only the "victim" but the moral personality who pays for the ceremony, and even possibly the external objects. The victim effects the communication between the profane and the sacred, while the priest is both the agent of the sacrificer and the delegate of the gods.' L. Renou, op. cit., I, p. 345; English translation by P. Spratt, *Vedic India*, p. 94.

It is difficult to agree with this view but see above and Anirvan in *Cultural Heritage of India*, I, pp. 311-12, and *Veda Mīmāṁsā*, II, Calcutta, 1965. More important is Sri Aurobindo's *Hymns to the Mystic Fire*, but his views have been trenchantly criticized by MM. Kane, *HDK*, V, part ii, 985-90.

[3]For details se e *HDK*, V, part ii, pp. 984-85.

teristic feature of the Vedic hymns.[1]

The main features of the sacrificial system had been evolved when the Ṛgvedic hymns were being composed. The three fires needed in a Śrauta sacrifice as well as the *gārhapatya* fire are referred to in the RV. It has also been held that the sixteen priests required to perform a Soma sacrifice were well-known to the composers of the RV poets. They also knew various implements and complications of a sacrifice.[2]

It is also apparent that the elaborate Śrauta sacrifices did not originate all at once, but were the final designs or the end-products of a long period of evolution during which the priests steadily elaborated comparatively simple rituals into the extremely complex Śrauta sacrifices described in the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrauta-sūtras. Lack of space forbids us to describe any Śrauta sacrifice even briefly, and we must refer the reader to Prof. A.B. Keith's *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads* (II. pp. 314-57) for a brief account, and for a more adequate description to MM. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra* (II, part i, pp. 976-1255).

In this connection MM. Kane's remarks on the description of the two of the most famous Śrauta sacrifices, namely, the Aśvamedha and the Rājasūya, given in the *Mahābhārata*, are instructive: 'But there is hardly any detailed or graphic description of the special features of Aśvamedha, and one rather carries the impression that the author does not depict what he has seen but only what he has heard or read.' And again: 'In the *Sabhāparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (chap. 33-35) there is a description of the Rājasūya performed by Yudhiṣṭhira, but it is the vaguest sort and does not give any details.'[3] It is also remarkable that the last known Aśvamedha sacrifice was performed by Savāi Jay Singh of Amber (AD 1699-1744). He certainly did not let loose a horse and conquer the territories covered by it. Yet he performed the sacrifice.'

'Even in ancient times,' writes MM. Kane, 'this sacrifice must have been rare. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 5.4.12.3 and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 13.3.3.6 both state that the Aśvamedha was a sacrifice which was *utsanna* (gone out of vogue). The Atharvaveda (XI.7.7-8) also appears to regard the Rājasūya, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha, the *sattras* and several other sacrifices as *utsanna*. The origin of the rite is obscure. In it several popular, religious, and symbolical elements are inextricably blended, and some rites like the queen lying down near the dead horse must be regarded as unaccountable survivals from the hoary past. Various theories have been advanced to account for the origin, but there is, as is to be expected, no agreement among scholars.'[4]

Śrauta Sacrifices

The main Vedic sacrifices, which are described in the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrauta-sutras, are the Śrauta sacrifices.

[1]For details see *HDK*, II, part ii, pp. 837-39.
[2]For details see *HDK*, II, part ii, pp. 980-82.
[3]ibid, pp. 1222, 1238.
[4]ibid, p. 1237.

'[A] *yāga* (sacrifice) is constituted by *dravya* (materials) *devatā* (deity), and *tyāga* [renouncing] and *yāga* means abandonment of *dravya* intending it for a deity; *homa* means the offering of *dravya* in fire intending it for a deity.'[1] However, Kṛṣṇa Yajvan explains that the mystic word *vaṣaṭ* is uttered at the end of *homa*, which indicates that utterance of the other mystic word *svāhā* completed a *yajña*, and the use of these two words was a sort of distinction between *homa* and *yāga*.[2] This distinction is made clear by Medhātithi (on Manu 3.121) where he definitely states that a *homa* is ended by uttering *svāhā* and a *yāga* by uttering *vaṣaṭ*. However, the RV. II. 36.1 uses both *svāhā* and *vaṣaṭ*.

The Śrauta sacrifices include seven *havir-yajñas*, and seven *soma-saṁsthās*. The difference between a *havir-yajña* and a *soma-saṁsthā* is that the former does not employ *sāman* singers. The *havir-yajñas* are: 1. Agnyādheya also known as Agnyadhāna 2. Agnihotra; 3. Darśapūrṇamāsa; 4. Āgrayaṇa; 5. Cāturmāsya; 6. Nirūḍhapaśubandha; and 7. Sautrāmaṇi. The seven Soma sacrifices are: 1. Agniṣṭoma; 2. Atyāgniṣṭoma; 3. Ukthya; 4. Soḍaśin; 5. Vājapeya; 6. Atirātra; and 7. Aptoryāma.

Of the *havir-yajñas*, the last five are *iṣṭis*, which means a sacrifice in which four priests are employed, the Darśapūrṇamāsa being the model (*prakṛti*). Similarly, the Agniṣṭoma is the model of all the Soma sacrifices. The Soma sacrifices which are finished in one day are called *ekāha*, those that take more than one day are called *sattra*. The sacrifice which lasts exactly twelve days, or the *dvādaśāha* is both an *ahīna* and a *sattra*.

The Rājasūya is not a purely Soma sacrifice, but comprises of a number of *iṣṭis*, Soma sacrifices, and animal sacrifices. It is an extremely complicated ceremony, and lasts over two years.

The Aśvamedha, mentioned in RV. I. 162 and 163 is one of the oldest sacrifices. The prescribed gifts obligatory in this sacrifice give an idea of the profit the priests made out of this sacrifice, which the Sanskrit poets, mostly *brāhmaṇas*, extolled at every opportunity. MM. Kane writes: 'Apart from the gifts provided for many of the subordinate rites performed in the Aśvamedha, *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta-sūtra* (IX.10.15—IX.11.4), prescribes that on the first and last of the three soma pressing days he [the sacrificer] should donate a thousand cows and on the second day he should donate all the wealth that belongs to the non-brāhmaṇa residents in one district (*janapada*) out of his realm, or he should donate to the *hotṛ* the wealth in the eastern part of the country conquered by him, and the wealth in the southern, western, and northern parts respectively to the *brahmā*, *adhvaryu*, and *udgātṛ* [priests] and their assistants, or he should at least donate 48,000 cows to each of the four principal priests, 24,000, 12,000 and 6000 to each of the four groups of three

[1]ibid, p. 983.

[2]Kṛṣṇa Yajvan, *Mīmāṁsā-paribhāṣā*, text and translation by Swami Madhavananda, Ramakrishna Mission, pp. 36-37. Later Kṛṣṇa Yajvan distinguishes between a *yāga*, a *dāna* (gift) and a *homa*, the word *yāga* being expressed by the verb *yajati* (he sacrifices), *dana* by *dadāti* (he gives) and *homa* by *juhoti* (he offers).

assistants of the principal priests in order. *Āśvalāyana Śrauta-sūtra* X.10.10 also says that he should donate the wealth of non-brāhmaṇas in the four conquered quarters, except land and human beings. Kātyāyana (XX. 4.27-28) contains similar rules.'[1]

Did Samudragupta distribute gifts on this scale to the *brāhmaṇas*? Even if the great Gupta Emperor had been able to do so, what about the smaller kings who claim to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, like the Śālānkayana Devavarman? Even more astounding was the performance of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman, who claims to have performed eleven Aśvamedhas![2] Apparently, the scale of fees or *dakṣiṇā* were inserted in the Śrauta-sūtras by the greedy *brāhmaṇas* to serve as a bargaining measure. The provision enjoining the king to transfer the movable property of the non-*brāhmaṇas* to the *brāhmaṇas* reveals the sordid mentality of the Śrauta-sūtra writers.

Result of Vedic Sacrifice

Svarga-kāmo yajeta (one desirous of [going to] heaven should perform a sacrifice), is the most quoted Śruti sentence in the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā texts. It means that the only way to proceed to heaven after death is to perform a sacrifice while living, and if one fails to do so, one does not go to heaven. What happens to the unfortunate people who fails to perform a sacrifice is not discussed.

What is the effect of a sacrifice? How can a sacrifice be linked to a person's future after his death? To satisfy all doubts on this score was evolved the doctrine of *apūrva*, a word which means 'invisible, mysterious, and subtle but inevitable potency.' A person cannot go to heaven by his unaided effort. The performance of a sacrifice creates in him the *apūrva* potency which will help him in reaching heaven after death. The beauty of this doctrine was that it had the authority of the Veda, for it says, *svarga-kāmo yajeta*. As the sacrifice terminates, how can it bring about, a result effective much later? The answer is '*apūrva*.'

Simple sacrifices bring about a single *apūrva*, but elaborate ones bring about four *apūrvas*.[3] One may take the liberty of observing here that 'dead men tell no tales,' so none could verify the efficacy of *apūrva*. However, the officiating priests got their fees while very much alive.

There is no doubt that the elaboration of the sacrifices, and the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā doctrine of *apūrva* was the deliberate creation of the *brāhmaṇas*, who alone could officiate as priests, and fleece the society. It may be noted that the idea of going to heaven by the performance of sacrifices has been unequivocally condemned in the *Gītā* (2.42-44), though it proclaims faith in

[1] *HDK*, II, part ii, pp. 1236-237.

[2] I, p. 285.

[3] The doctrine of *apūrva* is based on PMS 2.1.5: *codanā punar-ārambhaḥ*, where *codanā* means *apūrva*, and the *sūtra* means: 'There is *apūrva* because action is enjoined.' For details see G. Jha, op. cit., pp. 226-34, and *HDK*, V, part ii, pp. 1210-212.

those sacrifices which promote general welfare (3.14-15). However, *Gītā* 9.20-21 shows that by performing sacrifices a man can go to heaven, though according to the *Gītā*, that is not a desirable object, since he has to be born again after his merit is exhausted.

It is, however, possible that in the early days the sacrifices had an esoteric significance. Commenting on RV. X. 71.5, Yāska (1.20) remarks: 'It speaks of the *meaning* as being the flower and the fruit of the Word. Exoterically, knowledge of the rituals and of the gods are respectively the flower and the fruit; but esoterically, the knowledge of the gods and of the self are the flower and the fruit of the Word.' Explaining this passage, Sri Aurvan writes: 'Nothing could express more clearly the double relation that the *mantras* bear on *jñāna* and *karma*.'[1] This is true, but later *jñāna* and *karma* become two distinct and exclusive branches of philosophy Evidently, by the time Buddha was born, the Vedic religion had become a soulless mechanical process, which was later tersely formulated by Jaimini (*c.* 400-200 BC), Śabara (*c.* AD 200-400), Kumārila, and Prabhākara (7th to 8th centuries AD) and others. They brought the system to near perfection, and it is difficult to upset their logical conclusions, much as many modern scholars have deplored them.

The Mīmāṁsā philosophy will be discussed later. It is enough to state here that the Mīmāṁsā authorities denied the existence of a Creator, or Protector. Jaimini, in PMS VIII. 1.32-34, establishes the superiority of the offering (*havis*) over the deity (*devatā*), because the form of the sacrifice is determined by the offering and not by the deity. Hence the action, that is the sacrifice, is related to the offering, while the deities are invoked mentally. This dogma generated the doctrine that, if a sacrifice were correctly performed, and the *mantras* correctly pronounced, recited, and sung, the deities were bound to appear. The *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā* of Śalikanātha, an authority later than Prabhākara, states that there is no proof that a *yāga* (sacrifice) is a means of pleasing the deity, and that to say that there is worship of a deity in a *yāga* is really metaphorical.[2] Hence, the *Padma-purāṇa* rightly denounces Jaimini, who started the process, as the author of a vast but useless *śāstra*, which expounds the view that there is no God (*nirīśvara-vāda*). The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas say that the Mīmāṁsakas will never have *bhakti* (devotion to god).

It may be argued that these objectionable developments were later perversions of noble and lofty ideals. That may be true, but we really know little about the early Vedic religion, except the hymns, which is not always a sure guide to the religious attitude of the time.

Priests

In order to realize the nature of the Śrauta sacrifices, it is necessary to

[1] *Cultural Heritage of India*, I, p. 313 fn. 1.
[2] Quoted in HDK, V, part ii, p. 1209.

understand the position of the priests.

The Vedic priests belonged to two categories:

1. Purohita, and 2. Ṛtvij.

1. The *purohita* was the spiritual adviser of the king in all religious matters. He was the protector as Viśvāmitra says in RVIII.53.12: 'The hymn of mine—Viśvāmitra who has propitiated the two worlds and Indra—protects these Bhārata people.' He also accompanied the king on a predatory expedition and RV III.33 records a dialogue between Viśvāmitra and the swollen Vipāś (Beas) and Śutudrī (Sutlej), which the king and his horde were able to cross with their loot thanks to the sage's prayer. He exclaims (III. 33.12-13): 'The war loving Bhāratas have crossed; the poet (i.e , Viśvāmitra) has enjoyed the favour of the rivers . . . . May your waves bear up the yoke-pins; spare the harness, O waters. Let not the two innocent bulls, who have done no wrong, go to nothing (i.e., die).'[1]

There was rivalry among priests for royal favour, as between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, the two most famous sages of ancient India.[2] Vaśiṣṭha is considered to be a semi-divine being born of Mitra-Varuṇa and the heavenly nymph, Urvaśī. Both the sages helped their patrons in winning battles. As the RV VII.33.3 says: '. . . . Thus indeed did Indra save Sudās in the Daśarājña war owing to your hymn, O Vasiṣṭhas.'

The difference between the two sages, was that while Vasiṣṭha believed in the efficacy of his prayers alone, Viśvāmitra sought the help of lower spirits and practised most probably Atharvan charms and spells. Ultimately, Viśvāmitra's view prevailed.

The *purohita* continued to be an exalted personage, and Kauṭilya 1.9.9-10, says: 'He (the king) should appoint a *purohita*, who is very exalted in family and character, thoroughly trained in Veda with its auxiliary sciences, in divine signs, in omens, and in the science of politics, and capable of counteracting divine and human calamities by means of Atharvan remedies. And he (the king) should follow him as a pupil (does) his teacher, a son his father (or) a servant his master.' Manu (7.78) also recommends the king to appoint a *purohita* and a *ṛtvij*, the former to perform Atharvan rites (Kulluka), and the latter to perform other Vedic sacrifices. It may be recalled here that one of the earliest acts of the Pāṇḍavas was to appoint Dhaumya as their *purohita*.

The 'family hymns' of the RV were composed by the *purohita* families. The RV II. 19.8 declares: 'Thus have we, Gṛtsamadas, the composers of hymns, fashioned out a hymn for you (Indra), as the persons seeking your help (i.e., sacrificers) perform the customary rites. May they (as the composer of the hymns) enjoy your fresh favours (in the form of) food, strength, and good

[1]The *Ṛgvidhāna* 2.2.4 prescribes this verse as a charm for the safe crossing of a fully laden bullock cart over a river in spate, while the *Śāṅkhāyana* (1.15.20) and the *Kauṣītaki* (77.15) *gṛhya-sūtras* prescribe it for the safe crossing of deep waters by a newly married girl on her journey to her husband's home.

[2]See H.D. Velankar's *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII*, Introduction, pp. xx-xxiv,

habitation.' That reward motivated the composition of hymns is also found in RV II. 35.1, and other hymns.

2. *Ṛtvij* is the regular term for 'sacrificial priests,' covering all the different kinds of priests employed at the sacrifice (PMS 3.7.32). Their number was usually seven, for 'seven priests' are frequently mentioned in the RV. Their earliest nomenclature is given in RV II. 1.2: *hotṛ*, *potṛ*, *neṣṭṛ*, *agnidh*, *praśāstṛ*, *adhvaryu* and *brahman*. This verse also includes the *gṛha*-pati, or the sacrificer as a priest, who was sometimes considered as the eighth *ṛtvij* as in RV II. 5.2. Prof. Velankar suggests that in RV II. 36.1-6 these priests have been identified with some deities, but that is unusual. RV III. 4.5-7, which is an *Āprī* hymn, apparently identifies *hotṛ* with Agni, but speaks of seven priests.

The function of priest is made clear in RV III. 1.1, which says: 'You have made me a priest for offering worship at a sacrifice, O Agni, (since) you wish me (to offer) the powerful draught of Soma.' He was also to kindle the fire, but must be well-versed in *ṛces* (RV III. 13.5). RV III. 2.1 compares a priest figuratively with a carpenter, and as we shall see later the comparison was apt. His position is indicated in RV III. 27.8 which says: 'The powerful priest, who is the fulfiller of a sacrifice is placed in the middle of sacrificial gifts, and is led forward (to his seat) at the sacrifice.'

PMS 3.7.22-51 deal with the number and function of the *ṛtvij*. It appears that division of labour was well understood, and resulted in the proliferation of the priests. Their duties, according to Śabara on PMS 3.7.22, were 1. *adhvaryu* to distribute; 2. *pratiprasthātṛ*, to offer the *manthin* (Soma juice); 3. *neṣṭṛ*, to bring the sacrificer's wife; 4. *unnetṛ* to fill the cup; 5. *prastotṛ*, to introduce the chant; 6. *udgātṛ*, to chant; 7. *prātihartṛ*, to sing the Pratihāra chant; 8. *subrahmaṇya*, to recite the Subrahmanyā chant; 9. *hotṛ* to recite the Prātaranuvāka chant; 10. *maitrāvaruṇa*, to give directions and recite the Puronuvākyā; 11. *acchāvāka*, to recite the Yājyā; 12. *gravastut*, to recite the Grāvastotrīya *mantra*.

The number of priests, according to PMS 3.7.37, at the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa is seventeen, including the sacrificer. The priests are: 1. *advharyu*, who performed all the YV rites, and under whom came: i. *pratipasthātṛ*, ii. *neṣṭṛ*, and iii. *unnetṛ*, 2. *brahman*, who supervised the performance of acts in all the Vedas, under whom came, i. *brāhmaṇācchaṁsin*, ii. *agnidh*, and iii, *potṛ*; 3. *udgātṛ*, who chanted the SV, and under whom were i. *prastotṛ*, ii. *pratihartṛ*, and iii. *subrahmaṇya*; and the last group led by 4. *hotṛ*, who invoked blessings by reciting RV hymns, and under whom came i. *maitrāvaruṇa*, *ii. acchāvāka*, and iii. *grāvastut*, in all a total of sixteen priests.

It is assumed throughout the Vedic texts that all the priests should be *brāhmaṇas*. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 26) lays down, that a *kṣatriya* should not eat the oblations offered at a sacrifice, which must be handed over to the *brāhmaṇa* priests, and states: 'The share of a sacrificer is the sacrifice,' that is, the merit accruing from the sacrifice belongs to him, but not the oblations etc.

The exclusive right of the *brāhmaṇas* to officiate as priests is made quite

clear in the concluding section of the PMS (12.4.43-47). Commenting on PMS 12.4.43, Śabara quotes Yājñavalkya 1.118 which says: 'The performance of sacrifices, study, and donation (is) for the *vaiśyas* and the *kṣatriyas*; the *brāhmaṇas* have, in addition to these, (the right and duty of) the acceptance of gifts, the performance of religious rites for others, and teaching.' Commenting on this verse, Vijñāneśvara quotes parallel passages from Gautama (10.5.3) and Manu (10.76).

In order to remove the apprehension, that since the priests perform the sacrifices, the merits should belong to them, the PMS (3.8.1 and 10.3.51) points out that, the sacrificer purchases the merit from the priests by paying them *daksiṇā* (fees) as they purchase service from servants. Therefore, the payment of fees to the priests is very important. The PMS (10.3.53-55) discusses the matter of division of fees among the various priests, and concludes that the division must be unequal and depend on the nature of their duties. Śabara, in his commentary on 10.3.54, states the *pūrva-pakṣa* (prima facie) view that in ordinary life it is seen that a person's salary (*bhṛti*) depends upon the nature of his duty, and the same rule should apply to the sacrificial priests. The conclusion arrived at in PMS 10.3.55 is that some priests should receive one-half, some one-third, and others one quarter; they are called *ardhinaḥ*, *tṛtīyinaḥ*, and *pādinaḥ*. The rest of this section of the PMS discusses further details regarding the priests' fees.

Manu (8. 206-209) lays certain rules regarding *dakṣiṇā* payable to a priest who has done part of his duty. He also recommends unequal distribution of fees among the priests (8.210). However, the interesting point is that, with this topic, Manu begins his section on *Sambhūya-samutthāna* (undertakings in partnership), and the distribution of fees to the sacrificial priests is used as a model for distribution of wages among masons by Manu.

Kauṭilya also treats the distribution of fees among priests in the section on 'Undertaking in partnership' (3.14). After discussing the distribution of fees among labourers and cultivators, he reverts to the priests and lays down (3.14. 28): 'Sacrificial priests (*yājakāḥ*) shall divide the fees as agreed upon or in equal shares, excepting objects received for each one's special duties.' Kauṭilya then lays down rules regarding the time for payment etc. and on certain miscellaneous matters (3.14.29-35) and adds: 'But if (either) the sacrificer or the priest leaves the sacrifice incomplete, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).' It may be recalled here that in RV III.2.1, the priest has been compared to a carpenter.

Evidently neither Manu nor Kauṭilya did think that the sacrificial priests significantly differed from ordinary labourers. However, Kauṭilya (5.3.2) has placed *ṛtvij*, *ācārya* (preceptor) and *purohita* at the same level with *mantrī* (minister), *senāpati* (commander-in-chief), *yuvarāja* (crown prince), the king's mother, and the queen, and fixed their salary at 48,000.[1] Evidently, the kings maintained salaried *ṛītvijes*, which is corroborated by the *Mahābhārata*

[1]Kauṭilya does not mention the coin, which was most probably a copper *paṇa*.

(5.132.17, cr. ed), which says: *dāsa karmakārān bhṛtyān ācāryaritvik-purohitān.* The basis of this grouping was that all of them received regular salaries, and were liable to leave the service if their salary (*vṛtti*) were stopped.

The provisions of Manu and Kauṭilya on the fees of the sacrificial priests mentioned earlier related to non-salaried priests, employed by ordinary persons. It is interesting to note the sage Vyāsa's remark in the *Mahābhārata* (14.91.9) regarding the sacrificial priests which seems to be applicable to the *brāhmaṇas* in general: *brāhmaṇāḥ hi dhanārthinaḥ* (the *brāhmaṇas* desire wealth).

Gṛhya Rites

The most important 'domestic' rite was to maintain a fire burning continually. This fire, known as the *gṛhya* fire,[1] could be kindled only after a man had married. A bachelor had no right to kindle the *gṛhya* fire.[2] Normally, the fire was maintained inside the house, but sometimes in a special cell outside the actual residence. Each household had one fire, and on division of property each shareholder kindled his own *gṛhya* fire.

Normally this fire was obtained from the house of a worthy man, or it was kindled by rubbling two pieces of wood. It was the sacred and obligatory duty of the householder, his son, wife, daughter, or pupil to keep it alive, but if by chance it went out it had to be rekindled. 'From it on going a journey the householder took leave and greeted it on his return, kissing his eldest son thereafter to the accompaniment of formulae, while daughters were kissed on the head, not the lips, in silence.[3]

The householder had to offer daily *homa* in the fire. In his absence, those who were responsible for maintaining the fire in his absence, as mentioned above, had to offer the *homa.*[4] Besides *homa*, the householder had to perform the *pāka-yajñas* and the *mahā-yajña.*

Pāka-yajña meant offering of cooked food. They are distinguished from the Śrauta sacrifices mentioned above, because there is no burnt offerings (*havis*) nor is *soma* offered. There were seven *pāka yajñas*, namely, *aṣṭakā, pārvanasthālipāka, śrāddha, śrāvaṇī, āgrahāyaṇī, caitrī,* and *āśvayujī.*

[1]The *gṛhya* fire was also known as *aupāsana, āvasathya, aupasada, vaivāhika, smārta,* or *śālāgni.* This fire must be distinguished from the three Śrauta fires, often called *tretā,* which were the *āhavanīya, gārhapatya,* and the *dakṣiṇāgni.* A man who had kindled the three Śrauta fires, was called *ahitāgni.* Another fire, called the *sabhya* fire, was maintained in the hall of rich men as use as a heater, as explained by Medhātithi on Manu 3.185.

[2]To this general rule, there is a very important exception. The *Mahābhārata* 13.153.11 (cr. ed) says that, when Yudhiṣṭhira set out for Kurukṣetra to be present at Bhīṣma's *nirāyaṇa* (impending death), he took with him Bhīṣma's sacred fire. Śabara refers to this irregularity on PMS 1.3.5, and Kumārila in *Tantravārtika* 1.3, pp. 127-35. Nīlakaṇṭha concludes that Bhīṣma was probably married.

[3]A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads,* II, p. 358.

[4]For details, see *HDK,* II, part i, pp. 683-84.

The *pañca-mahāyajñas* or the 'five great observances or sacrifices' are mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (11.6.1). The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (2.10) states: 'These five *mahā-yajñas* indeed are spread out continuously, namely, *deva-yajña*, *piṭr-yajña*, *bhūta-yajña*, *manuṣya-yajña*, and *brahma-yajña*. The *deva-yajña* is performed by offering something in a fire, even it be a mere fuel stick. When one offers *svadhā* (*śrāddha* repast)[1] to the fathers, even it be mere water, that becomes a *piṭr-yajña*. When a man offers a *bali* (a ball of food) to the beings, it becomes *bhūtā-yajña*. When he gives food to the *brāhmaṇas*, it is *manuṣya-yajña*. When one studies *svādhyāya*, even it be a single *ṛc* or a *yajus* formula, or a *sāman*, it is *brahma-yajña*.' The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (3.1.1-4), which practically repeats that above, adds that these *yajñas* must be performed daily.[2]

Other *gṛhya* rites or *saṁskāras* are really social events like marriages etc., and have been described above. Comparing the *gṛhya* and the *śrauta* sacrifices, Max Müller remarked: '.....though the latter (i.e., *śrauta*) may seem of greater importance to the Brāhmaṇas, to us the former (i.e., *gṛhya*) will be more deeply interesting, as disclosing that deep-rooted tendency in the heart of man to bring the chief events of human life in connection with a higher power, and to give to our joys and sufferings a deeper significance and a religious sanctification.'[3]

A pleasing feature of the Vedic sacrifices was the position assigned to woman. None could offer a sacrifice unless his wife was sitting by his side. In those days, a man could have several wives and of different castes. Later texts, quoted by MM. Kane, gives precedence to the *brāhmaṇa* wife and excludes the *śūdra* wife. However, the condition in early Vedic days may have been different, and in any case, in Aśvamedha ceremony all the four queens, including the *pālāgalī* (the queen of low origin), had to participate in the performance of the sacrifice. Even the discarded queen, called the *parivṛkti* had to perform certain rites in the Aśvamedha, and her presence was necessary.[4]

ESCHATALOGY

'Long before the period of the Ṛgveda, it is clear that the Indian had realized the difference between life and death, and had separated in his imagination the two elements of the man, his body and his spirit, but the distinction must have been vague in the extreme.'[5]

As we have seen, sacrifices were performed with a view to reach heaven

[1]Vedic *śrāddha* was quite different from the modern *śrāddha* ceremony; See above Ch. II.

[2]For details see *HDK*, II, part i, pp. 696-704, and part ii, pp. 749-56 for *nṛ-yajña* or *manuṣya-yajña*.

[3]F. Max Müller, *History of Ancient Indian Literature*, London, 1860, p. 205.

[4]*HDK*, II, part i, p. 559; part ii, p. 1230.

[5]A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, p. 403.

after death. RV X.107.2 affirms, that those who give (large) *daksiṇā* stand high in heaven (as stars), those that donate horses go in the company of sun, and those who donate gold become immortal. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (12.5.2.8) says: 'This sacrificer who is possessed of the utensils of *yajña* directly reaches heaven.' There are also such statements as, 'one who desires heaven should perform the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa sacrifice,' or, 'one desirous of attaining heaven should perform the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice,' etc.

The AV IV. 34.2 and 5-6 state that in heaven there are many women, edible plants and flowers of many varieties, streams of *ghī*, honey, wine (*surā*), milk, curds, and lotus pond all around. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 14.7.1.32-33 states that joys of heaven are hundred times greater than those on earth.[1] This view of heaven did not find favour with the Mīmāṁsā authorities. Commenting on PMS 6.1.1, Śabara (and later Kumārila) states that popular ideas about *svarga* (heaven) are invalid, that the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas being composed by men need not be considered, and that the Vedic descriptions are mere *arthavādas* or 'laudatory'. Śabara's idea of *svarga* is given in his comment on PMS 4.3.15, where he says, 'happiness is *svarga* and everyone seek that,' and in his support quotes an old verse:

yan=na duḥkhena sambhinnam
na ca grastam anantaram
abhilāṣ=opanītaṁ ca
tat sukhaṁ svaḥ-pad-āspadam

(That state of happiness is designated by the word *svar* [*svarga*] in which there is no mixing of pain, which is not immediately followed by pain, and which comes to one whenever one desires it).

Here the Mīmāṁsā shows a distinct advance over Vedic imagination, and it is possible to argue that it would be difficult to find a better definition of 'heaven' or rather 'heavenly bliss.'

Yama, according to scholars, is an Indo-Iranian god. In the *Avesta*, Yama is the king of distant paradise on earth, the lord of golden age, where no heat nor cold nor defects exist. It is, however, not possible to determine whether this idea came from Iran to India, or went out of India to Iran. In the RV, Yama is eulogized, called a king, and priests are asked to press *soma* for him. It is also stated that Yama drinks in the company of gods, and that he is the lord of men. In certain passages of the RV, however, Yama inspires fear because of his association with certain elements, such as two dogs with four eyes each, and an evil omen, the owl. On the whole, however, Yama of the Veda is a beneficent ruler of departed souls.[2] The story of Naciketas going to Yama to gain knowledge is as old as the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (3.11.8.1-6), and is found in a developed form in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*. It is the Purāṇas, written much later, which depict Yama, the king of death, as dreadful punisher of men.

[1]The RV contains many descriptions of heaven. For details see *HDK*, IV, pp. 156-57.
[2]For details and references see *HDK*, IV, p. 159.

Hell is the counterpart of heaven, but the conception of hell in the RV is obscure. The sages of the RV seem to have had some faint idea of a dark pit below the earth to which wicked persons were relegated by the gods. The idea of hell is, however, clear in the AV, which uses the word *naraka-loka* (the sphere of hell) in contrast to *svarga* (heaven) as the place for female goblins and sorceresses. Hell is also the place for murderers, and appears as dark, blind, or the lowest darkness.[1] There is, however, no mention of fires of hell or of tortures, which appear in later literature.

DECAY OF VEDIC RELIGION

The Vedic literature is the only source for our knowledge of Vedic religion. As we have seen, even as early as the Ṛgvedic age, elaborate sacrifices had evolved. Hence it is not possible to say what was the primitive or pre-sacrificial form of Vedic religion. It seems probable that it was some sort of worship of fire in one's house which persisted in the *gṛhya* rites.

One of the greatest discoveries of man was that he could control and use the hitherto destructive fire for his personal benefit. It was, however, difficult to produce fire, hence a small fire was kept burning day and night in the house. Still he looked on fire with awe, which gradually led to respect, and ultimately to veneration. There were other natural phenomenon like rain, thunder, the mother earth, water and winds which moved their imagination, and they composed hymns when the language was sufficiently advanced to produce the complicated Vedic Sanskrit. When, why, or how these hymns were harnessed for use in ritual sacrifices? We do not know. It is, however, almost certain that the hymns of the RV, though not always composed for use in sacrificial rituals, yet owe their preservation due to their use in rituals. There was also from the earliest days, belief in the mysterious unseen forces which could be invoked for good or evil. This tradition is found in the AV.[2]

In course of time the two traditions coalesced and the result was the predominance of the sacrificial rituals, found in the YV and Brāhmaṇas (all written in prose) which obliterated other religious feelings. This attitude is condemned in the later Upaniṣads.[3] Animal sacrifice must have been repugnant to people who were being influenced by Yoga the practice of which needs a vegetarian diet. Even the *brahmacārins*, or the celebate students, had to pass long years during impressionable age as strictly vegetarians.

Describing a person's entire life symbolically as a Soma sacrifice, the *Chāndogya* 3.17.4 represents *ahiṁsā* as a part of *dakṣiṇā*. *Ahiṁsā* (non-violence)

[1] A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, pp. 409-10, *HDK*, IV, pp. 154-55, and 161-64.

[2] 'On the whole the *Atharvaveda* is the bearer of old tradition not only in the line of popular charms, but also to some extent, albeit slight, its hieratic materials are likely to be the products of independent tradition that has eluded the collectors of other Vedas, the *Ṛgveda* not excepted,' M. Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda*, Strasbourg, 1899, p. 50.

[3] See *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, 1.1.5; 1.2.7.

is extolled many times in the *Mahābhārata* in the celebrated line: *ahiṁsā paramo dharmaḥ* (non-violence or non-injury to others is the supreme religion). Manu's view (3.68-70) in this regard is even more categorical, and he advocates the five *mahā-yajñas*, mentioned above, as expiation for the five sins which a householder commits daily by destroying life in his stove, grind-stone, broom, mortar and pestle, and pitcher. (As we shall see, these two verses were adopted by the Jainas). The *Gītā* (10.25) proclaims the superiority of *japa-yajña* (sacrifice by muttering prayers) over other types of *yajña*, and Manu, after stating (2.84), that all the Vedic sacrifices, that is their results, are liable to decay and only *praṇava* (the mysterious syllable '*OM*') is eternal adds (2.85-87): '*Japa-yajña* (meditation on *praṇava*) is ten times more fruitful than *vidhi-yajña* (like Darśa-pūrṇamāsa etc.); if it is *upāṁśu japa* [which is muttered almost inaudibly,] it is a hundred times more fruitful; and mental *japa* is a thousand times more fruitful. The four *pāka-yajñas* (Vaiśvadeva-*homa*, *bali-karma*, *nitya-śrāddha*, and feeding the guest) and *vidhi-yajñas* (Jyotiṣṭoma etc.) are not as efficacious as even one-sixteenth part of *japa-yajña*. There is no doubt that *brāhmaṇas* will attain their goal by means of *japa* only. Whether [a person] performs Vedic sacrifices or not, he may be called *brāhmaṇa* [if he performs *japa* and] is kindly disposed' that is, does not kill animals which was obligatory in some Vedic sacrifices, though his commentators say that these verses do not prohibit slaughter of animals in sacrifices.

Manu was the recognized authority in these matters. Therefore, it has to be concluded that, there was a reaction even among the orthodox group against Vedic sacrifices, particularly those that involved slaughter of animals.

Then came Jainism, which is probably much older than its historical evidence. Buddha's crusade against Vedic sacrifices was even more effective.

Another factor in the growing unpopularity of Vedic sacrifice was its cost. Only the very rich could perform it, but what about the poor ? Would the poor be for ever debarred from heaven, and the rich enjoy the good things of this world and unlimited bliss in the next? This question is posed in the *Mahābhārata* by Yudhiṣṭhira who asked Bhīṣma:

'Grandfather, you have told us the merits and qualities of a properly performed sacrifice. But grandfather, a poor man cannot perform a sacrifice, because it needs many implements and diverse objects. Only a king or a prince can perform a sacrifice, but not a poor man, nor one who cannot obtain help from others. So grandfather, please tell me what religious rites a poor man should perform to gain the merits of a sacrifice' (13.110. 1-4).

The great warrior's prescription for poor man's salvation was fasting and pilgrimage, none of which are recommended in the Veda. Actually Bhīṣma had once asked Pulastya to discuss the merits of pilgrimage, and in reply the sage began by stating that the poor people could not perform sacrifices because they needed many implements and paraphernalia (3.80.35). The *Matsyapurāṇa* (112.12-15), *Padma-purāṇa*, *Ādi-khaṇḍa* (11.14.17; 49.12.15) and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (2.273. 4-5) introduce their lists of *tīrthas* with the same

verse as *Mahābhārata* 3.80.35 and 13.110.2. Thus economic factor induced a section of the sages to recommend certain other ways of gaining salvation than the expensive Vedic sacrifices.

The cumulative effect of these factors was that the sacrifices ceased to be popular, and Vedic religion gradually lost ground. Later, even the orthodox section, who banished Buddhism from the land of its birth, and claimed to believe in the Veda, failed to resurrect the lost popularity of the sacrifices. Neo-Hinduism, which succeeded Buddhism, was entirely different from the Vedic religion based on sacrifices. Only the Upaniṣads retained their hold as works of revelation. All that remained of the Vedic rituals at a popular level were some *gṛhya* rites, or *saṁskāras*, on the occasions of births, deaths, marriages etc. These were really social events with a religious colour, and have been described above. The only obligatory rite that has continued from the Ṛgvedic times till now is the recitation of the *Gāyatrī* verse (RV III. 62.10; YV III. 35; SV II. 8.12).[1]

tat Savitur vareṇyaṁ
bhargo devasya dhīmahi
dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt

Here are some of the famous renderings of the *Gāyatrī* quoted by R.C. Dutt in his Bengali translation of the RV.

Sir William Jones: 'Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun, the god-head who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress towards his holy seat.'

H.T. Colebrooke : 'Let us meditate on the adorable light of the divine ruler Savitri; may it guide our intellects.'

[1]Before reciting the *Gāyatrī*, one must utter the *Vyāhṛti*, which consists of three distinct mystic syllables: *bhūr*, *bhuvas*, and *svar*. The RV does not mention the *Vyāhṛti*, but the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (5.32) states: '. . . . He (Prajāpati) brooded over these Vedas; from these (Vedas) when brooedd over three pure (sounds) were born; *bhūḥ* from the Ṛgveda was born, *bhuvaḥ* from the Yajurveda, *svar* from the Sāmaveda. He brooded over these pure ones; from them when brooded over the three sounds were born; the letter *a*, the letter *u*, and the letter *m*. Them he brought together; that made the (the word) *om*. Therefore with *om* does he say the Praṇava. *Om* is the world of heaven; *Om* is he that yonder gives heat.'

The *Aitareya Brahmana* states (8.7) in connection king's anointment: 'With *bhūḥ* (he concludes) if he desire of him "May he eat food"; with *bhūḥ*, *bhuvah*, if he desire thus of him with two descendants; with *bhūh*, *bhuvah*, *svar* if he desire thus of him with three descendants, or without rivals.' Translation by A.B. Keith, *HOS*, 1920, pp. 256 and 323-324. See also *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 2.3.4.3, and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 2.1.4.10. *Bhūr*, *bhuvas* and *svar* are mentioned as *Vyāhṛti* in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 1.3.2, *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 1.5.1, and Manu 2.76-82.

The *Gāyatrī* has to be repeated three times thrice daily. It may have some relation with RV III. 56.7 which says: 'Thrice a day does Savitṛ send (his gifts); the beautiful-handed kings, viz., Mitra and Varuṇa, even the waters, the vast Rodasī (Heaven and Earth) beg a lonely gift from Savitṛ, in order that he may direct it (to the worshipper).' Translation by H.D. Velankar.

H.H. Wilson: 'We meditate on that desirable light of the divine Savi tri who influences our pious rites.'

Langlois: 'Nous adorons la noble lumière du divin Savitri, qui lui-même provoque nos prières.'

Vedārha Yatna: 'We contemplate the excellent splendour of that brilliant Savita that he may inspire our devotions.'

To this group, we may add the translations by Raja Rammohan Roy and Swami Vivekananda.

Raja Rammohan Roy wrote a fairly long article entitled 'Prescript for Offering Supreme Worship by means of the Gayatri the Most Sacred Text of the Vedas.' After explaining the *vyāhṛti* and the verse on the basis of commentaries he adds at the end within parenthesis: 'The following is a literal translation of the Gayatri according to the English idiom: 'We meditate on that Supreme Spirit of the splendid sun who directs our understanding."

'The passage, however, may be rendered somewhat differently by transferring the demonstrative "that" from the words "Supreme Spirit" to the words "splendid sun." But this does not appear to correspond with the above interpretation of Yajnavalkya.'

The Raja then eulogizes the rendering by Sir William Jones and quotes the passage given above.[1]

Swami Vivekananda's rendering is: 'We meditate on the glory of that Being who has produced this universe; may He enlighten our minds.'[2]

The latest translator of the Maṇḍala III of the RV, the late Prof. H.D. Velankar's rendering is: 'Let us possess the covetable lustre of the divine Savitṛ, who may inspire our thoughts.[3]

[1]*The English Works of Raja Rammohan Roy*, with an English Translation of Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin, published by The Panini Office, Allahabad, 1906, p. 86.

[2]*Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Birth Centenary Edition, I, Calcutta, 1963, p. 191.

[3]Prof. Velankar's rendering is probably philologically correct, but it seems that Sir William Jones was able to bring out the real sense of the famous verse. Rammohan's article is still useful, for he has given the translation of texts not easily available. Swami Vivekananda avoids the word Savitṛ; his 'Being' probably means Brahman.

CHAPTER VII

PHILOSOPHY OF THE VEDA AND UPANIṢADS

SAṀHITĀS AND BRĀHMAṆAS

Philosophy of the Saṁhitās

PHILOSOPHY is human effort to comprehend the universal. The Vedas bring together the different impressions of Reality experienced by the earliest known sages of India, just as they record the general principles of religion and its evolutionary tendencies. Sages were many, so the record of their individual experiences are not only different, but appear contradictory to those who search in vain for a unified system of thought in a composite work.

A peculiar trait of the Vedic hymns, which Max Müller called Henotheism or Kathenotheism, was 'a belief in single gods, each in turn standing as the highest.' That is, when one addresses a hymn to Agni for some boon, Agni is lauded as the greatest god. Similarly, Varuṇa, Indra etc. are lauded in hymns addressed to them for some special favour. This peculiarity is undoubtedly true of some hymns, but as Macdonell has pointed out 'that Vedic deities are not represented "as independent of all the rest," since no religion brings its gods into more frequent and varied juxtaposition and combinations, and that even the mightiest gods of the Veda are made dependent on others. Thus Varuṇa and Sūrya are subordinate to Indra (I.101), Varuṇa and Aśvins submit to the power of Viṣṇu (I.156).... Even when a god is spoken of as unique or chief (*eka*), as is natural enough in laudations, such statements lose their temporarily monotheistic force, through the modifications or corrections supplied by the context or even by the same verse..... Henotheism is therefore an appearance rather than a reality, an appearance produced by the indefiniteness due to undeveloped anthropomorphism, by the lack of any Vedic god occupying the position of a Zeus as the constant head of the pantheon, by the natural tendency of the priest or singer in extolling a particular god to exaggerate his greatness and to ignore other gods, and by the growing belief in the unity of the gods each of whom might be regarded as a type of the divine.'[1]

After considering these two views, Prof. Dasgupta concludes: 'But whether we call it Henotheism or the mere temporary exaggeration of the powers of the deity in question, it is evident that this stage can neither be

[1]A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 17; Quoted by S.N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I, pp. 18-19.

properly called polytheistic nor monotheistic, but one which had a tendency towards them both, although it was not sufficiently developed to be identified with either of them. The tendency towards extreme exaggeration could be called a monotheistic bias in germ, whereas the correlation of different deities as independent of one another and yet existing side by side was a tendency towards polytheism.'[1]

The difficulty in tracing the development of Vedic religio-philosophic ideas is, that the chronological sequence of the hymns cannot be satisfactorily established. We have to assume, however, that the plurality of gods failed to evoke response from those who sought in supernatural forces not the agent for the fulfilment of mundane desires, but the resolution of all the powers, a Supreme Maker. To this yearning may be ascribed the conception of Prajāpati, the Supreme Lord of all beings, Viśvakarman the world maker, and Viśve-devas the All-gods. Even so the riddle of the creation is not solved, and the triad of first principle, primitive matter, and the first-born of creation is described mythologically in an interesting hymn to Brahmaṇaspati in which Dakṣa is called the father of Aditi and also her son (RV X.72.4). Keith calls this father-and-son relation 'an absurdity',[2] but Dante opens the last Canto of *Paradise* with an invocation to Virgin Mary: 'O virgin mother, daughter of thy own son',[3] which adequately explains the sublimity of the Vedic allegory.

Still, to the inquiring mind doubt lingered and is expressed in RV X. 121 :

In the beginning rose Hiranyagarbha,
Born as the only lord of all existence.
The earth he settled firm and heaven established;
What god shall we adore with our oblations?
Who gives us breath, who gives us strength, whose bidding
All creatures must obey, the bright gods even;
Whose shade is death, whose shadow life immortal:
What god shall we adore with our oblations?
Who by his might alone became the monarch
Of all that breathes, of all that wakes or slumbers,
Of all, both man and beast, the lord eternal;
What god shall we adore with our oblations ?
Whose might and majesty these snowy mountains,
The ocean and the distant stream exhibit:
Whose arms extended are these spreading regions:
What god shall we adore with our oblations?
Who made the heavens bright, the earth enduring,

[1]ibid, p. 19.

[2]A.B. Keith, *The Religion of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, II, p. 438.

[3]'Virgin madre figlia del tuo Figlio. . . .' *La Divina Comedia*, Canto XXXIII, quoted by G. Misch, *The Dawn of Philosophy*, London, 1950, p. 85. See also H.D. Velankar, *Proceedings of All India Oriental Conference*, XVII, 1953 and *HDK*, ii, p. 1488 fn.

Who fixed the firmament, the heaven of heavens;
Who measured out the airs extended spaces:
What god shall we adore with our oblations?[1]

Similarly, the sage asks: 'Who saw the first born'? (RV I. 164.4) and adds:

I, unknowing, ignorant here
Ask the wise sage for the sake of knowledge:
What was That One, in the form of the unborn
Who established these six worlds?

These questions, the RV seeks to answer.

The plurality of gods unless resolved will raise the problem, whether truth is various. Hence RV I. 164.46 says: *ekaṁ sad viprā bahūdhā vadanti*: 'Him who is the One existent, sages name variously.' This is not a solitary verse. RV VIII. 58.2 (a verse from a Vālakhilya hymn) says: 'The one fire is kindled in many places, the one Sun appears in the whole world, the one Dawn shines over all this world and the One (Principle, Spirit) became all this.' The Puruṣa-sūkta (RV X.90.2) declares: 'All this universe is (in reality) the Puruṣa alone, (both) what has been and what will come into existence in future.' RV II. 1.3-7 identifies Agni with Indra, Viṣṇu, Brahmaṇaspati Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Tvaṣṭṛ, Rudra, Pūṣan, Savitṛ, and Bhaga. This Universality, this identification of all gods, this denial of divinity to none, while accepting the existence of One wherein all merge was to remain the most characteristic trait of Hindu 'monotheism.' Ultimately, all plurality is only a play of words, or as the *Chandogya* (6.1.5) says: *vācārambhaṇaṁ vikāro namādheyaṁ*. Unity is the only reality, and the fundamental teaching of the Upaniṣads appear in germinal form in the RV. This conception of unity, and the reproduction of pluralities as the manifold aspects of that Unity distinguishes Hinduism from Semitic religions, which sternly proscribe other divinities except One. Thus the term 'monotheism,' which is semantically related to the three great Semitic religions, is not, strictly speaking, applicable to any trend of Hindu religious thought.

Thus it is the One Existence that is viewed as Many, and beyond the One there may be Zero (*asat*), or an interminable unknown, beyond positive and negative qualities, beyond computation. This is the central idea of the famous Nāsadīya hymn (RV X. 129), the translation of which has been given in the previous chapter. This hymn is sometimes also called 'The Song of Creation,' and has been described as 'the finest effort of the Vedic poets.' The earliest commentary on this hymn is found in a passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (10.5.3.1) which says that 'in the beginning this (universe) was as it were neither non-existent, nor existent; in the beginning this (universe) was as it were, existed and did not exist: there was then only that Mind. Wherefore it has been declared by the *Ṛṣi* (RV X. 129.1). "There was then neither the existent nor non-existent, for Mind was as it were, neither existent nor

[1]This famous refrain in Sanskrit is: *kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema*'. translation by Kaegi, *The Rigveda*, pp. 88-9.

non-existent. This Mind, when created, wished to become manifest, more defined, more substantial: it sought after a self (a body): it practised austerity; it acquired consistency.[1]

As A.B. Keith has pointed out, 'the hymn is clearly difficult to understand'.[2] It seems that the difficulty is, at least partly, due to attempts to correlate the words *sat* and *asat* of this hymn with the ideas associated with these two words in the Upaniṣads It is, however, clear, that the poet, after pondering over the difference between one incomprehensible from another incomprehensible—existence and non-existence—has suddenly realized in a vision that Ultimate Reality is neither, and it cannot be resolved into any category.

A pantheistic strain of thought is also found in some hymns of the RV, and most eloquently proclaimed in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* (X.90), a late hymn. Beginning in a very poetic manner, the hymn describes the Puruṣa, or the Cosmic Being, as possessed of 1000 heads, 1000 eyes, 1000 feet and extending ten digits beyond the universe. He pervades the terrestrial regions, and the regions above it. He is whatever is, and whatever will be. He is immortal. The whole of this universe is but a quarter of Him, three quarters are immortal. The Virāj springs from Puruṣa, and the Puruṣa again from Virāj.

The next part of the hymn describes the creation of the universe as a sacrifice at which were present the gods and the *ṛṣis*. From the juice of the burning of the offerings sprung the speckled *ghī*, and from it were derived the animals of the air, the domestic and the wild. All the Vedas, *ṛc*, *sāman*, and *yajus*, as well as *chandas* sprang from the sacrifice, as did the animals of various kinds, and men of four castes. Moon came from His mind, sun from His eyes, from His mouth came Indra and Agni, and from His *prāṇa* (vital breath) wind. From His navel arose the sky, from His head heaven, from his two feet the earth, and all the regions from his ears.

'The idea is crude,' remarks Keith, and adds, 'and rough, so badly suited to the connexion with its context, that it is difficult not to believe that we have here the adaptation to the needs of a pantheistic view of a primitive and rude legend of the primeval giant, whence the world was born, an idea found in a different form in Norse mythology.'[3] One may, however, be tempted to agree with Swami Sarvananda's remarks that, 'in these famous *mantras*, the Vedic sage clearly visualizes the immanency of the intelligent Principle, whose physical vesture is composed, of this material universe, but whose inner nature is transcendental.'[4]

The problem of Vedānta philosophy is the relation between Brahman or Universal soul and *ātman* or the individual soul. Here too, the speculation had begun as early as the RV. The comparison between Brahman and *ātman*

[1] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* translated by J. Eggeling, *SBE*, XLIII, pp. 374-75.

[2] Keith, op. cit., p. 436. For Keith's long explanation see ibid, pp. 436-37.

[3] ibid, p. 439.

[4] Swami Sarvananda, The Vedas and Their Religious Teachings in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, 2nd ed., I, p. 195.

represented allegorically as two birds sitting on the same tree, one of which eats the fruit, while the other looks on without eating, as given in the *Muṇḍaka* (3.1.1) and the *Śvetāśvatara* (4.6) is found in the RV (1.164.20). Similarly *Kaṭha* (2.2.2) (*haṁsaḥ śuciṣad*.....) is found, only with the last word changed, in RV 4.40.5, and exactly as it is in the Upaniṣad in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* 10.24, and 12.14, *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 3.2.10.1, and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.7.3.11. This verse, which describes pantheistic Brahman as immanent in all objects, is also found in the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* (5.198), a very late text.

The SV and the YV were compiled as sacrificial manuals for the use of the *udgātṛ* and the *adhvaryu* priests respectively. There is, therefore, no scope for the inclusion of any philosophical passage in these two texts, except where the RV verses are repeated. The AV, however, contains theosophical and cosmogonic speculations, which are obviously later than the speculations of the RV. The philosophical terminologies of some passages in the AV are of an advanced type, but often with a magical connotation. For example, AV. IV.19.6 employs the conception of *asat*, 'non-existence,' as a spell to destroy enemies, demons, magicians etc.

Similarly, the first half of the AV. IV. 16 describes the power of Varuṇa, the Almighty god, in such beautiful language that it has been said that 'as a piece of literary art it has hardly any equal in the whole of Vedic literature.' The second half of the hymn, however, is an exorcism formula against liars.

The AV (XIX, 53, 54) sets forth Kāla as the highest principle of the universe, and the waters and even Prajāpati are derived from it. As Keith remarks: 'In the Upaniṣads we have little more than this...'[1] The origin of the enumeration of *prāṇa* or 'senses' is also to be found in the AV (X.8.9).[2] *Prāṇa* and *kāma* (desire) as first causes are described in AV, XI. 4 and IX. 2 respectively.

Philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas

The Brāhmaṇas are intended mainly for use as ritualistic manuals. Sometimes the rites are explained with all sorts of absurdities, among which sublime metaphysical speculations lie scattered like jewels in dark mines.

Generally the Brāhmaṇas reflect the robust optimism of a virile society that, on the whole life on earth is a good thing. A person hoped to live as long as possible, and after death the sacrifice he had performed carried him to heaven, if he had paid fees to the sacrificial priests. A dread fate awaited the man who performed a sacrifice without paying fees: on him the Āptyas wipe off the sin which was communicated to them when Indra slew the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ Viśvarūpa (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 2.2.3.4).

As we have seen, sacrifices were treated like magic and performed mechanically. But another aspect of sacrifice is also discernible: this is *śraddhā* or

[1]Keith, op. cit., p. 560.
[2]ibid, p. 553.

faith. In the RV, *śraddhā* has been deified, and RV. 10.151.5 prays :

śraddhāṁ prātar=havāmahe
śraddhāṁ madhyandinaṁ pari
śraddhāṁ sūryasya nimruci
śraddhe sraddhāpayeha naḥ

which R.T.H. Griffith has translated as :

Faith in the early morning, Faith
at noonday will we invocate
Faith at the setting of the Sun
O Faith endow us with belief.

In the Brāhmaṇas faith becomes an abiding character of the sacrifice. The *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (7.4.) says: 'Now the imperishableness of what has once been offered is faith; he who sacrifices with faith, his sacrifice perishes not... He who knowing "In me there is imperishableness," sacrifices, his sacrifice perishes not.' As A.B. Keith has pointed out, 'faith is clearly allied to truth, and precision or truth is intimately associated with actual sight, as opposed to mere hearing: the principle of the Brāhmaṇas places sight as the highest source of truth. Faith in the sacrifice by gods and men is attained only by him who sacrifices with faith. Faith is, therefore, necessary in the sacrifice and also in the priest: if Vatasprī Bhālandana was at first denounced as a, thief by the seers, they were confuted by his winning faith through discovering the proper rite . . . The sacrificer must realize, if he is to prosper, the fixed truth of the rule that the gods receive the offering, and he the benediction accompanying it.

'The importance of faith is such that it renders the gods of no importance, for the man who has faith realizes that the sacrifice produces its merits without need of gods...'[1]

The Brāhmaṇas present a theory as to the fundamental nature of sacrifice, which may have been present in a germinal form in the RV, though not clearly expressed. The basis of this theory, which in a considerable measure is new creation, is the identification of sacrifice with Prajāpati, the creator *par excellence*. The work of creation is carried out with the sacrifices of various kinds.

'The sacrifice is not only Prajāpati, but, as he is the first to sacrifice, so he is the first victim to be offered. He gave himself to the gods, and when he did so he created a counterpart of himself in the form of the sacrifice, and thus he redeemed his life from gods. Yet again as the first to sacrifice, he is the first to win the reward of sacrifice and ascend to the sun. Prajāpati is not merely the creator of beings, but he reduces them to order from their confusion by entering them with form, Rūpa, and name, Nāman...

'In its aspect towards men the sacrifice is identical with the sacrificer, and it is identical also with gods and with Prajāpati. The sacrifice is essentially

[1]ibid, p. 462.

commensurate with men, and the conclusion is not doubtfully drawn that the sacrifice should be the sacrifice of the man himself: he owes debts, to his Fathers to produce a son, to the seers to recite the sacred texts, to men in the shape of hospitality, and to the gods he owes himself, just as Prajāpati offered up himself. The conclusion would, therefore, appear to be that the perfect form of sacrifice should be suicide, but such an idea is not mentioned in the text of the Brāhmaṇas, whether or not it existed then, as it in a sense certainly did in the Buddhist and Jain period. The idea, however, in its less developed form is expressed in various ways...

'The sacrifice itself is supposed to undergo a perpetual series of deaths, and of coming again to life: in the etymology of the Brāhmaṇas it is born through movement, hence it is *yañ-ja* which is as much as *yajña* (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.9.4.23). The sacrifice is the eater, for it lives on all creatures, but at the same time it is the universal principle of life...

'The aim of the sacrifice is the world of heaven: the sacrifice is the ship which bears the sacrificer to that world... Form another point of view the sacrificer mounts to the heaven...'[1]

Prajāpati and Brahman

The RV (X. 121) acclaims Prajāpati as the creator of the world. The AV (4.2) gives a version of this hymn but leaves out the name of the all-creator mentioned in RV.X.121.10, while the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (of AV) 1.1, explaining RV.X.121, replaces Prajāpati by Brahman and Atharvan. Actually, in the Brāhmaṇas efforts are made to arise to a principle above and beyond Prajāpati. The AV makes other attempts to substitute for Prajāpati new names and ideals and the Brāhmaṇas give various accounts of Prajāpati which need not be noticed here. It is evident, however, that these fanciful speculations led to the conception of Brahman as a creative source.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Brahman acquires a great significance as the supreme principle which is the moving force behind the gods. Thus the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says: 'Verily in the beginning this (universe) was the Brahman (neut.). It created the gods; and having created the gods, it made them ascend these worlds: Agni this (terrestrial) world, Vāyu the air, and Sūrya the sky . . . Then the Brahman itself went up to the sphere beyond, Having gone up to the sphere beyond, it considered, "How can I descend again into these worlds?" It then descended again by means of these two, Form and Name. Whatever has a name, that is name: and that again which has no name and which one knows by its form, this is (of a certain) form" that is form; as far as there are Form and Name so far, indeed, extends this (universe). These indeed are the two great forces of Brahman; and verily, he who knows these two great forces of Brahman becomes himself a great force.'[2]

[1]ibid, pp. 455, 459, 460, 461.

[2]Translated by J. Eggeling, *SBE*, XLIV, pp. 27-8.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also describes Brahman as the ultimate thing in the universe and identical with Prajāpati, Puruṣa, and Prāṇa (vital air). Brahman is also described as being the Svayambhū (self-born), performing austerities, who offered his own self, and thus compassed supremacy, sovereignty, and lordship over all creatures. As we have seen in the RV X. 90, Puruṣa, the supreme man, pervades the world with only a fourth part of Himself, whereas the remaining three parts transcend to regions beyond. He is at once the present, the past, and the future.[1]

The AV (X.8.44) recognizes Ātman as the world-soul, probably for the first time. The final step in the identification is, however, partially taken in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (2.8.9.3-7), where the Brahman and the omnipresent Ātman are identified, and the 'self' of man seemingly is stated to be the mode of finding the Ātman, while the knowledge of it frees him from contamination by works. The same idea occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 10.6.3. As Keith has pointed out, 'both these passages, however, are clearly transitional to the period of the Upaniṣads, and mark the end of the reflection of the Brāhmaṇas before the new views were definitely accepted.'[2]

The fundamental problem of the Upaniṣads, as we shall see later, is the relation between the macrocosm and the microcosm. In the *Puruṣa-sūkta* (RV.X.90), the cosmic Puruṣa is closely allied to the individual man, but the term *ātman* is not used. The reference to the cosmic Ātman is made in a passage in the *Taittirīya Brāhamaṇa* (3.10.8), where it is said that, the various gods, the plants, and trees are in various parts of man: Indra in his strength, Parjanya in his head, the lord, that is Rudra-Śiva, in his anger, the Ātman in his *ātman*, the Ātman in his heart, the heart in him, he in the immortal, the immortal in the Brahman. Deussen suggested that this passage refers to the identity of the self of man and the universe, an assertion of the fundamental view of the Upaniṣads expressed in a different form. Keith however, while agreeing that the passage has the sense that 'the body of the world is in the body of man,' adds, 'but it is probably merely a vague identification of self with self, without any profound meaning being either felt, or though felt, hidden.' It does not appear that Keith's circumlocutory criticism of Deussen's view is very logical, though he is probably justified in pointing out that 'more important is the recognition of Ātman in the Atharvaveda (X.8.44) as the conclusion of the second Skambha hymn.'[3]

The conception of the identity of macrocosm with microcosm is more directly expressed in RV.X.121.1, and the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (3.11.1, and 10. 1.19). The *Vajasaneyī Saṁhitā* (XXXII. 11 to XXXIV. 1-6) asserts that he enters with the self into the self. The identification of *ātman* and Brahman is also stressed in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (3.12.9) and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (10.6.3).

The importance of *prāṇa* or vital breath is recognized in the *Śatapatha*

[1]ibid, *SBE*, XLIII, pp. 59-60 and 400; and XLIV, p. 409.
[2]Keith, op. cit., p. 450.
[3]ibid, pp. 441 and 452.

Brāhmaṇa (3.8.3.15), which expressly states that the victim is the breath, since only while it breathes is it a heart at all, and, when the breath departs, it is an inert mass. The number of airs is variously given as 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13 and so on, but the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (6.4.2.5; 9.2.2.5; 10.1.3.4) often mentions 9:7 in the head and 2 below. The vital airs, repeatedly called the gods or *devas* are produced from the ascending airs of Prajāpati with which he created the gods. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (10.3.3.6) also postulates the relationship of the breath as the principle of life in man and the cosmic Prāṇa. The AV (XI.4) takes Prāṇa as an expression of the universal like Brahman, and it sees in the Ātman the same essence as the meaning of the universe.[1]

The Brāhmaṇas make a distinction between *pratyakṣa* (what is perceived) and *parokṣa* (what is beyond perception) 'and as the gods prefer the latter, so men recognize that mere appearances are not the essence of reality. Hence, Keith adds, 'the foundation is laid for the doctrine of forms (*rūpa*) which lie at the basis of interminable and seemingly absurd identifications of the texts. Philosophically the view has a real importance, for it points to the development of the pantheistic doctrine which asserts the unity of the self and the universe: the individual is no more than an aspect of the universal. What is obvious is not what is ultimately true .....'[2] That being so, this idea may be regarded as the beginning of the idealistic philosophy, unless it is objected that we are imputing to the authors of the Brāhmaṇas the views of later philosophers like Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara. The justification for such objection would be that 'being' does not denote in the Brāhmaṇas the whole of existence as a unity, but the term is essentially used to denote whence the world emerged, and the Vedic thinker proceeds to ask whence the 'being' itself came. The answer, as we have seen, is 'non-being,' or something beyond both 'being' and 'non-being.' The *Śāṇḍilya-vidyā* (doctrine of Śāṇḍilya) described in the *Chāndogya* (3.14) occurs also in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (10.6.3). It begins as follows: 'Verily this whole world is Brahman. Let one meditate on it with tranquility as that from which he came forth, as that into which he will be dissolved, as that in which he breathes.'[3]

Vedic Cosmogony

The RV contains at least six hymns about the creation of the world (X.72, 81, 82, 90, 121, and 129). Describing the birth of the eight Ādityas, RV. X. 72.2 says: 'Brahmaṇaspati brought about the (births of) gods like a smith (that works with bellows), and that in the primeval ages of the gods, *sat* was produced from *asat*.' As stated above, RV. X.72.4-5 and 8 relate that Dakṣa, was born from Aditi, and Aditi from Dakṣa, and that from her eight sons were born. RV.X.81 and 82 refer to Viśvakarman who fashioned the worlds, and X.81.2 and 4 ask:' 'What was the base (from which he created the

[1]The word *ātman* is derived from the root *an* meaning 'to breathe' or from *at* 'to move'.

[2]Keith, op. cit., p. 482.

[3]In an introductory passage on *Chāndogya* 3.14, Śaṅkara says: 'Here begins the description of the meditation of Brahman with attributes.'

world), what was the forest and the tree from which heaven and earth were chiselled out?'

We have already noticed the famous *Puruṣa-sūkta* (RV.X.90) which postulates a supreme creator as a Puruṣa, called Ādipuruṣa by Sāyaṇa. From this Ādipuruṣa arose Virāj, from whom arose, what may be called, the second Puruṣa. The gods offered this 'second' Puruṣa in a symbolical sacrifice in which the three seasons, *vasanta* (spring), *grīṣma* (summer) and *śarad* (autumn) were respectively the *ghi*, the fuel, and the *havis*. 'This hymn,' as MM. Kane suggests, 'was probably composed at a time when it appears, there was firm belief (as in Sat. Br. V.2.4.7; VI. 1.1.3; and Tai. S.VII.4.2.1) that nothing great can be accomplished without *yajña* or *tapas*.'[1]

RV.X.121.,[2] referred to above, which identifies the primeval Hiraṇyagarbha (the Golden Egg) with Prajāpati, declares that Hiraṇyagarbha produced water, which apparently was the first element. On the other hand Vāc (speech) declares in RV.X. 125, that she is the Creative of the world, and sustains it. As MM. Kane states : 'Here one must hold that the sage is not referring to ordinary speech or language, but to the conception that word has creative power and that it is one with God or was the thought uttered by *brahman*.'[3]

These hymns, and the Nāsadīya-sūkta (RV.X.129) are generally known as the 'creation hymns' of the RV. They evidently refer to a stage when there was no generally accepted theory about the origin of the world. 'But this much is clear that in the most ancient times, at least some of the Vedic sages had arrived at the theory that there was only one Principle or Spirit, though called by various names, and that it willed to create the world and created it from itself.[4]

The AV also has some creation hymns, but as MM. Kane points out, they are verbose, repetitive, and do not possess the depth, philosophy, and terse style of the Ṛgvedic hymns. AV. X.7 and 8 describe Skambha as the base and as identified with Prajāpati, as the creator and supporter of all worlds and as having all the 33 gods in himself.[5] The AV.IX.2.1-18 offers prayers to Kāma for vanquishing the enemy, while each of the last six verses (19-24) ends with the refrain: *tasmai te kāma nama it kṛṇomi* (to thee O Kāma! do I pay homage) These six verses declare that Kāma appeared first, that neither the gods, nor the *pitṛs*, nor men reached Kāma, who is greater than heaven and earth, waters, Agni, the directions, all beings that blink their eyes, and the sea;

[1] *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1489.

[2] As stated above, in AV. XIX. 6 there are 16 verses of which the first 15 correspond with the first 15 verses of the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, but the order of the verses is different and some of the words are slightly changed. The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* 31 has all the 16 verses of the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, but it contains 5 extra verses and a prose passage at the end.

[3] *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1490.

[4] ibid, p. 1492. The RV also contains many references to the creation or the support of heaven and earth by several gods, and also creation of other things. For details, see ibid, pp. 1492-493.

[5] ibid, p. 1493. For an explanation of Skambha, see ibid, pp. 1493-494.

Vāta, Agni, the Sun and the Moon do not reach Kāma. Again, in AV, XIX. 52, five verses are addressed to Kāma, who is said to have appeared in the beginning and was the first flow of the mind.[1] However, AV.XI.4 extols Prāṇa as the supreme lord, while AV. XIX, 53 and 54 appear to put forward Kāla (time) as the first principle: '*Tapas* is placed in Kāla, also the Jyeṣṭha Brahma; Kāla is the lord of all. He was the father of Prajāpati; Kāla created people; in the beginning Kāla created Prajāpati, Svayambhū (*Brahmā*), Kaśyapa, and *tapas* sprang from Kāla; from Kāla were born waters, *brahma*, *tapas*, and directions, sunrise is due to Kāla, and it is merged in Kāla (at night).'

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the theory of creation is more detailed, and the Hiraṇyagarbha myth, which is found in the RV (X.121.1 and X.129.3) is gradually developed, though there are several versions. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.1.1, starts by saying that 'in the beginning there was here the non-existent,' and asserts that the non-existent were the sages, the vital airs, and then it postulates Prajāpati (made from seven vital airs) who desired: "May I be more, may I have progeny." He toiled and practised *tapas*, and being tired, he created first all the *Brahman*, the triple lore (the three Vedas); that Prajāpati then created waters from Vak that is the world; that he (Prajāpati) entered the waters with the triple lore and that thence an egg arose; he touched it, then earth was produced' and so on.

In 11.1.6, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states: 'In the beginning this was water, only a sea. The waters desired, "How shall we have progeny?" They toiled and practised austerities; while they were doing this a golden egg was produced, which floated for about a year; in about a year's time, a Puruṣa, Prajāpati, was born; he broke open the egg; he created the gods by (the breath of) his mouth; he created Agni, Indra Soma. . . . .'

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (11.2.3.1-2) also says: 'In the beginning this (universe) was *brahma*, it created gods, Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya.' Then a reference is made to name and form (*nāma rūpa*) by which he descends into the world, and it is said, 'these two (*nāma and rūpa*) are the great manifestations) of *brahma*.'

The Hiraṇyagarbha myth is fully developed in the *Chāndogya* (3.19.1-3) where it is stated: 'In the beginning this universe was *asat* (unmanifest), it became *sat* (manifest as name and form). It was born (i.e. it took form). Then an egg was evolved. It lay (in waters) for the period of one year. It split asunder. One of the two egg shell-parts became silver, one gold. The silver is this earth, and the golden half is heaven; what was the outer membrane is the mountains. What was the inner membrane is the cloud or mists.

[1]The *Nāsadīya-sūkta* also says: *kāmas=tad agre samavartatādhi manaso retaḥ prathamaṁ yad=āsīt* (desire came into being; that was the first flow [or seed or offspring] of the mind) which is practically the same as AV. XIX. 52.1.

It may be pointed out here that while commenting on *Gītā* 3.42, *yo buddheḥ paratas=tu saḥ*, Rāmānuja says: '. . . . *buddheḥ api yaḥ paraḥ sa kāma* (desire is that which is beyond intellect). It is extremely difficult to say what Rāmānuja meant. Was he following the Vedic tradition?

What were the veins are the rivers. What was the fluid within it is the ocean. Now, what was born (therefrom) is yonder sun. . . .'

A different account of creation is found in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (2.2.3) which states: 'This universe was nothing at all in the beginning. There was no heaven nor earth nor mid region. That *asat* (unmanifest) created mind with the thought "let Me be." The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* again says (2.6.2.3): 'Prajāpati created by the help of Veda the two forms *sat* and *asat*.'[1] It is very difficult to understand what *asat* means here, but it cannot mean 'non-existence,' which cannot be 'created.' Hence *sat* and *asat* has to be taken to mean 'manifest' and 'unmanifest,' though an 'unmanifest creation' also raises difficulty.

Ethics

The Vedic people did not spurn enjoyment of life, but they did not take themselves lightly. A man was born with various obligations or debts (*ṛṇa*) as these were called. He had a debt to pay to the gods, to the *ṛṣis* (sages), and to manes, which were discharged respectively by performing sacrifices, studying the Veda, and by begetting offsprings. There was also a debt towards fellow human beings, which a man discharged by being hospitable to his guests.[2]

The RV is full of fervent and sincere expressions of the sense of sin, and the sages prayed to the gods, particularly to Varuṇa and Āditya for forgiveness and to be freed from the consequences of sin. The idea of sin in the RV is centred round the conception of *ṛta*, which had a threefold aspect: 1. 'the course of nature,' or 'the regular and general order in the cosmos;' 2. with reference to sacrifice it meant 'the correct and ordered way of the cult of the gods;' and 3. 'the moral conduct of man.' For example, in RV. IV. 23. 8-10, the word *ṛta* is used twelve times, and the three verses breathe the all-pervading influence of *ṛta* throughout the universe: 'Plentiful waters (or riches or gifts) belong to *ṛta*; the thought (or laudation) of *ṛta* destroys crooked acts (sins), the brilliant and rousing hymn of praise to *ṛta* pierces the benumbed ears of man. The props of *ṛta* are firm, its (physical) manifestations are many and lovely for the sake of the body (i.e. a man). Through *ṛta* they (people) desire food. The cows (sun's rays) entered *ṛta* by *ṛta*. He who wins over *ṛta* acquires it. For the sake of *ṛta* (heaven) and earth are wide and deep; the two highest cows (i.e. heaven and earth) yield milk (desires or rewards) for the sake of *ṛta*.'

Most of the principal Vedic gods are described as guardians, promoters, or charioteers of *ṛta*. They are Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, and Agni. The conception of *ṛta* as moral imperative occurs in several passages of the RV. RV. I.90.6 says: 'the wind carry sweets, the rivers carry sweets to him who keeps *ṛta*

[1]These passages from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Taittirīya* are translated by MM. Kane, *HDK*, V, ii, pp. 1495-496; We have altered the translation of the *Taittīriya Brāhmaṇa*.

See above P. 212.

(*madhu vātā ṛtāyate madhu kṣaranti sindhavaḥ*). RV.X.87.11 says: 'O Agni! may the evil spirit who injures *ṛta* by *anṛta* be thrice bound in thy fetters.' Yama, in rejecting his sister Yamī's advances, says: 'What indeed we never did before (shall we do it now?); shall we, who have spoken *ṛta* (so far) now speak *anṛta*? (*ṛtā vadanto anṛtaṁ rapema*)'; (RV.X.10.4).

In a few instances (RV.I.75.5; X.66.4), *ṛta* seems to be almost personified and invoked as a divinity. *Ṛta* and *satya* are distinguished in several passages of the RV. For example, RV.V.51.2. speaks of the Viśve Devas (All Gods) as *ṛta-dhītayaḥ* (whose thoughts are fixed on *ṛta*), *satya-dharmāṇaḥ* (whose characteristic is truth, or whose *dharmas* are true). The words *ṛta* and *satya* both occur in RV. lX.113.4, and appear to mean almost the same thing, while in RV.X.190.1, the two phrases are distinguished though both are said to have sprung from *tapas*. '*Ṛta*', as MM. Kane points out, 'involves a wider conception and *satya* had originally a restricted meaning (viz. truth or static order). The word *anṛta*, however, is the opposite of both *ṛta* and *satya* as may be seen from RV.X.10.4, RV.VII. 49.3 (Varuṇa who marks the *satya* and *anṛta* of people), RV.X. 124.5 (Varuṇa who separates *anṛta* by means of *ṛta*). Gradually, however the word *ṛta* receded into the background, and *satya* took its place even in Vedic literature, though here and there (as in Tai. Up. II. 1 and I. 9.1) both *ṛta* and *satya* are found in juxtaposition.[1]

Truth, or *satya*, became a fixed principle of life, and one may say, sanctified by spiritual experience. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 2.3.6 says: 'The flower and fruit of speech is what is true (*tad etat puspaṁ phalaṁ vāco yat satyaṁ*). He can become famous and of splendid renown, for he speaks the truth, the flower and fruit of speech. The untrue is the root of speech, and as a tree with roots exposed dries up, and perishes, so a man who speaks untruth exposes his roots, dries up, and perishes. Therefore let a man speak not untruth (*tasmat anṛtaṁ na vadet*), but guard himself against it.'[2]

It has been stated above, that the sages were acutely conscious of sin and pray to the gods for forgiveness. Thus RV.VII.86.3-7 says: 'I ask about that guilt among the seers, O Varuṇa; . . . . Even the sages (whom I consult) say the same thing to me: "This Varuṇa is surely angry with you." What great crime was that, O Varuna, that you desire to kill your friendly worshipper? Declare it to me . . . . Forgive us the sins of our ancestors; forgive those that we have committed in person . . . . Being free from guilt, may I render service like a *dāsa* . . . .' RV. VII. 89.5 declares: 'Even when, we, as men, commit any offence against celestial beings just here, and when we have broken your laws (*dharma*) through ignorance, O Varuṇa, do not harm us for that fault O god.' Almost the same verse is found in AV. VI.51.3. The RV contains may other verses of this nature, and in RV. II. 29.1, a guileless sage prays, throwing light on contemporary morals: 'O impetuous. Ādityas, O upholders of your laws, push away my crime from me, as (a girl) who is

[1]*HDK*, IV, pp. 4-5. The translation of the Vedic passages are from ibid, pp. 2-4.

[2]*The Aitareya Āraṇyaka* edited and translated by A.B. Keith, reprint, Oxford, 1969, p. 221.

secretly delivered does hers.'[1]

What is the origin of sin? In other words, is man responsible for his misdeeds? RV.VII.86.6 says: 'It was not my own power (which made me commit the offence): it was seduction anger, wine, (or) ignorance, O Varuṇa (Besides) the Elder one (i.e. Varuṇa himself) is involved in the guilt of the younger one (i.e. the poet). Even sleep does not separate (us) from evil.'[2] The *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (3.8) deals with a person's ethical irresponsibility, his very self being identical with Brahman and declares: 'This one (the Lord of all), indeed, causes him, whom he wishes to lead up from these worlds, to perform good action. This one, also, indeed, causes him, whom he wishes to lead downward, to perform bad action.' The idea that some persons are chosen by the Lord for being saved, while some are selected for being damned is the origin of the idea found in the *Kaṭha* 1.2.23, and the *Muṇḍaka* 3.2.3 which say:

He is to be attained only by the one whom He chooses;
To such a one that Soul (Ātman) reveals His own person (*tanūṁ svām*)[3]

UPANIṢADS

Origin of the Upaniṣads

The ideas of the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas permeate the Āraṇyakas, which treat the Vedic sacrifices from an esoteric point of view. The Āraṇyakas, however, never formed the basis of any school of Indian philosophy, hence their contents are not discussed here. It is sufficient to say that, 'the Brāhmaṇas shade off imperceptibly into the Āraṇyakas, and the Āraṇyakas shade off imperceptibly into the Upaniṣads without any violent change of any kind.'[4] This point, however, has been disputed among scholars since Deussen and Sir R.G. Bhandarkar formulated the theory that, while the *brāhmaṇas* were still exclusively occupied with sacrifices, the *kṣatriyas* developed a new philosophy, which was called *Upaniṣad*, because of the secrecy surrounding their teaching. This theory is based on certain passages of the Upaniṣads in which *kṣatriya* kings are found to instruct the *brāhmaṇas*.

The *Chāndogya* (5.11) relates the story of five learned *brāhmaṇa* house-

[1]Translation of the passages of RV. VII and II are by H.D. Velankar. For references to other Ṛgvedic passages of a similar nature, see *HDK*, IV, pp. 5-8.

[2]'The poet expresses his utter helplessness during sleep, when he cannot exercise his will and so deserves to be forgiven,' H.D. Velankar. In RV. II. 28.10, the sages pray: 'Protect us O Varuṇa, from whatever companion or friend who speaks out frightful things to me, a timid one, in my dream, or from a robber or wolf who seeks to injure us O King.'

[3]Translation by R.E. Hume, '*The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, fourth impression, London, 1958. MM. Kane points out (*HDK*, IV, p. 9, fn. 18) that the *Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad*, which Hume refers to as the *Kauṣitaki Upaniṣad*, 2.8 'is the basis of Br. S. II. 1.34 and II. 3.41.' For Vedic idea of hell and heaven see *HDK*, IV, chapter VII section on Eschatalogy and pp. 154-60.

[4]Keith, op. cit., p. 492.

holders who approached the sage Uddālaka Āruṇi, also a *brâhmaṇa*, to learn the nature of Vaiśvānara Ātman. Uddālaka doubted his ability to explain fully the nature of Ātman, so he took them to king Aśvapati son of Kekaya, who instructed them after demonstrating their ignorance. Again, *Chāndogya* (1.8 and 9) relates that king Pravāhaṇa, the son of Jīvala, explained to two *brāhmaṇas* the secret of Udgītha. The same Pravāhaṇa instructed Śvetaketu, the grandson of Aruṇa, and his father the doctrine of transmigration (*Chāndogya*, 5.3-10). Later in the *Chāndogya* (7) the *brāhmaṇa* Nārada is instructed by Sanatkumāra, 'later the god of war,' who tells Nārada that all his Vedic lore is a mere name (7.7.4). The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2.1) and the *Kauṣītaki* (4) narrate that a *brāhmana* scholar, named Bālāki the Proud, offered to teach king Ajātaśatru the nature of Brahman. The proud *brāhmaṇa* propounded twelve views (according to the *Kauṣītaki* eleven) which were all defective, and the king then explained the nature of Ātman to him, after stating that, it was a reversal of the rule for a *brāhmaṇa* to be instructed by a *kṣatriya* (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 2.1.15).

All these passages have been considered by Keith, Dasgupta, and Kane, and they have convincingly demonstrated the fallacy of formulating the theory of *kṣatriya* origin of the Upaniṣads on the slender basis of these passages.[1]

The most important doctrine of the Upaniṣads are the nature and relation of the individual soul and the Universal Soul, and the transmigration of the human soul depending on its deeds and conduct. As MM. Kane has said: 'Conceding for argument that a few rulers like Aśvapati were the first to propound an explanation of the transmigration of pious sacrificers and the like, it is a far cry from that to assume as Deussen does (*Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 20) that the doctrine of the Ātman as the first Principle of the universe was fostered and progressively developed by the *kṣatriyas* in opposition to the principles of the brahmanical ritual, and this assumption is contrary to what he himself states elsewhere in his own work (pp. 410, 281, 348).'[2]

Deussen also overlooked the point that the *kṣatriyas* being *dvija* were entitled to study the Veda and acquire *Brahma-vidyā*. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that some *kṣatriyas* of a contemplative nature had realized certain truths, which the seekers of knowledge were glad to learn from them. Even a

[1]Paul Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, translated by A.S. Geden, 1906, pp. 10-20. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Sects*, p. 9. Garbe, *Hindu Monism*. M.A. Mehendale in *HCIP*, I, pp. 468-69 states: 'We can easily guess how the intelligent Kshatriyas with their restless mentality had grown jealous of the Brāhmaṇas and attempted to gain a tactical superiority over them by assigning a deeper significance and meaning to the very sacrificial rites which were elaborately developed by them as the principal element in their religion.' This medley of guess work overlooks: 1. the sacrifices were performed usually for the benefit of the *ksatriya* kings. 2. a restless mind is incapable of apprehending Upaniṣadic truth. For the opposite view see Keith, op. cit., pp. 492-96; S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., pp. 33-35; *HDK*, V, ii, pp. 1577-585.

[2]*HDK*, V, ii, pp. 1584-585.

casual reader of the Upaniṣads will be impressed by the earnestness and the enthusiasm of the sages. They run eagerly from place to place in search of a teacher to instruct them about the nature of Brahman. Even women were included in this band of seekers after truth whose quest was: Where is Brahman? What is His nature? Going to a man of lower caste to learn the highest truth is not peculiar to the Upaniṣads. The *Mahābhārata* relates two stories. In the first (12.253-256, cr. ed.), a *brāhmaṇa* ascetic called Jājali became proud of his spiritual attainments, when a divine voice told him that his achievements were not comparable to that of Tulādhāra, a *vaiśya* merchant of Varanasi. So Jājali went to Varanasi, where he received instructions from Tulādhāra. The other story (3.198-205, cr. ed) relates how Dharma-vyādha (the pious fowler) the meat seller, imparted instructions to a *brāhmaṇa*. It is also noteworthy that Kṛṣṇa, who delivers the sermon of the *Gītā*, is a *kṣatriya* prince, and so is also Bhīṣma, who expounds the *rāja-dharma* (polity) as well as *mokṣadharma* (metaphysics) in the *Śāntiparva*. But while the *rāja dharma* is mostly Bhīṣma's own theory, in the *mokṣa-dharma* chapters he usually quotes the *brāhmaṇa* saints who at one time or another had instructed him. It seems that some scholars have tacitly assumed a sort of confrontation between castes in ancient India somewhat akin to modern 'class struggle' which in fact did not exist. On the contrary, both the *Mahābhārata* (12.159.29) and Manu (2.238) declare in identical verse that a *brāhmaṇa* should approach even a *śūdra* to acquire the 'ultimate' *dharma*.

We have seen in the Saṁhitās the beginning and development of the idea of a single creator and controller of the universe variously called Prajāpati, Viśvakarman, Puruṣa, Brahmaṇaspati, or Brahman. This divine controller was yet a deity. The inquiry into the nature of this deity begins in the Upaniṣads. The sages of the Upaniṣads begin with the idea that there was a supreme controller presiding over man and universe. Could this supreme controller be identified with any visible object of nature? Was It any natural deity like Sun or Wind? Or was the supreme controller identical with any of the various psychological functions in man? Was It a new deity? Or, was It no deity at all. The Upaniṣads preserve the history of this quest, and the various answers which were obtained.

Principal Upaniṣads

We shall take for our present study the eleven principal Upaniṣads, namely, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya*, *Aitareya*, *Taittirīya*, *Praśna*, *Māṇḍukya*, *Īśā*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Muṇḍaka* and *Śvetāśvatara*. Of these the first six are in prose, while the rest being in verse are known as 'the metrical Upaniṣads.' It is usually held that the prose Upaniṣads are older than the metrical ones, but it does not seem to us that *Īśā*, *Kena*, and *Kaṭha* are later than *Praśna* and *Māṇḍukya*. The priority of the prose Upaniṣads is justified on the ground that they contain traces of Vedic Sanskrit, while the metrical Upanisads are in almost classical Sanskrit. But this is not an infallible criterion, as the prose Upaniṣads sometimes quote verses which are certainly not in Vedic Sanskrit.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka 4.4.10 is the same as *Īśā* 9, and there are other verses in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* which are composed practically in classical Sanskrit. These may, however, be later additions, for, as will be shown later the compilation of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* presents some peculiarities. The verses quoted in the *Taittirīya* (2.4 and 2.9) are also in classical Sanskrit.

For our present study, it is needless to discuss the chronology of the Upaniṣads, nor is it necessary to pronounce judgement on their relative importance. The ancient Indians, (and many modern Indians) accepted the Upaniṣads as indeed all the Vedic texts as eternal and of equal importance. A short survey of the Upaniṣads will enable the reader to understand their mutually complimentary nature and their inter-relation which led to the formulation of Vedānta philosophy by Śaṅkara.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad

The Bṛhad. is the largest of the Upaniṣads. It is divided into 6 chapters or *adhyāyas*, which are further subdivided into 47 sections called Brāhmaṇas, each paragraph of a Brāhmaṇa being called a *kaṇḍikā*.[1]

The Bṛhad. begins with an allegorical exposition of the Aśvamedha sacrifice: 'Om! Verily, the dawn is the head of the sacrificial horse; the sun his eye; the wind his breath; Agni Vaiśvānara (universal fire) his open mouth.....'

The second section (1.2), which forms part of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 10.6.5, describes the creation of the earth leading to the Aśvamedha sacrifice: 'In the beginning nothing whatsoever was here, This [world] was covered over with death, with hunger—for hunger is death. Then he made up his mind (*manas*): "Would that I had a self" .....He divided himself (*ātmānam*) threefold: [fire (Agni) one third], the sun (Āditya) one third, Vāyu one third. He also is Life (*prāṇa*) divided threefold.....'

The third section called the Udgītha Brāhmaṇa (1.3) establishes the superiority of *prāṇa* (breath) among the bodily functions performed by nose, eyes, ears, and mind, while narrating the Vedic allegory of the rivalry of the gods and demon (*asura*). At the end of this section occurs the famous prayer which has been given at the end of this chapter.

The fourth section (1.4), called the *Puruṣavidha Brāhmaṇa*, deals with the creation of the manifold world from the unitary Soul (Ātman): 'In the beginning, the world was Soul (Ātman) in the form of a Puruṣa (Puruṣa-*vidha*). Looking around he saw nothing else than himself. He said first: "I am." Thence arose the name "I" . . . . (1.4.1) . . . . one alone has no delight (*ekākī na ramate*). He desired a second . . . . (1.4.3) . . . . he created all . . . . (1.4.4) Thence arose creation . . . . (1.4.5) Verily in the beginning he was Brahman . . . . (1.4.10) Verily in the beginning this world was Brah-

[1]The first section of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* is called the *Aśvamedha-brāhmaṇa*. Translations of the passages of the Upaniṣads in this chapter are by R.E. Hume or from the translations published by Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, and Swami Gambhirananda, Udbodhan, Calcutta. I have however, made emendations wherever felt necessary.

man, one only (*Brahma vā idam agra āsīt ekam eva*)' (1.4.11). He then created the four castes and law (*dharma*). 'Therefore, there is nothing higher than *dharma*. So a weak man controls a strong man by *dharma*, just as if by a king. Verily, that which is *dharma* is truth . . . . (1.4.14). Thus (was created) *brāhmaṇa kṣatra, viś*, and *śūdra*. . . . (1.4.15) Now this Self (Ātman), verily, is the substratum (lit. world) of all beings. (1.4.16) . . . . In the beginning this world was just the Self (Ātman) one only . . . . his mind truly in his self (*ātman*) . . . . (1.4.17).' The teaching of this section is that the Supreme Self alone is to be meditated upon and realized.

The fifth section, which deals with seven types of food, is called *Śaptānna-Bhāhmaṇa*. After giving an allegorical account of food of god and man, it says: 'People say: "My mind was elsewhere; I did not see. My mind was elsewhere; I did not hear." It is with the mind truly, that one sees. It is with the mind that one hears. Desire, imagination, doubt, faith, lack of faith, steadfastness, lack of steadfastness, shame, meditation, fear—all this is truly mind . . . . The in-breath, the out-breath, the diffused breath, the up-breath, the middle-breath—all these are just vital force (*prāṇo' pāno vyāna udānaḥ samāno'na ity=etat sarvaṁ prāṇa eva*). Verily the self (*ātman*) consists of speech, mind, and breath' (1.5.3).

Section six begins: 'Verily, this world is a triad—name, form, and work (*trayaṁ vā idam—nāma rūpaṁ karma*) . . . . (1.6.1) . . . . Although it is that triad, this Soul (Ātman) is one. Although it is one, it is that triad. That is the Immortal veiled by the real (*satya*). Life (*prāṇa*, vital force), verily is the Immortal. Name and form are the real. By them this life is veiled.' (1.6.3).

Chapter II begins with a section named after Ajātaśatru, the king of Kāśi, whom Proud Bālāki (Dṛpta-Bālāki), a descendant of Garga, wanted to instruct on the nature of Brahman. Bālāki, discoursed on certain conceptions of Brahman, which the king knew already. So when Bālāki ended his discourse, Ajātaśatru asked: 'Is that all? With this much [only] It is not known.' Bālāki then wanted to become the king's disciple, whereupon the latter remarked that, it was 'contrary to course of things that a *brāhmaṇa* should come to a *kṣatriya*' to learn about Brahman. However, agreeing to teach Bālāki, Ajātaśatru explained that in deep, sleep when the organs are absorbed, the individual self is merged in the Supreme Self, and added: 'As a spider might come out with his thread, as small sparks come forth from the fire, even so from this Soul (Ātman) come forth all vital energies (*prāṇa*), all worlds, all gods, all beings. Its mystic name (*upaniṣad*) is "real of the real" (lit. "truth of the truth," *satyasya satya*). Vital energies, verily, are the real (*satya*). He is their Real (*satya*)' (2.1.20).

The second section of Chapter II speaks of vital force as a calf which has this body as an abode, the head as its special place, the vigour (coming out of food and drink) as its post, and food its tether.

The next section (2.3) is very important and begins: 'There are, assuredly, two forms of Brahman: the formed (or gross, *mūrta*) and the formless (or subtle, *amūrta*), the mortal and the immortal, the stationery and the moving,

the actual and the yon (or perceptible and the imperceptible *sac=ca tyac=ca*).' After describing the two forms of Brahman, by superimposing which the Supreme Brahman is made conceivable, it proceeds: 'Here, now, there is the teaching (*ath=āta ādeśaḥ*): "Not this, not this (or, "not thus! not so!" *n=eti n=eti*) for there is nothing higher than this, that he is thus! Now the description for Him is "the Real of the Real" (*satyasya satyam*). Verily the breathing creatures are the real. He is their Real' (2.3.6).

The fourth section of Chapter II, repeated in 4.5, contains some of the most important passages of the Upaniṣads. The sage Yājñavalkya had two wives: Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī. Yājñavalkya expressed his desire to divide his property between them and take up the life of a renunciate monk, whereupon Maitreyī asked, possibly the most renowned question of Vedānta: 'If now, sir, this whole earth filled with wealth were mine, would I become immortal thereby?' 'No,' said Yājñavalkya, and added: 'As the life of the rich, even so would your life be. Of immortality, however, there is no hope through wealth.' Then said Maitreyī: 'What should I do with that through which I may not be immortal? What you know, sir,—that indeed tell me' (*sā h=ovāca Maitreyī yen-āhaṁ n=āmṛtā syāṁ kim ahaṁ tena kuryām? yad eva bhagavān veda tad eva me bruh=īti*).

Then Yājñavalkya began to explain: 'Lo verily, not for the love of husband is a husband dear but for the love of Soul (Ātman) a husband is dear. Lo, verily, not for the love of wife is a wife dear, but for the love of Soul a wife is dear. Lo, verily, not for the love of sons are the sons dear, but for the love of Soul sons are dear . . . . Lo, verily, not for the love of all is all dear, but for the love of the Soul all is dear. Lo, verily, it is the Soul (Ātman) that should be seen, that should be hearkened to, that should be thought on, that should be pondered on, O Maitreyi (*ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyaḥ mantavyo nididhyāsitavyo Maitreyi*). Lo, verily, with the seeing of, and with the understanding of the Soul (Ātman) this "world-all" (*idaṁ sarvam*) is known' (2.4.1-5).

The central idea is that, all these familiar objects of affection and love are not separate entities, nor of value to us by themselves. 'In the common everyday experience of having affection for others, we find illustrated the great doctrine of the individual self finding his selfhood grounded in, and reaching out towards, that larger Self which embraces all individuals and all things.'[1]

Chapter II section 5 sums up the meaning of the first two chapters. Ātman is said to be the ruler and king of all beings. 'As all the spokes are held together in the hub and felly of a wheel, just so in this Ātman all things, all goods, all worlds, all breathing things, all these selves are held together' (2.5.15).

The last paragraph of this section contains the following verse, of which

[1]Hume, op. cit., Introduction, p. 65. The Gaudiya Vaisnavas adopted the reverse theory, namely, to attain the Supreme Reality, in their case Kṛṣṇa, one had to establish a personal bond of love and relationship, like that of a friend, a parent, or lover.

the first line is the same as *Kaṭha* 2.2.9, while the last two lines are RV. VI. 47.18:

He became corresponding in form to every form.
This is to be looked upon as a form of him.
Indra by his magic powers (*māyā*) goes about in many forms;
Yoked are his ten-hundred steeds.

The last section of this chapter (2.6) gives the line of teachers for the first two chapters beginning with Pautimāṣya followed by a long list of names of human teachers and ending with: 'Sanaga from Parameṣṭhin, Parameṣṭhin from Brahman (Hiraṇyagarbha). Brahman is *svayambhu* ('self-born,' i.e. 'eternal). Salutation to Brahman.'

In Chapters III and IV, Yājñavalkya is the central figure. King Janaka of Videha performed a great sacrifice attended by many *brāhmaṇas*. Janaka wanted to know who among them was the most learned. So he offered a thousand cows with their horns bound in gold to the best *brāhmaṇa*. Yājñavalkya asked his pupil to drive away the cows, whereupon the other *brāhmaṇas* got angry and demanded that Yājñavalkya prove his superiority. In nine sections of Chapter III, Yājñavalkya is asked nine questions, one in each section, which also contains his answer. At the end of the second section, Ārtabhāga asked him a question which in effect was: 'What becomes of a person after his death?' To this Yājñavalkya replied: 'Ārtabhāga, my dear, take my hand. We two only will know of this. This is not for us two [to speak of] in public.' 'The two went and deliberated. They talked only of *karma* (work). What they praised was also *karma*.' This episode shows that mystic knowledge was not discussed openly, but imparted only to select persons.

Section 3 deals with the destination of the performers of the Aśvamedha ceremony, and in the next section (3.4), Yājñavalkya explains the theoretical unknowability of immanent Brahman, and says: 'You cannot see the seer of things. You cannot hear the hearer of hearing. You cannot think the thinker of thinking. You cannot understand the understander of understanding. He is your soul, which is in all things. (*esa ta ātmā sarvāntaraḥ*). Everything else is perishable.'

In the next section (3.5), Yājñavalkya teaches that renunciation is the only way of attaining Brahman. Section 6 contains the celebrated dialogue between Yājñavalkya and Gārgī, whom MM. Kane brands as 'a more or less insolent woman.'[1] Gārgī's questions were in the nature of regressus, and ultimately she asked: 'On what then, pray, are the worlds of Brahman (*Brahma-loka*) woven . . . .?' Yājñavalkya answered: 'Gārgī, do not question too much lest your head fall off. In truth, you are questioning too much about a divinity, Gārgī, who cannot be known through reasoning. Gārgī, do not over-question.' Thereupon Gārgī Vācaknavī (daughter of Vacaknu) held her peace.

[1] *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1406.

The next section (3.7) contains the question of Uddālaka Āruṇi about the '*sūtra* (thread) by which this world and the other world and all things are held together; that Inner Controller (*antaryāmin*) who from within controls the world and the other world and all things.' In reply, Yājñavalkya explains the nature of immanent Soul, and ends by stating: 'He is the unseen Seer, the unheard Hearer, the unthought Thinker, the understood understander. Other than He there is no seer . . . . no hearer . . . . no thinker . . . . no understander. He is your *ātman* (soul), the Inner Controller, the Immortal.' (3.7.23).

In the next section (3.8), Gārgī again challenges Yājñavalkya to answer two questions. In his reply, Yājñavalkya explains the nature of the unqualified and imperishable (*akṣara*) Brahman, and adds: 'Verily, O Gārgī, he who departs from this world without knowing that imperishable is pitiable' (*kṛpaṇaḥ*, 3.8.10).

In the last section (3.9), Śākalya begins by asking Yājñavalkya about the number of gods. Yājñavalkya begins by quoting a text which says that, there are 3306 gods, but ultimately there is only one god, the Brahman (3.9.9). Then there are more questions, but when Śākalya asks: 'And on what is the heart based?,' Yājñavalkya flares up and says: 'You idiot (*ahallika*, lit, "what disappears by day", i.e. "a ghost") that you could think that it could be anywhere else than in ourselves' . . . .' (3.9.25). Later he explains: '. . . . This *ātman* is not this, it is not that' (*n=eti n=eti*). It is unseizable, for it is not seized. It is indestructible, for it is not destroyed. It is unattached, for it does not attach itself; untramelled it does not suffer, nor perish . . . .' (3.9.26).

In Chapter IV, the king is instructed by Yājñavalkya. In the first section, Janaka gives some accounts of Brahman which he had heard from six teachers, which, Yājñavalkya points out, are 'one-legged,' meaning that these were mere aspects of Supreme Brahman. In the second section, Yājñavalkya describes the three states of the soul: the waking state, the dream state, and the state of deep sleep. The next section, called the *Jyotir-Brahman* (4.3), is very lengthy. Janaka puts many questions, and Yājñavalkya answers them. In course of this discussion, Janaka asks: 'Which is this *ātman*?' Yājñavalkya replies: 'This [infinite] entity, which is reflected in the intellect, which is amid the organs, and which is the [self-effulgent] light within the intellect . . . .' (4.3.7).

Instead of being identified with one's consciousness, the world of sense is the product of one's constructive imagination, as is evident in sleep, when one 'himself tears it apart, himself builds it up, and dreams by his own brightness, by his own light . . . . There are no chariots there, no spans, no roads. But he projects from himself chariots, spans, roads. There are no bliss there, no pleasures, no delights. But he projects from himself blisses, pleasures, delights. There are no tanks there, no lotus-pool, no streams. But he projects from himself tanks, lotus-pools, streams. For he is a creator . . . .

'In the state of sleep going aloft and alow,
A god, he makes many forms for himself.' (4.3.9-10, 13)

'That indeed is his form which transcends desire, free from evil, without

fear. As a man, when in the embrace of his beloved wife, knows nothing within or without, so this person, when in the embrace of the Intelligent [i.e., Supreme] Self (*prājñen=ātmanā*), knows nothing within or without. . . . (4.3.21). [Like] an ocean, a seer alone free from duality (*draṣṭ=ādvaita*) becomes he whose world is Brahman. . . .' (4.3.32).

The next section, called the *Śārīraka-Brāhmaṇa* (4.4), describes the process of transmigration in detail. Yājñavalkya says: 'Now, as a caterpillar, when it has come to the end of a blade of grass, in taking the next step, draws itself together towards it, just so this soul in taking the next step strikes down this body, makes it senseless [gives up its identification with it], takes up a new body, and withdraw itself [there].' (4.4.3).

Then comes Yājñavalkya's famous utterance:

'Verily, this *ātman* (soul) is Brahman (*ayam ātmā Brahma*),[1] made of knowledge, of mind. . . . It is made of everything. . . . According as one acts, according as one conducts himself, so does he become. The doer of good becomes good. The doer of evil becomes evil. One becomes virtuous by virtuous action, bad by bad action. But people say: "A person is made [not of acts but] of desires only." [In reply to this I say] As is his desire, such is his resolve; as is his resolve, such the action he performs; and he attains the results of the action that he performs[2]. . . .' (4.4.5) 'Now, that man who does not desire, he who is without desire, who is freed from desire, whose desire is satisfied, whose desire is the Self (*ātma·kāmo*) his breaths do not depart. Being very Brahman, he is merged in Brahman (*Brahm=aiva san Brahm=āpyeti*). On this point, there is this verse:

When are liberated all
The desires that lodge in one's heart,
Then a mortal becomes immortal:
Therein he reaches Brahman!
(i.e., realizes Brahman in this very body; 4.4.6-7)
If a person knew the Soul (Ātman)
With the thought "I am he!"
With what desire, for love of what
Would he cling to the body.' (4.4.12)

The next section (4.5) is practically a repetition of 2.4, while 4.6, called *Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, gives the line of teachers for Chapters III and IV.

The last two chapters are called the *Khila-kāṇḍa* (supplementary book). Chapter V describes some meditations which confer prosperity and lead one gradually towards meditation. It opens with the famous prayer:

The yon is fulness; fulness, this.
From fulness, fulness doth proceed.
Withdrawing fulness's fulness off,

[1]This is one of the four *mahā-vākyas* selected by Śaṅkara as the bases for his interpretation of the Vedānta texts.

[2]This passage is the basis of Vedānta ethics.

E'en fulness then itself remains.[1]

The infinite universe has emerged from infinite Brahman; assimilating the infinitude of the universe, that is, realizing it as identical with Itself, Brahman alone is left. The absolute remains the self-same even when the relative proceeds from it, for the otherness of the conditioned Brahman is only apparent.

The next section (5.2) teaches the three cardinal virtues, self-control, charity, and mercy, expressed as a triad formed by the letter *da*, representing *dāmyata* (restrain), *datta* (give, i.e. charity), and *dayadhvam* (be compassionate).

The third section (5.3) eulogizes the heart, the seat of the intellect. The fourth (5.4) enjoins meditation on Brahman as *satya* (truth or real). The fifth section (5.5) is a eulogy of Satya-Brahman, and describes meditation on various parts of its imaginary body. Section 5.6 enjoins meditation on Brahman as possessed of the limiting adjunct of the mind, where the individual person is non-dualistically explained. The next three sections (7.8 and 9) are respectively on Brahman as lightning, on speech (the Vedas), and as Vaiśvānara (universal) fire. 'It (Vaiśvānara fire) produces the sound that one hears on covering the ears. When one is about to pass away, one does not hear the sound.'

The 10th section of Chapter V declares the goal of these meditations. The next section (5.11) states that, illness or being carried for funeral is a penance. The 12th section prescribes meditation according to which food and the vital force, as jointly producing body and strength, constitute Brahman. The 13th section prescribes meditation on the vital force (*prāṇa*), the *uktha* (the recitation portion of *mantras* in a Soma-yaga), *sāman* (the chant), and *kṣattra* (healer). The 14th section contains meditation on Brahman as possessing the limiting adjunct of the Gāyatrī. The last section (5.15) contains, (1) a prayer to the sun, and (2) to fire by a dying man. Of these (1) is same as *Īśā* 15-18, while (2) is RV.I.189.1, the famous cremation hymn.

Chapter VI begins with an allegory as to how the vital force (*prāṇa*) is best of all physical organs, which was proved after a contest of the various organs—or functions of the body. The second section deals with the northern and southern routes, leading respectively to the world of manes and to heaven. This knowledge is imparted by king Pravāhaṇa to Śvetaketu's father, Gautama. Before teaching the secret doctrine, the king said: 'Please do not be offended with us...Before this, this knowledge never dwelt with a *brāhmaṇa*.'[2] This section then dwells on the destiny of the soul after death resulting from various sacrifices and meditations, and the cycle of life and death.[3]

[1]For a variant of this, see AV. (tr. by C.R. Lanman, *HOS*) X.8.29. 'The full from the full bends up; the full is poured with the full. . . .'

[2]This passage provides one of the grounds for holding that Upaniṣads were the works of the *kṣatriyas*. But as MM. Kane has pointed out, Pravāhaṇa himself states that Udgithavidya was taught by Atidhanvan to Udaraśāṇḍilya, both *brāhmaṇas*. *Chāndogya*, 1.9.3; *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1583.

[3]6.2.13 states: 'Women, verily, is a sacrificial fire O Gautama. The sexual organ, in truth, is its fuel; the hairs the smoke; the vulva, flame, when one inserts, the coals; the

The third section deals with the incantation of the Śrīmantha ceremony performed for attaining wealth, which is followed by a line of teachers. A performer of Śrīmantha alone is entitled to perform the Putra-mantha ceremony, which bestows upon the performer the boon of a very gifted son, described in section 4, which contains directions for the *garbhādhāna saṁskāra* described above.[1]

The last section (6.5), called the Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa, gives the line of teachers of the Upaniṣad, matronymics being used with their names.[2]

Chāndogyopaniṣad

In his commentary on the Br. S., Śaṅkara introduces passages from this Upaniṣad at times as the Śruti of the Taṇḍins, or as the *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa*. This Upaniṣad is divided into eight chapters called *prapāṭhakas*, which are sub-divided into sections called *khaṇḍas*.

Chapter I is devoted to the glorification of the SV. Section I describes the procedure for meditation on Udgītha, which in the present context seems to be identical with the mystic syllable *Om*.[3] 1.1.2-3 says: 'The essence (*rasa*) of things here is the earth. The essence of the earth is water. The essence of water is vegetation. The essence of vegetation is man. The essence of man is speech. The essence of speech is *ṛc*. The essence of *ṛc* is *sāman*. The essence of *sāman* is *udgītha*. That [syllable *Om* which is called] *udgītha* is the quintessence of the essences, the highest, the supreme, the eighth.'

In section 2, *udgītha* is identified with *prāṇa*. In section 3, various identifications of the *udgītha* and of its syllables are given, as well as the means of attaining desired objects. Section 4 is a eulogy of the mystic syllable *Om*, and section 5 identifies *Om* and *udgītha* with sun and *prāṇa* (vital force). Section 6 identifies elements like earth etc. with *ṛc*, and *sāman* is said to be established on that *ṛc*.[4]

feelings of pleasure, the sparks. In this oblation the gods offer semen. From this oblation a person (*puruṣa*) arises.' This passage has striking similarity to Tantra.

[1]This section contains a passage interesting for social history. 6.4.17 states: 'Now, in case one wishes, "That a learned daughter be born to me! that she attain the full length of Life"—they two [husband and wife] should eat it mixed with *ghī*. Then they would be able to beget such a daughter.' Śaṅkara, in commenting on this passage, explains *paṇḍitā duhitā* (learned daughter) as: 'A girl's learning only relates to household work, because she has no right to learn the Vedas.' Apparently the position of women had changed greatly since this passage was written, and it is only fair to add that Śaṅkara and all Uttara Mīmāṁsā teachers followed Manu implicitly. Still, it is surprising to find this explanation in a text which contains the episodes of Gārgī and Maitreyī!

[2]For the importance of this list see above Ch. II.

[3]*Udgītha* means the chanting of the SV by one of the four chief priests, called the *udgātṛ*. The *Chāndogya* (2.2.1 and 2.8.1-2), however, explains *udgītha* esoterically.

[4]In 1.6.7 occurs the statement '*tasya yathā kapy=āsaṁ pundarīkam evam akṣiṇī*,' which Śaṅkara explained as: 'His (the Golden Puruṣa's) eyes are like two lotuses which are red like the nates (*āsa*) of monkey (*kapi*).' This explanation was taught to Rāmānuja by his teacher Yādavaprakāśa, whereupon the young Ācārya burst into tears. Asked by his teacher, Rāmānuja explained that, *kapi* here means *kaṁ jalaṁ pivati* (he who drinks water), that is, 'sun' and the root as being indicative of blossoming, the word *āsa* may

The next section (1.7) describes meditation on various parts of the body. Sections 8 and 9 records dialogue by various persons on *udgītha*, which is identified with space. Sections 10 and 11 relate the story of Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa, who was starving during a famine. With difficulty he managed to attend a sacrifice performed by a king. There Uṣasti explained the nature of *prāṇa*, sun, and food. In Section 12 the dogs sing: '*Om*! Let us eat! *Om*! Let us drink! *Om*! May the gods Varuṇa, Prajāpati, and Savitṛ bring food here! *Om*!'[1] The last section (1.13) deals with the mystic significance of certain sounds or syllables uttered during a chant.

Chapter II contains 24 small sections each of which, with a few exceptions, usually contain one and sometimes two sentences which state respectively: (1) various significances of *sāman*; (2) some analogies to the fivefold *sāman*; (3) reverence to a fivefold *sāman*; (4) waters, meditation on various forms of water (cloud, rain, etc.) as *sāman*; (5) meditation on *sāmans* as seasons; (6) meditation on animals as the fivefold *sāman*; (7) meditation on fivefold *sāman* as *prāṇa*; (8) some analogies to the sevenfold *sāman*; (9) reverence of sun as sevenfold *sāman*; (10) the mystical significance of the number of syllables in the parts of a sevenfold *sāman*; (11) analogical bases and results of Gāyatrī-*sāman*; (12) Rathantara-*sāman*; (13) Vāmadevya-*sāman*: 'One summons—that is a *hiṅkāra*. He makes request—that is a *prastāva*. Together with the woman he lies down—that is an *udgītha*. He lies upon the woman —that is a *pratihāra*. He comes to the end—that is a *nidhana*. He comes to the finish that is [also] a *nidhana*. This is the Vāmadevya-*sāman* as woven upon copulation. He who knows this Vāmadevya-*sāman* as woven upon copulation, comes to copulation, procreates himself from every copulation, reaches a full length of life, lives long, becomes great in offspring and in cattle, great in fame. One should never abstain from any woman. That is his rule.'[2]

The remaining sections of Chapter II describe other *sāmans*, and their results: (14) Bṛhat-*sāman*; (15) Vairūpa-*sāman*; (16) Vairāja-*sāman*; (17) Śakvarī-*sāman*; (18) Revatī-*sāman*; (19) Yajñāyajñīya-*sāman*; (20) Rājana-*sāman*: 'He who knows this Rājana-*sāman* as woven upon the divinities goes to the same world (*salokatā*), gets the same prosperity (*sārṣṭi*), [or] attains union (*sāyujya*) with them [the deities].'[3] These terms *salokatā*, *sārṣṭi* and *sāyujya*, it may be pointed out here, were later used by the Vaiṣṇavas in the same sense, only instead of 'deity,' they substituted Viṣṇu.[4]

well mean 'blossoming.' Hence, the sentence should mean: 'His eyes are as lovely as the lotuses blossomed by the sun.'

[1]Śaṅkara gives a philosophical explanation of this section.

[2]This rule seems analogous to the Gosava ceremony described in *HDK*, II, ii, p. 1213fn. Among the Upaniṣads, these strange customs are referred to only in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya*, which show their antiquity.

[3]Thus the worshipper attains his deity in various degrees of propinquity, which became a Vaiṣṇava dogma later.

[4]The Vaiṣṇavas added two more stages of union: *sāmīpya* (nearness) ans *sārūpya* (same features).

Section 21 asserts that 'he who knows this Sāman as woven upon world-all (*sarva*) becomes the world-all itself.' Sections 22 gives seven modes of singing the Sāman, in course of which there is the prayer: *Indraṁ śaraṇam prapanno' bhūvaṁ* . . . . (2.22.3). (I have taken refuge in Indra). Similar prayers are offered to Prajāpati and Mṛtyu (Death). This word '*prapanna*' is used by the later Vaiṣṇavas in the same sense, when they speak of 'taking refuge in Kṛṣṇa.'

Section 23 begins by stating that there are three branches of *dharma* (*trayo dharma-skandhā*) of which the first consists of sacrifice (*yajña*), study (*adhyayanam*) [of the Veda], and alms-giving (*dāna*). Austerity is the second branch, and lifelong celibacy and dwelling in a teacher's house is the third. Anyone performing these *dharmas* becomes possessed of meritorious deeds, but he who is firmly established in Brahman, that is, meditates on the sacred syllable *Om*,—attains immortality (*amṛtatva*).

The last section (2.24) says that earth, atmosphere, and sky are the respective rewards for the performance of morning, noon, and evening oblations.

Chapter III section 1 deals with 'sun as honey extracted from all the Vedas.' Sections 2, 3 and 4 identifies sun respectively with the YV,the SV, and the AV. Section 5 describes Praṇava (*Om*) and its relation to sun. Sections 6 to 10 state that the knower of the cosmic significance of the sacred scriptures advances to the world-sun, Brahman, as Vasu, Rudra, Āditya, Maruts, and Sādhya, while section 11 enjoins one to teach this chapter to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil and to no one else.

Section 12 describes the Gāyatrī meter as the symbol of all that is, and 12.6 is RV. X.90.3 with slight variations. Section 13 describes the heart's five openings for the gods, which are the five breaths: *prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, samāna* and *udāna.*

Section 14 begins with the famous sentence : *sarvaṁ khalv-idaṁ Brahma taj-jal-ān iti śānta upāsīta* :[1] 'Verily all this universe is Brahman. From Him do all things originate, into Him they dissolve, and by Him are they sustained, on Him one should meditate in tranquillity.' This is followed by the celebrated Śāṇḍilya-*vidyā*, which is also found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 10.6.3. This *vidyā* teaches that the *ātman* (soul) is smaller than the smallest objects, and greater than the greatest object, and that *ātman* is Brahman (3.14.2-4).

Section 3.15 contains a meditation which is meant to increase the longevity of one's son. Sections 3.16 and 3.17 describe a person's entire life symbolically as a Soma-sacrifice.[2] 3.17.6 relates : 'When Ghora Āṅgirasa expounded this doctrine to Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, he also explained . . . . "In the final hour one should take refuge in these three thoughts: 'You are the Indestructible (*akṣita*), you are the Unshaken (*acyuta*), you are the very essence

[1] *Jalān* is a cryptic word, explained by Śaṅkara, as three syllables *ja, la*, and *an*, each standing respectively for the roots *jan* (origination), *li* (dissolution) and *an* (continuation of existence).

[2] For an explanation of these meditations, see Swami Gambhirananda, Upaniṣadic Meditations, *Cultural Heritage of India*, p. 376.

of life (*prāṇa-saṁśita*)." ' Some scholars have identified this Kṛṣṇa with Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* on untenable grounds.[1]

Section 3.18 describes fourfold Brahman in the individual and the world. Section 19, the last section, describes the evolution of the universe from the Cosmic Egg and states: 'In the beginning this world was merely non-manifest (*asad=ev=edam agra āsīt*). It then became manifest (*tat sad=āsīt*). It turned into an egg . . . ' (3.19.1). The egg split into a golden half, which became heaven, and a silver half, which became earth. It may be noted, that the words *sat* and *asat* in the passage quoted above, which we have translated as 'manifest, and 'unmanifest,' may also be rendered as 'exis ent' and 'non-existent.'

Chapter 4 contains instructions imparted through conversations. Sections 1 to 3 relate the story of a very liberal man called Jānaśruti who approached the sage Raikva with in adequate gifts and asked the sage to instruct him. Raikva refused, addressing Jānaśruti as *śūdra*. Then Jānaśruti returned with lavish gifts including his daughter, and Raikva instructed him.[2]

Sections 4 to 9 relate the acquistion of the knowledge of Brahman by Satyakāma. Satyakāma was the son of Jabālā, an unmarried mother, who had the moral courage to tell her son the truth. Satyakāma in his turn told the sage Gautama, that his mother did not know the name of his father, as she had served many men in her youth. The sage Gautama, overwhelmed by the moral courage of mother and son exclaimed: 'A non-Brāhmaṇa cannot speak thus . . . . I will receive you as a pupil. You have not deviated from the truth.'

These two episodes indicate that in those days attitude towards the *śūdras* had begun to stiffen, but not only a *śūdra*, even a man who could not trace his father was also entitled to Brahma-*vidyā*.

It is then related how Satyakāma was instructed in the nature of Brahman by supernatural agencies. Sections 10 to 15 deals with Upakosala Kāmalāyana's instruction in the nature of Brahman by supernatural agencies and ultimately by his teacher Satyakāma Jābāla.

The last two sections (16 and 17) relate to the Brahman priest who is enjoined to maintain silence during the sacrifice. In case he commits a mistake, he is told how to rectify it. 4.17.7-8 says: 'Just as one would mend gold with borax-salt, silver with gold, tin with silver, lead with tin, brass with lead, wood with brass or with leather, even so with the power of these worlds, of these deities, of that triple knowledge one mends the injury to the

[1]See A.K, Majumdar, *Caitanya, His Life and Doctrine*, Bombay, 1969, pp. 4-6.

[2]Śaṅkara explains *śūdra* of this passage as 'one who was overcome with grief', and suggested some alternatives, but holds firmly that the use of *śūdra* in this passage does not refer to Jānaśruti's caste. It is however, difficult to agree with the great Ācārya. The next episode shows that the highest teaching was imparted to a man born of a woman who had served so many men that she did not know who her son's father was. Tagore has written a beautiful poem on this episode.

sacrifice. Verily, that sacrifice is healed in which there is a Brahman priest who knows this'.[1]

Chapter 5.1 begins by stating that *prāṇa* is the chief and the best of the organs. There is then related a story of the rivalry among various organs, namely, speech, eye, ear, and mind. In order to prove their superiority each of the four left the body one at a time. Though the body was impaired by the loss of a particular organ, it survived. Then, when *prāṇa* (vital energy, represented by breath) was about to depart, all other organs begged him to stop.

Section 2 contains the directions for making a potion, and also an incantation for the attainment of greatness. The section ends with a verse which says that while performing a rite if one dreams about a woman, the rite will be successful.

Sections 5.3 to 5.11 describe Pravāhaṇa Jaibali's teachings to *brāhmaṇa* Gautama. Pravāhaṇa teaches the course of the soul during transmigration and says: '. . . . After having become air, he becomes smoke. After having become smoke, he becomes mist. After having become mist, he becomes cloud, he rains down. They are born here as rice and barley, as herbs and trees, as sesame plants and beans. Thence verily it is difficult to emerge; for only if someone or other eats him as food and emits him as semen, does he develop further . . . .' (5.10.5-6).

Sections 5 11 to 5.24 are on Universal Soul. Five learned householders went to Uddālaka Āruṇi in order to learn the nature of *ātman* (individual soul) and Brahman (Universal soul; *ko na ātmā kiṁ brahm=eti*; ('Who is our atman [soul]? What is Brahman?)' Uddālaka took these five *brāhmaṇa* inquirers to King Aśvapati, who, at that time, was studying Vaiśvānara Ātma (Universal Soul), describes *ātman* as *prādeśamātra* and *abhivimāna* (5.18.1). These two words have been interpreted by Śaṅkara to suit his philosophy, and several modern scholars, including Max Müller and Deussen, have accepted Śaṅkara's interpretation, namely, '. . . . But one who thus meditates upon this Vaiśvānara Ātman as a whole, consisting of parts and self-conscious,[2] eats food in all the worlds, in all the beings, and in all the selves.' Prof. R.D. Ranade, after thoroughly discussing the meaning of the two words have rendered the passage thus: 'He who worships the self as measuring the span's length from his forehead to the chin, as existing in all men, he enjoys food in all worlds, in all beings, and in all selves.'[3] Prof. Ranade's rendering may be philologically faithful to the original, but it seems that Śaṅkara's interpretation suits the spirit of the Upaniṣads.

[1]There are four principal priests in a Vedic sacrifice: *hotṛ*, *adhvaryu*, *udgātṛ*, and *brahman*.

[2]For a translation based on Śaṅkara's commentary see the translation of *Chāndogya* by Swami Swahananda, R.K. Math, Madras, 1956. See also Hume's translation.

[3]R.D. Ranade, *A Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1968, p. 98. Śaṅkara had rejected the meaning 'a span'. Prof. Ranade states: 'Thus Śaṅkara explains the word as meaning one who knows himself—the Kantian "I am I"—an interpretation which does not come out of the expression "*abhiyiṁāna*." ibid. p. 98.

Chapter 6.1-16 record the instruction of Śvetaketu by his father. At the age of twelve, his father sent Śvetaketu to a teacher with whom he stayed and took lessons for twelve years. On his return, his father said to him: 'Śvetaketu, my dear, you, I see, are conceited, arrogant, and think yourself learned. Did you ask for that teaching [about Brahman] through which what is unheard becomes heard, what has not been thought of becomes thought of what is unknown becomes known?' Śvetaketu said: 'What, pray Sir, is that teaching?' Then Śvetaketu's father expounded to him the nature of reality, and the relation between *ātman* and Brahman, laying down as it were the basis of Vedānta philosophy. Āruṇi, Śvetaketu's father, began by saying:

'Just as my dear, by one piece of clay everything made of clay may be known,—the modification is merely a verbal distinction (*vāc=ārambhaṇaṁ vikāro nāmadheyam*, lit, 'modification of name based upon words') similarly, many things may be made of *loha-maṇi* (gold or copper) but the reality is just *loha-maṇi* . . . . just as, my dear, by one nail clipper everything made of iron may be known--the modification is merely a verbal distinction, a name, the reality is just iron . . . .' (6.1.4-6).

'In the beginning, my dear, this world was just Being (*sat*) one only, without a second. To be sure, some people say, "In the beginning the world was just Non-being (*asat*), one only, without a second; from that Non-being Being was produced."

'But, verily, my dear, how could this be? How from Non-being could Being be produced (*katham asataḥ saj=jāyeta*)? On the contrary, my dear, in the beginning, this world was just Being, one only, without a second (*ekam ev=ādvitīyam*).

'It bethought itself: "Would that I were many! Let me procreate myself (*tad=aikṣata bahu syāṁ prajāyeya*) . . . ." ' (6.2.1.3).

Āruṇi then described the evolution of the world, the nature of *prāṇa*, mind, etc. (6.2.3-6.7), and added: '. . . Understand from me, my dear, the true nature of sleep. When a person sleeps he has become united with Being and has attained his own nature (6.8.1).

'As a bird fastened with a string, after flying in this direction and in that without finding an abode, rests down just upon its fastening,—even so, my dear, the mind after an abode elsewhere rests down just upon *prāṇa*; for the mind, my dear, is tied to *prāṇa* . . . .' (6.8.2).

'That which is the finest essence—this whole world has That as its soul. That is Reality (*satya*). That is Ātman. That art thou (*tat tvam asi*), Śvetaketu . . . .'[2] (6.8.8). This short sentence of only three words is the basis of Advaita Vedānta.

Then at Śvetaketu's request, Āruṇi explained by a series of illustrations the phenomenal world tracing it to the subtle universal original principle of Being, which is the foundation of all that exists, and therefore the real root

[1]In *Chāndogya*, 3.19.1 and *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, 2.7,

[2]'*Tat tvam asi*' is a *mahāvakya* and the sheet-anchor of Śaṅkara's philosophy.

of man. Man, stripped of his external adjuncts, is identical with reality which supports the entire universe (6.9-11).

Section 6.12 is a dialogue between father and son: 'Bring a fig from tree.' 'Here it is, sir.' 'Break it.' 'It is broken sir.' 'What do you see there?' 'These fine seeds, sir.' 'Break one of these, my child.' 'It is broken sir.' 'What do you see in it?' 'Nothing at all, sir., Then he said to his son: 'Verily, my dear, that essence which you do not perceive--verily, my dear, from that subtle essence this great fig tree thus arises.'

'Believe me, my dear, (*śraddhatsva*, lit. 'have faith') that which is the finest essence--this whole world has That as its soul. That is Reality. That is Ātman. That art thou, Śvetaketu . . . .' (6,12.1-2) This truth is then elucidated by means of other examples from common experience in the remaining sections of this chapter. (6.13-16).

Chapter 7 records the instruction of Nārada by Sanatkumāra. Nārada had attained mastery over the four Vedas and a number of other subjects, but, as he confessed, he had gained proficiency only in the verbal texts (*mantra-vid*), but did not know Ātman (*n-ātmavid*). So Sanatkumāra took Nārada progressively towards the real identification of Brahman, from name, speech, mind, conception, thought, meditation, understanding, strength, food, water, heat, space, memory, hope, *prāṇa*, truth, *śraddhā* (faith), and ultimately to activity (6.2-21). Then Sanatkumāra says: 'When one gets Pleasure for oneself, then he is active . . . . But one must desire to understand Pleasure (*sukha*).

(Nārada): 'Sir, I desire to understand Pleasure.'

(Sanatkumāra): 'Verily, Plenum is the same as Pleasure. There is no Pleasure in the "small." Only a Plenum is Pleasure (*yo vai bhūmā tat sukhaṁ n=ālpe sukkam asti bhum=aiva sukham*). But one must desire to understand the Plenum.'

(Nārada): 'Sir, I desire to understand the Plenum.'

(Sanatkumāra): 'Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else—that is a Plenum. But where one sees something else—that is the small. Verily, the Plenum is the same as the immortal; but the small is the same as the mortal.'

(Nārada): 'That Plenum, sir—on what is it established?'

(Sanatkumāra): 'On its own greatness, or not even on its greatness at all . . . . That [Plenum] indeed, is below. It is above. It is to the west. It is to the east. It is to the south. It is to the north. It, indeed, is this whole world. . . . Now next is the instruction with regard to the Ego (*ahaṅkār-ādeśa*). I, indeed, am below. I am above. I am to the west. I am to the east. I am to the south. I am to the north. I, indeed, am this whole world.

'Now next, the instruction with regard to the soul (*atm-ādeśa*).[1] The Soul (Ātman) is, indeed, below. The Soul is above. The Soul is to the west. The

[1]Because the ego or 'I' sense, which is the experience of everyone is not outside the all encompassing Brahman, but is identical with it.

Soul is to the east. The Soul is to the south. The Soul is to the north. The Soul, indeed, is the whole world.

'Verily, he who sees this, who thinks this, who understands this, who has pleasure in the Soul, who has delight in the Soul, who has intercourse with the Soul, who has bliss in the Soul—he is autark (*sva-rāj*); he has unlimited[1] freedom in all worlds. But those who know otherwise are ruled by others (*anya-rājan*); they have perishable worlds; in all worlds they have no freedom of action' (7.22-25).

At the end (7.26.2), Sanatkumāra says: 'When nourishment (*āhāra*) is pure, mind (*sattva*) becomes pure. When mind is pure, memory becomes strong.[2] When memory becomes strong, there is release from all the knots [of the heart] . . . .'

Insistence on the 'purity' of food by the upper caste Hindus is based on this passage, which provides the rationale for their apparently meaningless customs.

Chapter 8, which is the last chapter, is concerned with the nature of *ātman*. Section 1 begins: '*Om*, in this city of Brahman (*Brahma-pure* i.e. the body) there is an abode in the shape of a small lotus. Inside it, is a small space. What is within that, should be sought, that, indeed, one should desire to understand.' Thus the 'lotus of the heart,' which here means 'the centre of consciousness,' is the place where Brahman manifests Itself. Residing there as *jīva* (individual soul). Brahman manifests the universe of name and form. The teacher then explains that Brahman is described as *ākāśa* (space) in the heart, not because It is actually small and limited, but because It is conceived as limited by the internal organs associated with the 'lotus of the heart.' Brahman is not affected when the body perishes (8-1.1-5).

The man who dies after realizing his real nature as Ātman with the aid of a preceptor and scriptures is ever free and able to fulfil all his desires.

Section 2 describes the various desires which can be fulfilled by such a person. Section 3 defines Brahman as *satyam*, and explains *satya* as '*sa*,' 'immortal,' '*ti*' the 'mortal,' and '*yam*,' 'that which holds the two together'. 'Verily, he who knows this goes to the heavenly world.'[3] Section 4 speaks of the *Brahma-loka* (Brahma-world) as free from evil, the Ātman acting as a dyke, but only a person who has practised continence can attain it. Section 5 elaborates the attainment through a life of study, explaining metaphorically the various parts of a sacrifice, which it says, is indeed *brahmacarya* (continence). Section 6 describes the passing out of the soul from the heart through sun to immortality. It ends with the verse (8.6.6) which is the same

[1]See *Gītā*, 3.17-18.

[2]Śaṅkara renders *āhāra* as experience of objects of sense such as *śabda*, *sattva* as *antaḥkaraṇa* (the seat of thought, consciousness), and *smṛti* as *avismaraṇa* (non-forgetfulness). See also *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1432 for similar exhortations from other texts.

[3]It should be remembered that 'knowledge' in Upaniṣads does not mean empirical knowledge, which can be obtained from a book, or by attending a lecture. 'Knowledge' here means intuitive realization of truth.

as *Kaṭha* 6.16. The verse refers to 101 *nāḍīs* (channels) of the heart, one of which passes to the crown of the head (*mūrdhā*); going up by it one reaches immortality; the others are for going to various directions.[1]

Sections 7 to 12 contains the progressive instructions of Indra by Prajāpati concerning the real self. Prajāpati begins by saying: 'This Self (Ātman), which is free from evil, ageless, deathless, sorrowless, hungerless, thirstless, whose desire is of the truth, whose conception is of the truth,—He should be sought, Him one should desire to understand. . .'(8.11.1). Then Prajāpati begins to explain His nature but his answers fail to satisfy Indra. So Prajāpati says: 'Now when one is sound asleep, composed, serene, and knows no dream—that is Ātman. That is the immortal, the fearless. That is Brahman' (8.11.1). Still Indra was not satisfied. So, Prajāpati gave him the final instruction: 'O Maghavan, verily, this body (*śarīra*) is mortal. It has been appropriated by death [but] it is the seat of that deathless, bodiless, Self (Ātman). Verily, the embodied self is appropriated by pleasure and pain. Verily, there is no freedom from pleasure and pain for one while he is incorporate. Verily, when one is bodiless, pleasure and pain do not touch him...' (8.12.1).

Section 13 is a paean of the perfected soul: '. . .I, a perfected soul (*kṛt-ātman*) pass into the uncreated Brahma-world—yea, into it I pass!'

Section 14 is the exultation and prayer of glorious learner: 'Verily, what is called space (*ākāśa*) is the revealer of name and form (i.e. individuality). That within which they are, is Brahman. That is immortal (*amṛta*). That is the Self (Ātman)...I have attained unto glory. . .' (8.14).

The last section of the *Chāndogya* (8.15), contains the final words from the teacher to the departing pupil: 'He, who according to rule has learned the Veda from the family of a teacher,[2] should set up as a householder, continue Vedic studies, procreate progeny, and produce students. He should concentrate all his senses upon Ātman, and practise non-injury (*ahiṁsā*) to all beings except at *tīrthas* (places of pilgrimage). He indeed, who lives thus throughout his life, reaches the Brahma-world and does not return again [to this world], yea he does not return again.'[3]

[1]See *Gītā*, 8.11-12. *Mūrdhan* may also mean the point between the two eye-brows where it joins the tip of the nose.

[2]'*Ācārya-kulād*' here means 'from a teacher who belongs to a family of regular line of teachers.'

[3]This passage indicates that the Upaniṣads do not forbid the performance of Vedic rites. Śaṅkara explains '*yathā vidhānam*' as 'according to *smṛti*,' by which he most probably means Manu. Another difficulty is posed by the word *tīrtha*, which in later days meant 'places of pilgrimage.' But the word *tīrtha* has been used many times in the RV, but never in the sense of a place of a pilgrimage. Śaṅkara explains *tīrtha* as 'whatever is ordained by scriptures.' As the scripture prescribe moving about for collecting alms, any injury consequent upon such movement would not be *hiṁsā* (violence). His alternative meaning, which he does not elaborate, seems to indicate that, *hiṁsā* was permissible only at places of pilgrimage, though this meaning is not very clear from his cryptic sentence. Pilgrimage to *tīrthas* is recommended in the *Mahābhārata* (3.80) and the Purāṇas. It is difficult to say what the *Chāndogya* meant by *tīrtha*. On the whole it seems that Śaṅkara's first explanation is correct.

Taittirīya Upaniṣad

The *Taittirīya* is divided into three chapters called *vallīs*, each sub-divided into sections called *anuvākas*.

The first chapter known as *Śikṣāvallī*, or 'Chapter Concerning Instructions.' Section 1.1. opens with an invocation to Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Indra, Bṛhaspati, and Viṣṇu, which is the same as RV. 1.90.9 (an hymn to All-Gods). Section 1.2 is on pronunciation (*śikṣā*, used in a special sense). The following sections (3-11) are respectively on: 3. mystic meaning (*upaniṣad*) of combinations; 4. a teacher's prayer; 5. significance of *bhūr, bhuvas suvar* (*svar*), *and mahas;* 6. a departed person's attainment with the four utterances mentioned above in 5; 7. fivefoldness of the world and of the individual 5 elements: earth, atmosphere, heaven, quarters of heaven, intermediate quarters etc., and *prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, udāna* and *samāna* etc. 8. glorification of the sacred word *Om*; 9. duties of a householder, which is more or less the same as *Chāndogya* 8.15, but specifically includes sacrifice, and does neither mention *ahiṁsā* nor *tīrtha*; 10. exultation of the sage Trisaṅku on Vedic knowledge which he concludes by declaring: 'I am wise immortal, indestructible;' 11. practical precepts of a teacher to a student after the latter has completed his Vedic study. The teacher enjoins:

'Speak the truth.
'Be virtuous (lit. 'practise *dharma*').
'Neglect not study [of the Vedas]
'Having brought an acceptable gift to the teacher[1] [enter the householder's life and see that you do not] cut off the line of progeny.
'Do not swerve from truth.
'Do not swerve from righteousness (*dharma*).
'Do not neglect [personal] welfare.
'Do not neglect prosperity.
'Do not neglect the study and teaching [of the Veda].
'Do not neglect your duties to gods and manes.
'Be one to whom a mother is as a god (i.e. be devoted to your mother)
'Be one to whom a father is as a god. (i.e. be devoted to your father)
'Be one to whom a teacher is as a god (i.e. be devoted to your teacher)
'Be one to whom a guest is as a god (i.e. serve your guest devotedly)
'Those acts which are irreproachable should be practised not others..... (1.11.1-2)
'This is the rule.
'This is the teaching.
'This is the mystic doctrine of the Veda (*ved-opaniṣad*).
'This is the instruction.
'Thus should one worship. Thus indeed should one worship.' (1.11.4)

The last section (1.12) is practically the same as 1.1. with minor changes of tense which are appropriate for a concluding passage.

[1]As explained in Ch. I the gift or fee to the teacher was offered at the end of study, that is, student life.

The second chapter is called the *Brahmānanda-vallī*, or 'Chapter on the Bliss of Brahman.' It also begins with a prayer to the Vedic gods and then states: 'One who knows Brahman attains the highest! Brahman is real, He is knowledge, He is infinite (*satyaṁ jñānaṁ anantaṁ Brahma*).' The following sections describe the various aspects of Brahma-sheaths, food, *prāṇa*, and mind (2-3); and then states: 'Wherefrom words turn, [which] the mind cannot attain—he who knows the bliss of Brahman never fears.' (2.4) Bliss of Brahman is described in 2.8, while 2.5 to 2.8 describes various other aspects of Brahman. Section 2.6 says: 'If a person knows Brahman as non-existent (*a-sat*), he himself becomes [as it were] non-existent. If one knows that Brahman exists, such a one know as existent.' However, 2.7 says: 'In the beginning, verily, this [manifest world] was non-existent. Therefrom, verily, Being was produced (see *Chāndogya*, 3.19.1 and 6.2.1-2). That [i.e. Brahman described as non-existent] created Itself by Itself, therefore, It is called the Self-made (*su-kṛta*).'[1] It then says: 'That which is Self-made, verily is the essence (*rasa*) [of existence] (*raso vai saḥ*). For, truly, on obtaining the essence one becomes blissful.'

Section 2.9 begins with the verse given above (2.4), but the second line says that 'the person who knows the bliss of Brahman (*Brahm-ānanda*) is not afraid of anything whatsoever.'

Chapter 3 is known as the *Bhṛgu-vallī* or 'Bhrgu's Chapter,' because here Bhṛgu approaches his father Varuṇa with the request to teach him about Brahman. Varuṇa begins by saying: 'That, verily, whence beings here are born, That by which when born they live, That into which on decaying they enter—seek to know that, That is Brahman' (3.1.1).

Bhṛgu performed austerity and realized that Brahman is food. He continued to perform austerity and realized gradually that Brahman is *prāṇa* (vital force), *manas* (mind) and *vijñāna* (understanding or intellect). He still performed austerity and realized that Brahman is *ānanda* (bliss). 'For truly, indeed, from bliss are these beings born (*ānandād=hy=eva khalv=imāni bhūtāni jāyante*), when born they live by bliss; on decaying they enter into bliss' (3.6).

The rest of the chapter is devoted to various metaphorical aspects of food, and the *Taittirīya* concludes with a song of universal unity: 'I am the food, I am the food; I am a food-eater! I am a food-eater! I am a food-eater! I am a *sloka-kṛt* (lit. 'verse-maker' or 'fame-maker,' but according to Śaṅkara 'the conscious agent which unites the food and the food-eater')! I am a *śloka-kṛt*! I am a *śloka-kṛt*! I am the first-born of the world-order (*ṛta*), earlier than the gods, in the navel of immortality! Who gives me [as food] away [to one who begs food] he indeed protects me. Who does not give away food, him I devour. I control the world as overlord (*param-eśvara*). My shining lights are eternally visible like the sun. This is the mystic knowledge (*Upaniṣad*).'

[1]Śaṅkara has explained *su-kṛta* as *svayam-akarot*, that is, 'Brahman himself created everything.'

Aitareya Upaniṣad

The *Aitareya Upaniṣad* is divided into three chapters called *adhyāyas* subdivided into sections called *khaṇḍas*. The *Aitareya*, among the Upaniṣads, gives the fullest account of creation.

It begins with the declaration: 'In the beginning [all] this, verily, was Ātman only, one and without a second. There was nothing else that winked. He bethought Himself: "Let me now create world." ' (1.1.1) He then created four worlds: 1. [the super-celestial region of] water (*ambhas*); 2. [the heavens with their celestial] lights (*marīci*); 3. the mortal [earth] (*mara*); and 4. [the subterranean region of] water (*ap*). After the worlds were created, Ātman proceeded to create a World-Person as an intermediate entity between Him, the ultimate reality, and the phenomenal reality. He fashioned this Person out of water, and blew into his nostrils the breath of life. Upon that Person, Ātman brooded, and then created his various organs of sense and their corresponding functions. Lastly, he created the deities. (1.1 2-4). With each organ of sense, its presiding deity was also created. Ātman then visited them with hunger and thirst. He brought forth a man, and the deities found an abode in him, which assuaged their cravings. Abode was provided by Ātman for hunger and thirst in oblations (1.2.1-5). He then bethought Himself: 'Here now are world and world-guardians. Let me create food for them.' And He created food. He then bethought Himself: 'How now could this thing exist without me? . . . . So cleaving asunder the *sīman* (the line of the parting of hair), by that door he entered . . . .' (1.3.1-12).

Chapter 2, which consists of one section only, refers to the conception (of an embryo) as the first birth. After delivery, when the child is actually born, is called its second birth. It is said: 'He [the son] being the self of the father is placed in his (the father's) stead for the performance of all sacred works; then his other self (the father) having performed all he has to do and having reached the span of his life (i.e. having become very old) departs [from this world], and departing from this world is born again, that is his third birth. And this has been declared by a sage: "While dwelling in [mother's] womb I came to know all the births of the gods; a hundred stronghold of *ayas* (copper or iron) held me, but I escaped down with speed like a hawk."[1]

Chapter 3, the last chapter, also consists of only one section. It begins with the question: 'Who is he whom we worship as "This is the Ātman? [Of the Universal Self and the individual self]." Which one is the Self? Is it He whereby one hears, whereby one smells odours, whereby one articulates speech, whereby one discriminates the sapid [food] from the insipid?'

The answer is: 'It is the heart and mind. It is [known on account of its different functions as] consciousness, sense of domination, knowledge [of arts], wisdom, retentive memory, determinative knowledge, steadfastness,

[1]Translated by MM. Kane, *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1586. MM. Kane has interpreted *śyena* or 'hawk' as 'soul' and the 'iron fortress' as the 'bodies through which the transmigrating soul wanders.'

purpose, life, desire, longing [for some object]—all these are but various names of "consciousness" (*prajñā*)' (3.2).

Finally, it says that all existence in the world—the five fundamental elements, all the beings that are born from eggs, or embryos, or owe their germination from earth, or are born from perspiration, horses, cattle, and men and indeed everything that breathes, or moves or flies or is stationery—'all these are guided by *prajñā* (intelligence or consciousness); is based on *prajñā*. The world is guided by *prajñā*. The substratum [of the universe] is *prajñā*. Brahman is *prajñā* (*Prajñānaṁ Brahma*).[1]

Iśā Upaniṣad

The *Iśā* is a metrical Upaniṣad. It consists of only eighteen verses, of which the first is one of the most famous passages of the Upaniṣads: "All that is changing or (moving) in this ephemeral world must be enveloped by *Iśā* (Lord). With this [world] renounced, you may enjoy. Do not covet the wealth of anyone.' That is, the entire universe is filled with the spirit of God. Brahman is the real nature of this world. Realise that, and having realized that, do not lose sight of that, and then liberate your *ātman* from the coils of *saṁsāra* (human bondage), of which the foremost link is greed.

The *Iśā* then says that even if a man lives for a hundred years, he should go on performing action,[2] so that he may be freed from the taint of action. It then says that 'they enter a blind alley who are devoted to ignorance [i.e. rituals], but into a greater darkness do they enter who pursue the knowledge [of a deity] only. Sages have declared from ancient times that *vidyā* and *avidyā* give different results [by means of *vidyā* one goes to *deva-loka*, and by *avidyā*, i.e. *karma*, one goes to *pitṛ-loka*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 1.5.16]. But he, who knows that both *vidyā* and *avidyā* should be synthesized, overcomes death through *avidyā*, and obtains immortality through *vidyā*.' Similarly, those who worship Asambhūti [Prakṛti, unmanifest action or static energy], and those who worship Sambhūti [*Kārya*-Brahma, Hiraṇyagarbha][3] are both destined to perdition. But he, who can combine the worship of both, overcomes death and attains immortality.'(12-14)

Apparently, these verses (9-14) mean that, whatever the relation between 'knowledge' and 'action,' both must be pursued. (In Upaniṣad 'knowledge' usually means 'knowledge of Brahman gained through meditation,' and

[1] *Prajñānaṁ Brahma* is a *mahā-vākya*.

[2] Śaṅkara explains *karma* (action) as '*agnihotra* etc.' Here he quotes a verse from the *Mahābhārata* (12.233.6, cr. ed), which he has also quoted on *Gītā* 2.21. The verse says that, according to Veda there are two ways, one is of *pravṛtti* (worldly life, attachment to pleasure), and other of *nivṛtti* (abstention from worldly life).

In the Upaniṣads, *Karma* means 'performance of Vedic rites.' Words within parenthesis are from Śaṅkara's commentary, without which it is impossible to render the *Iśā* adequately or intelligibly.

[3] *Kārya-Brahma* is the term used by Śaṅkara. In v. 14, *asambhūti* is called *vināśa*, which means destruction. That is, action of *Kārya-Brahma* leads to creation, and the nature of action is that, whatever it produces must come to an end sooner or later.

'action' means 'Vedic rituals'. However, Śaṅkara says in the Introduction to this Upaniṣad: '*Ātman* has been prescribed in the scriptures to suit the understanding of the ordinary people, who associate with Ātman such characteristics as multiplicity, agency, enjoyment, impurity, sinfulness and so on. . . . . the *mantra* of the *Īśā Upaniṣad* reveal the true nature of Ātman, and thereby destroy the natural ignorance regarding it. . . '

It seems that, it may be said violating neither the apparent meaning of the text nor transgressing Śaṅkara's authority, that one should not engage in the mechanical performance of rituals without understanding the deity, that is, the spirit behind the deity, nor should one meditate on the 'spirit', without understanding its form which can be gained only by performing the appropriate rituals. Similarly, the aspirant should meditate on both unmanifest Prakrit, the original cause, and its effect, the phenomenal reality. Ignorance of either would veil the secret of creation.

Kena or the Talavakāra Upaniṣad

In his introduction to the *Kenopaniṣad*, Śaṅkara writes: 'Now begins the ninth chapter [of the *Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa*] the subject-matter of which is the Supreme (*para*) Brahman. Prior to this, all the *karmans* have been fully described [in the first eight chapters of the *Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa*], as well as the basis of *karmans*, meditations on *sāman*, and the auxiliaries of *karman* . . . . the above mentioned rituals and meditations properly performed result in purifying the mind of the seeker of liberation who is free from desires. On the other hand, he who performs the actions laid down in the Veda and the Smṛti [with a view to] obtaining results, and is devoid of knowledge has to follow the southern path and returns to the cycle of life and death. . . . If it is contended that above mentioned results can be obtained from knowledge combined with action (*karma-sahitād api jñānād*) [we say] "No."'[1]

The *Kena* is divided into four chapters called *khaṇḍas*, of which the first two, written in verse, are in the form of a dialogue between a disciple and his preceptor. The last two chapters, which are in prose, relate through a parable the ability of the finite senses to realize the infinite Brahman.

The first verse of the *Kena*, in which four questions make a quatrain, is striking for its majestic sweep, simple directness, and the range of inquiry:

By whom impelled soars forth the mind projected?
By whom enjoined goes forth the earliest breathing?
By whom impelled this speech do people utter?
The eye, the ear—what god, pray, them enjoineth?
(1.1.1. translated by R.E. Hume)

[1]The reference is to *Muṇḍaka* 2.2.8 which declares: 'The knot of the heart is loosened, all doubts are cast off, and one's deeds (*Karmans*) cease, when He is seen both as the higher and the lower'. Śaṅkara's interpretation is right, for a reading of the Upaniṣads indicatee that these texts were primarily intended for monks who had given up all worldly ambitions and objects.

The answer is that the sense-organs and the mind cannot perform their functions without the help of Brahman. But Brahman Itself cannot be comprehended by any one of them, namely, speech, mind, eye, or ear. But 'That,' which one hears without the aid of ear, and breathes without the aid of *prāṇa*, indeed, is Brahman. One who boasts that he knows Brahman, knows not. 'It is known by those who do not know it.' That is, Brahman can never be an object of knowledge.

Chapters 3 and 4 relate the story of a war between the gods and the demons, which the former having won forgot that they were mere instruments of Brahman, and claimed greatness for themselves. Brahman understood their false pride and appeared before them. To It approached the gods Agni and Vāyu, but Agni failed to burn a single straw, nor could Vāyu, the mighty god of wind, move a single straw. Thereupon, humbled, they returned. Then Indra approached It, and It disappeared. Then an exceedingly beautiful woman, Umā Haimavati, appeared before Indra.[1] Her Indra asked: 'What is this wonderful Being?' 'It is Brahman,' she replied', and added, 'In that victory of Brahman, you have attained glory.' Then Indra understood that It was Brahman, and since Indra was the first among the gods to understand Brahman, he excelled them all.

This parable illustrates that the physical and mental powers of man are to be regarded as derived from the power of Brahman. Its unmanifest power lies at the back of the apparent manifest powers. Therefore, Brahman is the only Reality.

'*Tapas* (austerity), *dama* (restraint), and *karman* (Vedic rites, like Agnihotra) are the foundation of it [of Upaniṣad i.e. of mystic or secret doctrine]. The Vedas are all its limbs. Truth is its abode.' (4.8)

Kaṭha Upaniṣad

Of all the Upaniṣads, the *Kaṭha* is set in the most dramatic surroundings, which, together with its lucid style, make it almost unparalleled in the philosophical writings of the world. Max Müller has said, that the French, German, and the English translators of the Upaniṣads regard the *Kaṭha* as 'one of the most perfect specimens of the mystic philosophy and poetry of the ancient Hindus.'[2]

The *Kaṭha* is divided into 2 chapters or *adhyāyas*, each sub-divided into 3 sections or *vallīs*. It begins with a story:[3]

[1]Identification of this Umā has been a subject of inquiry among modern scholars. However, in his commentary (*Pada-bhāṣya*), Śaṅkara explains Uma as 'knowledge personified as Umā' (*vidyā-rūpiṇī*) and Haimavatī as 'decked in golden ornaments.' The *Vākya-bhāṣya* says that '*Vidyā* shone like Umā Haimavatī, the wife of Rudra. Even an ugly person, if learned, appears handsome.' But as MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has pointed out, the *Vākya-bhāṣya* of the *Kena* is not by Śaṅkara; *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 134 fn.

[2]Quoted by Swami Nikhilananda, *The Upaniṣads*, I, London, 1957, p. 109.

[3]The story in a different form is found in the *Taittīriya Brāhmaṇa* 3.11.8.1-6, and in a germinal form in RV. X. 135.

The son of Vājaśrava[1] performed a sacrifice at which he distributed among the priests, as the ritual prescribed, all his belongings, including some cows of poor quality. This saddened his son Naciketas, who said that he should also be given away as gift, and his father, in just irritation, declared that he gave away Naciketas to Death. The boy then went to the abode of Yama, the king of death. Yama was away, and for three days and nights Naciketas waited without taking any food. On his return, Yama was horrified to learn that a *brāhmaṇa* should have fasted at his doorsteps for three nights. For, calamity befell a person who did not properly entertain a *brāhmaṇa*. In order to atone for his unintentional lapse in duty, Yama offered Naciketas three boons.

Naciketas chose as his first boon his kind reception by his father on his return. Yama readily granted this boon.

For his second boon, Naciketas requested to be taught the Fire-sacrifice which led to heaven where people are immortal. Yama then explained to him the Fire-sacrifice, how the alter was to be made, how the fire was to be lighted, and Naciketas learnt them by heart. Yama was so pleased with this bright boy, that, as an extra boon, he ordained that henceforth the Fire-sacrifice would be named after Naciketas.

Then Naciketas asked his famous question: 'Does the soul of a man exist after his death or not? Some say, "He exists," others say, "He does not exist." This would I know, instructed by you. Of the boons, this is the third.' (1.1.20)

Yama tried to dissuade him from pursuing this line of inquiry, and offered him all imaginable material recompense. But Naciketas remained unshaken in his determination. He refused to accept any ephemeral object, and firmly declared:

This thing whereon they doubt, O Death;
What there is in the great passing on—tell us that!
This boon, that has entered into the hidden—
No other than that does Naciketa choose. (1.1.29)

Yama then begins to teach Naciketas by describing the failure of pleasure and ignorance, and points out that the attempts of an ignorant man to teach others is like a blind man leading another blind man. (1.2.5) Only to a true seeker of knowledge like Naciketas can knowledge be imparted. (1.2.9) The results of sacrifices are not eternal. One should discard the rewards of sacri-

[1]Vājaśravasa means 'son of Vājaśravā,' but in 1.11, Yama refers to Naciketas's father as 'Auddālaka Āruṇi,' which means 'Uddālaka,' or 'son of Uddālaka' and 'son of Aruṇa.' Even if it is taken as 'Uddālaka the son of Aruṇi,' his patronymic Vājaśravasa has to be explained. According to Śaṅkara it is an instance of *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*, that is, 'a man born of two illustrious families,' the assumption of the cognomen indicating that the man inherited property from his paternal and maternal grandfathers. This happened when the maternal grandfather had no son, and his grandson by a daughter was known as *putrikā-putra*. This custom is very old and is referred to in the RV. For details of *putrikā-putra* see *HDK*, III, pp. 657-58.

fice. The wise man leaves joy and sorrow behind by considering Him, 'who is hard to be perceived, having entered into the hidden secret place [of the heart] as God (*devam*, i.e. Ātman), by concentrating on Him through *yoga* (*adhyātma-yogādhigamena*).' When a mortal man hears and fully comprehends this teaching, then with the help of *dharma*, he understands the subtle essence and rejoices, because he has obtained that which is the cause of rejoicing. The Absolute is beyond *dharma*, beyond *adharma*, beyond performance and non-performance, beyond past and beyond future. It is this Absolute which Naciketas wanted Yama to describe (1.2.6-14).

In reply Yama says: 'The word which the Vedas declare, and which all austerities (*tapas*) proclaim, desiring which men lead the life of continence (*brahmacarya*), that word to thee I briefly declare: It is *Om*. That word is the Supreme Brahman; that word is the Supreme Symbol; that word is the Supreme Support.' 'This Ātman is not born, nor dies; This is not the result of anything, nor anything results from it. It is unknown, constant, eternal, primeval. It is not slain when the body is slain. If the slayer thinks that he kills, or the slain thinks himself killed, neither understands, for It neither slays nor is slain.[1] The *ātman* is more minute than the minute, and yet greater than the great; it is placed in the heart of a man who is free from desire and is tranquil: he beholds Him and becomes free from grief . . . This *ātman* cannot be attained by [Vedic] study, nor by intellect, nor by much learning. He is attained by him alone whom He choses; to such a one the Ātman reveals His own form.' Immoral persons cannot attain Him by intelligence (*prajñā*) (1.2.15-24).

The next section (1.3) begins with the relation between individual soul (*ātman*) and the Universal Soul (Ātman or Brahman). It is said that there are 'two' who dwell in the secret recess of the heart, and in the intellect, the knowers of Brahman describe them as 'light' and 'shade;' both enjoy the drink of righteousness in the world of good deeds.[2] The *ātman* is the master of the chariot, the body is the chariot, intellect is the charioteer, the mind is the rein, and the senses are the horses which range over the sense-objects: the *ātman* combined with the 'senses' and 'mind' is the 'enjoyer.' The uncontrolled senses of a man of infirm mind and without understanding are like vicious horses of a chariot. In the contrary case, when the senses are under proper control, they are like good horses. (1.3.1-6).

An impure and heedless man of no understanding fails to reach the goal and enters *saṁsāra* (world of births and deaths). 'He, however, who has understanding (*vijñānavān*), who is mindful, always pure, reaches the goal from which he is not reborn. A man, who has understanding as his charioteer, and who holds firmly the reins of his mind, reaches the end of the road, the highest abode of Viṣṇu.'[3] Beyond the senses are the sense objects, beyond

[1] See *Gītā*, 2.19-20.

[2] From this verse it may appear that Brahman is also enjoying the results of action, but that is not so. See below *Muṇḍaka* 3.1.1. and *Śvetāśvatara* 4.6 However, the 'dualists' insists on this verse as the basis of their philosophy.

[3] *Tad Viṣṇoh paramaṁ padam* is RV. I. 22.20, and with a slight variant RV. I. 154.5.

them is the mind (*manas*), beyond mind is the intellect (*buddhi*), beyond the intellect is the Great Ātman. Beyond the Great Ātman is the Unmanifest (*avyakta*), beyond the unmanifest is the Puruṣa. Beyond the Puruṣa there is nothing at all. This is the supreme goal. Though He is hidden in all things, He does not shine forth, but is seen by subtle seers with superior (lit. one-pointed) subtle intellect .... Arise ! Awake! Approaching the best teachers (*varān*) learn. The wise (*kavayo*) say, "like the sharp edge of a razor is that path—hard to traverse."[1] By discerning That, which is soundless, intangible, formless, imperishable, likewise tasteless, constant (or, eternal), odourless, without beginning, without end, beyond the great, and stable one is freed from the jaws of death.' (1.3.7-15)

Chapter 2 begins by preaching that Ātman is not to be sought through outward senses (2.1.1-4). 'The Supreme Lord (lit. Self-existent, *svayambhū*) inflicted an injury upon the sense-organs by diverting them outward. Therefore, one perceives objects which are outside and not the inner self. But the wise man, seeking immortality, introspectively beholds the Ātman.' (2.1.1). It is then said that the Ātman or Universal Soul is identical with the individual and with all creation (2.1.5-9). Failure to comprehend the essential unity of all is the cause of rebirth (2.1.10-11). The eternal Lord, who is 'of the measure of a thumb' (*aṅguṣṭha mātra*) resides inside one's self (*ātman*) (2.1.12-13). The real soul (*Ātman*) of the individual and of the world are not different bodies. The same Ātman dwells in all bodies. He is the sun in heaven, the air in the atmosphere; he is fire. He dwells in man, in the gods. He is born in water, on earth, in the sacrifice, and in the rocks. Even so, He exists in his own Self (2.2.2) What is it which persists when the body is dead? 'This, verily, is that!' (2.2.4)

Then Yama takes up the question put by Naciketas, and says: 'According to their work and knowledge, some beings enter a womb and are embodied as organic beings, others become trees etc. . . .' (2.2.7)

Yama then declares that Ātman, the unitary World Soul, is immanent yet transcendent:

As the one fire has entered the world
And becomes corresponding in form to every form,
So the one Inner Soul (*antarātman*) of all things
Is corresponding in form to every form, and yet is outside.

As the one wind has entered the world
And becomes corresponding in form to every form,
So the one Inner Soul of all things
Is corresponding in form to every form, and yet is outside.

[1]R.E. Hume and other western scholars have taken *varān* literally and rendered it as 'boons.' But Śaṅkara explained it as '*prakṛṣṭān ācāryāh*' which we have adopted here. *Kavayo* means poets, but Śaṅkara renders it is '*medhavino*.' The title of Somerset Maugham's novel *Razor's Edge* is from the first two words of this verse: *kṣurasya dhārā*.

As the sun, the eye of the whole world,
Is not sullied by the eternal faults of the eyes,
So the one Inner Soul of all things
Is not sullied by the evil in the world, being external to it.

The Inner Soul of all things, the One Controller (*vaśī*),
Who makes His one form manifold—
The wise who perceive Him as standing in oneself,
They, and no others, have eternal happiness!

Him who is the Constant among the inconstant, the
Intelligent among intelligences,
The One among many, who grants desires—
The wise who perceive Him as standing in oneself,
They, and no others, have eternal peace!

"This is it"! thus they recognize
The highest, indescribable happiness.
How, now, shall I understand "this"?
Does it shine [of itself] or does it shine in reflection?

The sun shines not there, nor the moon and stars,
These lightnings shine not, much less this (earthly) fire!
After Him, as He shines, doth everything shine,
This whole world is illumined with His light.[1] (2.2.9-15)

The last section of the *Kaṭha* (2.3) opens with a description of that 'Aśvattha tree with its roots above and branches below. That is Brahman, and that (root) is pure (*śukra*). That is Brahman called the Immortal container of all the worlds; none can pass beyond It.' (2.3.1) Everything in the world, fire, sun, wind, and death work from fear of Him (2.3.2-3). There are degrees of perception of the Ātman as there are gradations up to the supersensible person. The wise recognizes that the senses are apart from himself and grieves not. Above the senses (*indriya*) is the mind (*manas*); above the mind, is the true being (*sattva*); beyond the 'true being' is the great Ātman; beyond Him is the unmanifest (*avyakta*). 'Beyond the Unmanifest is the Puruṣa (Person), all-pervading and imperceptible (*a-liṅga*, lit. 'without any mark or 'characteristic sign,)' knowing which a man is liberated and attains immortality.' (2.3.7-8).

If He has no distinguishing mark, how can one perceive Him? *Kaṭha* 2.3.9 says: 'His form is beyond [ordinary] sight, none can perceive Him by the eye [i.e. He is beyond sense-knowledge]. He is revealed by *hṛdā manīṣā* (pure consciousness which negates all other knowledge). Those who know that *ātman* [as Brahman] become immortal.' Commenting on this verse, Śaṅkara says that, perception [of *ātman*] is possible by means of intellect located in the heart (*hṛtsthyā buddhyā*), which controls the fluctuating mind, and is

[1]*Kaṭha*, 2.2.9-15 translated by R.E. Hume, pp. 357-58. The last verse (2.9.15) is the same as *Muṇḍaka* 2.2.10, and *Śvetāśvatara* 6.14.

therefore *manīṭ* (lord of the mind).[1] He adds: 'How to gain that *hṛn-manīṭ*? Hence *yoga* is being prescribed,' and *yoga* is described in the next two verses.

Kaṭha 2.3.10-11 says: 'When the five (sense) knowledges (i.e., those which can be obtained through eye, ear, nose, tongue, and skin) together with the mind (*manas*) ceases to function, and the intellect (*buddhi*) does not exert itself—that is called the highest state. This is called *yoga*—the firm holding back of the senses. [When that stage is reached] one must be vigilant, for *yoga* is (or can be) (both) creative and destructive.'[2]

Now, as Śaṅkara asks, if Brahman cannot be apprehended by sense-organs, how can one say: 'It is Brahman.' Because, ordinarily, existence or non-existence of an object is determined exclusively by the use of sense-organs. Hence the *Kaṭha* 2.3.12 states: 'Not by speech, not mind, not by sight, can He be apprehended. How can He be realized unless one affirms "He is"? He [the Ātman limited by adjuncts such as *buddhi*] is to be comprehended and [then] the undifferentiated Brahman will be realized. His real nature is manifested to one who has realized that He is.'[3] (2.3.12-13).

The characteristic nature of such seers of Ultimate Reality is: 'When one is liberated from all the desires that dwell in one's heart,[4] then a mortal becomes immortal, and attains Brahman.' How is desire totally uprooted? 'When all the knots of the heart [i.e. *avidyā*] are torn asunder here [i.e. in this life] then the mortal becomes immortal.[5] This is the extent of instructions.' (2.3.14-15). As Śaṅkara has said: Vedānta has nothing more to teach. This is the basic teaching of Vedānta.

The next verse (2.3.16) is the same as *Chāndogya* 8.6.6 explained above. *Kaṭha* 2.3.17 says: 'The Puruṣa measuring a thumb is the *antar-ātman* (inner or individual soul), ever residing in the heart of a man. Let a man patiently separate Him from the body, as he would the stalk from the grass. Let one know Him as the Pure, the Immortal.' The next verse (2.3.18) with which *Kaṭha* ends, states: 'Having received from the [king of] Death this *vidyā*

[1]The word *hṛdaya* (lit. heart) should be rendered as 'centre of consciousness.' In that case, Śaṅkara's explanation would seem to indicate that, when the ordinary organs of conscious apprehension are made to stop functioning, super-conscious intellect arises to aid in apprehending the Supreme Reality, who cannot be apprehended by the senses, mind, or ordinary intellect, which are meant for apprehending the phenomenal world.

[2]*Prabhav=āpyayau* has been explained by Śaṅkara as *upajana* and *apāya*. For other renderings see Hume, who seems to have followed *Gītā*, 11.2, where *bhav-āpyayau* has been used to mean 'origin and end.'

[3]Śaṅkara says on 2.3.13 that *sopādhika* is *asti*, and *nirupādhika* is *tattva*, which may be rendered as 'existential' and 'essential'. For *Kaṭha* 2.2.15 and 2.3.12 see MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Tāntrik Vaṁmaya me Śākta Dṛṣṭi*, Patna, 1963, pp. 45-6.

[4]Here Śaṅkara says that *hṛdaya* is the seat of *buddhi*, and that all desires are located in *buddhi*.

[5]The sense of 'I am this body'; 'This wealth is mine'; 'I am happy'; or 'I am miserable' are *avidyā*. This *avidyā* has to be destroyed with the realization: 'I am Brahman, not chained to the cycle of birt hs and deaths'. This realization destroys desires. Śaṅkara on *Kaṭha*, 2.3.15.

(knowledge) and the entire rule of *yoga*,[1] Naciketas became free from passion (lit. impurities), free from death, (and) attained Brahman.'

Praśna Upaniṣad

The *Praśna* is partly in prose and partly in verse, but as the prose passages outnumber the verses, it is treated as a prose Upaniṣad. This Upaniṣad derives its name from the fact that it consists of questions and answers. One day six young *brāhmaṇas*, namely, Sukeśan son of Bharadvāja, Satyakāma son of Śivi, Sauryāyaṇī of the family of Garga, Kausalya son of Aśvala, Vaidarbhi of the family of Bhṛgu, and Kabandhin son of Katya approached the sage Pippalāda. Pippalāda advised them to stay with him for a year practising austerity (*tapas*), continence (*brahmacarya*), and faith (*śraddhā*). He promised that at the end of the period he would enlighten them. (1.1-2)

Presumably it was at the end of the stipulated period that the five seekers after knowledge gathered round the sage and begged him to answer their questions. Each chapter consists of a *praśna* (question) asked by one of them and Pippalāda's answer. Hence a chapter is designated as '*praśna*', and there are six *praśnas* or chapters.

The first question was by Kabandhin, who asked: 'Sir, whence verily are creatures born?' In his reply Pippalāda said that Prajāpati became desirous of creating. With that end in view, he practised penance, and having practised penance first created a pair, *rayi* (matter) and *prāṇa* (life or energy), thinking 'these two will make creatures for me in various ways.'

Then Vaidarbhi asked: 'Sir, how many powers (*deva*) support a creature? How many illumine this [body]? Which one again is the chiefest of them?' Pippalāda said: 'Space (*ākāśa*) is a power (*deva*), so are wind, fire, water, earth, speech, mind, sight, and hearing too. They illumined it, and declared that they would uphold and support this body. Them *prāṇa* warned not to fall into delusion. And *prāṇa* showed that he was indeed superior to them. *Prāṇa* is fire, he is the sun, the rain, the wind, earth, matter (*rayi*), god (*deva*); it is form (*sat*, explained by Śaṅkara as *mūrta*) and formless (*a-sat*, *amūrta* according to Śaṅkara), it is also immortal. Like the spokes on the hub of a wheel, everything is established on *prāṇa* . . . .'

Then Kausalya asked: 'Whence, sir, is this *prāṇa* (life) born? How does it come into this body? How does it distribute itself and establish itself? Through what does it depart? How does it sustain the external [elements]? How does it sustain the internal [elements, i.e. the sense-organs]?' To him Pippalāda said: 'You are asking a tremendous question (*ati-praśnān pṛcchasi*). You are a pre-eminent knower of Brahman: hence I shall tell you.' And Pippalāda said:

[1]*Yoga vidhiṁ ca kṛtsnam*, 'entire rule of *yoga*' is important, since it indicates that, without some sort of *yoga* practice, Vedānta realization was not possible. The text does not mention the rules, that is, the methods, for those were matters of practical training under expert supervision. It may be noted here that one cannot become a *yogin*, or adept in *yoga* by merely reading the *yoga* texts, as explained below in chapter on Yoga.

This life (*prāṇa*) is born from Ātman. The *prāṇa* comes into the body by the action of the mind. It controls all bodily activities. The *ātman* is located in the heart from which opens 101 channels (*nāḍī*), each with 100 smaller channels. To each of them belong 72,000 branch-channels, through which the *vyāna* (breath) moves. Out of these 100 channels, one [according to Śankara called *suṣumnā*] carries the *udāna* (up-breath), which leads a pious man upwards to the heavenly worlds, and an evildoer to lower forms of life (Śaṅkara). One who knows the fivefold extension of the source, the entrance, the location, the supremacy, and the relation to self of *prāṇa* obtains immortality.

Then Sauryāyaṇin asked: 'Sir, what are they that sleep in a person here? What are they that remain awake in him? Which is the *deva* (god) that sees the dreams? Whose is the happiness? In whom, pray, are all things established?' Pippalāda answered:

Sleep is caused by the senses being collected or absorbed in the sensorium, which is the *manas* (mind). In that condition, known as 'sleep,' his bodily organs do not function, but 'life's fire' remain awake. The deity of the mind experiences in a dream his experiences and even what he has not experienced. When that deity in the form of mind (*mano-rūpa deva*, Śaṅkara) is overcome with *tejas*, then he ceases to dream and there arises in this body happiness [because in that state he perceives the self, Śaṅkara]. For example, as birds resort to a tree for a resting place, so it is to the Para Ātman (Supreme Self) that everything resort. The conscious self (*vijñān-ātmā*) with all its powers (*deva*), *prāṇa* (vital energy), and elements (*bhūta*) rest on Akṣara (Imperishable). He who knows Akṣara knows all, and enters all.

Then Satyakāma asked: 'Verily, sir, if someone among men here should meditate on the syllable *Om* until the end of his life, which world, verily, does he win thereby?' Pippalāda answered:

Om is both the higher (*para*) and the lower (*a-para*) Brahman. Just as a snake is freed from its slough, similarly is the man who meditates on *Om* freed from his sins, and [by the power of his] *sāman* chants lifted to the world of Brahman where he beholds that Person (Puruṣa) that dwells in the body and that is higher than the highest living complex. (Śaṅkara calls the latter Hiraṇyagarbha, immanent in all human beings.)

Then Sukeśan asked: 'Where is that person with sixteen parts?' This question had been put to him by Hiraṇyanābha, a prince of the Kosalas, but being afraid that a mendacious answer would destroy him, Sukeśan, instead of replying to the prince, had come to Pippalāda to learn. Pippalāda said:

In this body is that Puruṣa who is made up of sixteen parts. He created life; from life faith (*śraddhā*), space (*kha*), wind, light, water, earth, sense-organ (*indriya*, i.e., five sense-organs and five organs of action), mind, food; from food, virility, austerity (*tapas*), *mantras* [*Vedic*, *Śaṅkara*] *karman*, [*agnihotra* etc., Śaṅkara], worlds (*lokas*) [results of *karman*]; in the worlds, name [individuals like Devadatta, Yajñadatta; Śaṅkara]. As the rivers disappear after reaching the ocean, their name and form (*nāma-rūpa*) are

destroyed and they are simply called the ocean, similarly, these sixteen parts tend towards the Puruṣa, and on reaching Him disappear, their name and form are destroyed, and it is simply called 'the Puruṣa,' who is without parts and is immortal. These parts may also be considered as centred in Puruṣa as spokes in the hub of a wheel.

'Thus far,' concluded Pippalāda, 'in truth, I know that Param (Supreme) Brahman. There is naught higher than It.'

Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad

This Upaniṣad is divided into three chapters called *muṇḍakas* (head), each sub-divided into sections called *khaṇḍas*. The title of the Upaniṣad is peculiar, and has been taken to mean 'the shaven head' of a *sannyāsin*, for whom this text was primarily meant. At the end (3.2.10) it is said that this Upaniṣad is to be revealed only to those who have performed the *Śiro-vrata*. If *śira* is taken to mean *muṇḍaka*, then the title can be explained.

It was Śaṅkarācārya's practice to write an introduction to all the texts on which he commented. His introduction to the *Muṇḍaka* is not only brilliant, as indeed all his introductions are, but it gives the gist of the text in as few words as possible. The reader will also come into contact with one of the greatest intellects of India, hence a rendering of Śaṅkara's introduction to the *Muṇḍaka* is given below.

'[The *Muṇḍaka*] Upaniṣad beginning [with the words] "*Om* Brahmā, the maker of the universe," belongs to the *Atharvaveda*.

'The Upaniṣad, for the purpose of extolling its contents, states at the beginning how the *vidyā* (knowledge) contained in it was transmitted from preceptor to disciple. Having shown that "this *vidyā* was obtained by mighty efforts of the great sages in order to obtain the highest goal in life (*parama-puruṣārtha*, i.e. *mokṣa* or liberation)," it intends to create a taste for it in the minds of its listeners, so that such eulogies may induce people to gladly learn this *vidyā* (knowledge).

'Along with its (*vidyā's*) application, the *vidyā's sādhya-sādhana-lakṣaṇa* (the relation between the goal and the means to attain it) will be discussed later [in the passage beginning] "the fetters of the heart are broken" (2.2.8) etc.

'Here [in this Upaniṣad], the word *apara* (lower) has been used to indicate that knowledge gained from the RV etc., consisting of mandatory and prohibitory acts, do not destroy nescience which is the cause of *saṁsāra* (the circuit of worldly life). This is made clear by the verse: "Those abiding in the midst of ignorance . . . . " (1.2.8), which distinguishes between the *para* (higher) and *apara* (lower) *vidyā* (knowledge). Again, by the verse "Having scrutinized the world . . ." (1.12.12) etc. is established the means, namely, asceticism and grace of the *guru* (preceptor), and the goal, *Brahma-vidyā*. The importance [of *Brahma-vidyā*] is repeatedly emphasized in such verses as "Verily, he who knows that Supreme Brahman becomes very Brahman," (3.2.9), and " . . . are all liberated beyond death."

'Though people belonging to all the *āśramas* (stages of life, i.e. including householders) have the right to acquire *Brahma-vidyā*, even so it can be attained only by those who actively practise renunciation, and is denied to those who mix it up with the performance of Vedic rites, which is shown by such verses as " . . . . (knowers) who live on alms" (1.2.11), and " . . . through the application of renunciation . . ." (3.2.6) etc. Because [*Brahma-*] *vidyā* and *karma* (Vedic sacrifices) are contradictory, the realization of the identity of *ātman* (individual soul) with Brahman, along with the performance of sacrifices cannot even be dreamt of (lit. 'cannot even be performed in a dream'). *Vidyā* (knowledge) is not correlated to time, nor is it the effect of any definite cause, therefore, it is not proper to limit it by a time factor.

'The fact that some householders [i.e. those who perform sacrifices] adopt the *liṅga* (symbols and characteristics) of sectarian teachers cannot invalidate this well-established rule. Hundreds of precedents cannot make darkness and light co-exist, so what can a *liṅga* [indicating teachership] establish!

'Thus, after having established its [*Muṇḍaka's*] relation to and use in [the acquisition of *Brahma-vidyā*], we now proceed to write a short commentary on it.

'He who approaches this *Brahma-vidyā* as knowledge of self with *śraddhā* and *bhakti* (faith and devotion), his [future] misfortunes, such as lying in a womb, birth, decrepitude, illness etc. are destroyed, or he attains Brahman, or his cause of *saṁsāra*, namely, *avidyā* (nescience) is shattered. It is called *upaniṣad* because it destroys, that is the meaning of the root *sad* with the prefixes *upa* and *ni*.'

Here ends Śaṅkara's introduction to the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, in which he presents the central idea of his doctrine based on this text. We shall now give a few quotations from the *Muṇḍaka* as rendered by R.E. Hume with some modifications.

'There are two knowledges to be known, as indeed the knowers of Brahman are wont to say: a higher (*parā*) and also a lower (*aparā*). Of these, the lower is the RV, the YV, the SV, the AV, phonetics (*śikṣā*), ritual (*kalpa*), grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), etymology (*nirukta*), metrics (*chandas*), and astronomy (*jyotiṣa*). Now, for the higher, that by which the Imperishable (*akṣara*) is apprehended.' (1.1.4-5).

Unsafe boats, however, are those sanctificial forms
The eighteen,[1] in which is expressed the lower work.
The fools who approve that as the better,
Go again to old age and death. (1.2.7)

Those abiding in the midst of ignorance,
Self-wise, thinking themselves learned,
Hard smitten, go around deluded,
Like blind men led by one who is himself blind. (1.2.8)

[1]According to Śaṅkara, 'eighteen' means the sixteen priests, the sacrificer, and his wife. For a different interpretation see Hume, but he is apparently wrong.

Having scrutinized the world that are built up by *karman*, a *brāhmaṇa*
Should arrive at indifference. The eternal world, is not attained by *karman*
For the sake of knowledge, let him go fuel in hand
To a teacher (*guru*) who is learned in scriptures and established in Brahman[1] (1.2.12).

Taking as a bow the great weapon of the Upaniṣad,
One should put upon it an arrow sharpened by meditation.
Stretching it with a thought directed to the essence of That
Penetrate that Imperishable as the mark, my friend (2.2.3)

The mystic symbol syllable *praṇava*, (i.e. *Om*) is the bow. The arrow is the soul (*ātman*)
Brahman is said to be the mark (*lakṣya*)
By the undistracted man is It to be penetrated.
One should come to be in It, as the arrow [in the mark] (2.2.4)

. . . Consisting of mind, leader of the life-breaths and of the body (*prāṇa-śarīra-netā*)
He is established on food, controlling the heart.
By this knowledge the wise perceive
The Blissful Immortal that gleams forth
(*Ānanda-rūpam amṛtam yad vibhāti*) (2.2.7)

'Emancipation' or *Mukti* means in the Upaniṣads the state of infiniteness that a man attains when he knows his own self and thus becomes Brahman. The ceaseless course of transmigration is only for those who are ignorant. The wise man who has divested himself of all passions and knows himself to be Brahman, at once becomes Brahman and no bondage of any kind can ever effect him.

He who beholds that loftiest and deepest,
For him the fetters of the heart break asunder
For him all doubts are solved,
And his works become nothingness.'[2] (2.2.8)

Two birds, fast bound companions,
Clasp close the self-same tree.
Of these two, the one eats sweet fruit;
The other looks on without eating.' (3.1.1.=RV.I. 164.20)

Truth alone conquers,[3] not falsehood.
By truth is laid out the path leading to the gods (*devayāna*)
By which the sages whose desire is satisfied ascend

[1]As has been explained above, *karma* in Upaniṣads always means Vedic sacrifice Hume has rendered the word as 'work' which is misleading. The carrying of fuel to a teacher is a token indication of acceptance of pupilship.

[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 58. The passage from the *Muṇḍaka* is translated by Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upánisads*, p. 352.

[3]This famous sentence: *satyam eva jayati* has been adopted by the Government of India as its motto.

To where is the highest repository of truth (3.1.6)

This Soul (Ātman) is not to be attained by one destitute of fortitude
Nor through heedlessness,[1] *nor through austerity (tapas)*[2] *without being ordained.*
But he who strives by these means, provided he knows
Into his Brahman-abode (*dhama*), this Soul [Ātman] enters.' (3.2.4)

They who have ascertained the meaning of the Vedānta-knowledge,
Ascetics (*yati*) with natures purified through the application of renunciation (*sannyāsa-yoga*).
They in the Brahman-worlds at the end of time
Are all liberated beyond death. (3.2.6)

As the flowing rivers in the ocean
Disappear, quitting name and form,
So the knower, being liberated from name and form,
Goes unto the Heavenly Person, higher than the high. (3.2.8)

He, verily, who knows the Supreme Brahman, becomes very Brahman.[3]
In his family no one ignorant of Brahman arises. He crosses over sorrow.
He crosses over sin. Liberated from the knots of heart, he becomes immortal. (3.2.9).

Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad

The *Māṇḍūkya* is the shortest Upaniṣad consisting of only twelve prose passages, most of which consist only of a single sentence. This Upaniṣad, however, has an importance of its own, for Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara's spiritual predecessor, composed a metrical commentary on it, called the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā*, consisting of 215 verses, and Śaṅkara wrote a commentary on the Upaniṣad and another on the *Kārikā*. Śaṅkara has taken the two texts together. Gauḍapāda's *Kārikā* begins after *Māṇḍūkya* 6. *Māṇḍūkya* 7 comes after *Kārikā* 1.9, and *Māṇḍūkya* 8-12 comes after *Kārikā* 1.18. That is, the entire Upaniṣad is explained in the first chapter of the *Kārikā* called the *Āgama-prakaraṇa*.

In his introduction to the commentary, Śaṅkara writes: '. . . What purpose

[1] *Pramāda*, which Hume has rendered as 'heedlessness,' may also mean 'fainting' or 'insanity' due to sudden accession of religious fervour which passes as suddenly.

[2] Hume has rendered the italicised words as 'nor through a false notion of austerity', but I do not think that this is the correct rendering of *tapaso v=āpy=aliṅgāt*. Śaṅkara explains that here *tapas* means *jñanam* (knowledge), and *liṅga, sannyāsa*; that is, a man cannot gain knowledge unless he becomes a *sannyāsin*. *Liṅga* here cannot mean 'external marks' except in a figurative sense.

[3] *Brahma veda Brahm=aiva bhavati*. Hume points out that, 'in the title to his Latin translation, "Oupnekhat," Anquetil Duperron set this sentence evidently as the summary of the contents of the Upaniṣads : "Quisquis Deum intelligit, 'Deus fit,' "whoever knows God, becomes God." In a sense, this is the central idea of the Upaniṣads, and one can only marvel at Duperron's insight. His two volumes of (Latin) translation appeared in 1801-1802.

is served [by this Upaniṣad]? It is this: as a sick man regains his health on the removal of his disease, similarly, the infliction of misery upon the *ātman* (self) is removed by its dissociating itself from the phenomenal world [with which it had identified itself]. The realization of non-duality is the purpose served (*advaita-bhāvah prayojanam*) [by this Upaniṣad].'

The *Māṇḍūkya* begins: '*Om*! this syllable is the whole world. . . The past, the present, the future—everything is just the word *Om*. That which is beyond the threefold time is also *Om*. Verily, all this is Brahman. This *ātman* is Brahman.[1] This *ātman* has four steps (*pāda*, lit. foot).[2] The waking state, cognitive of external objects. . . enjoying the gross, common-to-all-men (*vaiśvānara*) is the first step. The dreaming state, inwardly cognitive . . . enjoying the subtle, is *taijasa* (lit. brilliant), is the second step. The deep sleep state [where one sees no dream], of unified (or undifferentiated) experience (*prajñāna-ghana*, lit. cognition-mass) experiencing third step. This [*prajñā*] [in its natural state, *svarūpāvasthā*, Śaṅkara] is the Lord of all. This is the all-knowing; this is the inner controller (*antaryāmin*). This is the source of all, for this is the origin and end of beings.

'Not conscious of the subjective (lit. internal) world, not conscious of the objective (lit. external) world, not both-wise cognitive, not a cognition-mass (*prajñāna-ghana*), not cognitive, not non-cognitive, unseen, not related *to* anything, incomprehensible [to sense-organs, Śaṅkara], uninferable (lit. unthinkable), indescribable, quintessential conception of being one with the self (*ek-ātmā-pratyaya sāram*) [even in waking state, Śaṅkara], the cessation of all phenomenon (*prapanco-śama*), Tranquil, Benign, Non-dual (*Śāntam, Śivam, Advaitam*).[3] He is the Ātman. He is to be perceived.'[4] (1-7).

The *Māṇḍūkya* then describes *Om* as the representative of various levels of consciousness, and correlates them with various states of self.

"The Ātman is now predicated of letters [of] *Oṁkāra*.[5] which is based on measure (*Omkāro' dhimātram*); steps are [its] measure. The steps (i.e. units) of measure are the letter *a*, the letter *u*, [and] the letter *m*. The waking state *vaiśvānara* (common-to-all-men) is the letter *a* on account of its pervasiveness,[6] or on account of its being the first (letter of the alphabet). He obtains, verily, all desires, indeed he becomes first—he who knows this.'

The dreaming state, the *taijasa* is the letter *u*, the second measure, on

[1]This is a *mahā-vākya*.

[2]*Pāda* literally means "foot.' Śaṅkara explains that 'here the word *pāda* is used in the sense of one-fourth of the coin *kārṣāpana* not of a cow. The word '*pāda* is again used in the sense of an object to be obtained, when the object can be obtained in the fourth (*turīya*) (state)'.

[3]This triune aspect of Brahman constitutes one of the fundamental tenets of the Brahma Samaj.

[4]All the later systems of Vedānta have heavily drawn on this passage.

[5]In Sanskrit, the vowel 'o' is constitutionally a diphthong, contracted from *a* + *u*. *Om*, therefore, may be analysed into *a*+*u*+*m*.

[6]Because all the consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet have an inherent *a*. Śaṅkara quotes the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (2.3.6) *akāro vai sarva vāk* (*a* is the whole of speech).

account of its intermediateness (*ubhayatva*).[1] He who knows this realizes the extent-of-knowledge and is equitable (*samāna*).[2]

The sleeping state, *prājña*, is the letter *m*, the third measure, (derived) from *miti* (measure) or from *apiti* (immerging) because it reduces everything to unity. He who knows this indeed realizes his identity (*minoti*), and becomes the cause (*kāraṇa*) of the world.[3]

'The fourth measure is measureless, not applicable to any (*avayavahārya*).[4] cessation of all phenomenon, Benign (*Śiva*), without a second (Advaita).

'This *Om* is, verily, the Ātman.

'He who knows this enters with his *ātman* (individual self) the Ātman (Universal Self).'[5] (8-12)

Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad

Both from the point of view of its language and of its content, the *Śvetāśvatara* appears to be later than the Upaniṣads considered above. The *Śvetāśvatara* is divided into six chapters called *adhyāyas*.

The *Śvetaśvatara* opens with an inquiry into the original cause;

What is the cause? Brahman? Whence are we born?
Whereby do we live? And on what are we established?
Governed by whom, in pleasure and pain
Do we live our various conditions, O ye knowers of Brahman? (1.1)

The reply given in the next verse refutes several systems of philosophy, and then it is stated that God (*deva*) rules over all these causes including *kāla* (time) and *jīva* (soul) by his own power (*ātma-Śakti*) hidden in his own qualities. The soul (*haṁsa*) moves round and round in this *Brahma-chakra*[6] (wheel of Brahman), thinking that itself and the Ruler (*preritṛ*) are different. (1.2-6).

There are three ultimate existences, the impotent unknowing (individual soul), the Omnipotent (Lord), and the eternal (Prakṛti) which is unborn and is connected with the enjoyer and objects of enjoyment. This triad, individual soul, Lord, and Prakṛti, is Brahman. The primary matter (*pradhāna*) is perishable, Hara (the soul) is imperishable, one God rules over them.[7] By

[1]The letter *u* is between *a and m* in *aum*, similarly, *taijasa* state is between the *vaiśvānara* and the *prajñā* states.

[2]'He treats friends and foes alike'; Śaṅkara. For other explanations of *samāna*, see Hume, op. cit., p. 393 fn. 2.

[3]This is Śaṅkara's explanation. *Minoti* may also mean 'he measures' that is, 'he realizes the nature of the self'. It may also mean 'erects' that is, 'creates the world out of his own consciousness', which would agree with the subjective idealism expounded in the Upaniṣads.

[4]Śaṅkara says that, 'it is *avyavahārya*, because the subject (*abhidhāna*) and its signification (*abhidheya*) in the form of speech and mind are exhausted'.

[5]See *Gītā*, 11.54, and 18.55.

[6]See *Gītā*, 18.61.

[7]See *Gītā*, 15.16.

knowing God (*deva*) all sins are destroyed, and birth and death cease to operate. The enjoyer, the object of enjoyment, and the universal Ruler are the triune aspects of Brahman. 'As oil in sesame seeds, as butter in cream, as water in river, as fire in the friction-sticks, so is Brahman (being immanent in one's own soul) apprehended by one, if one seeks Him with true *tapas* (austerity).' (1.15)

Chapter 2 is devoted to *yoga*, but the first seven verses are invocations to Savitṛ presumably for success in *yoga*. Of these seven verses, the first five are taken from various *Saṁhitās*.[1] *Śvetāśvatara* 2.5, which is taken from the RV (X. 13.1) contains the famous lines:

śṛṇvantu viśve amṛtasya putrā
ā ye dhāmāni divyāni tasthuḥ

All the sons of the immortal listen,
Even those who are in heavenly realms.

Verse 12 speaks of the body 'made out of the fire of *yoga*,' which is not susceptible to sickness, old age, or death. 2.16 is taken from the *Vājasaneya Saṁhitā* 32.4, and 2.17, the last verse of this chapter, says: 'The God (*deva*) who is in fire, who is in water, who has entered into the whole world, who is in plants, who is in trees, to that God be adoration—yea, be adoration (*tasmai devāya namo namaḥ*).

Chapter 3 identifies the One God with Rudra. Verse 3.1 describes One God (without a second) as 'spreader of the net' (*jālavān*), who rules. The AV 8.8.5-8 refers to 'Indra with a net', and Indra is said to use magic (*māyā*) powers in RV VI. 47.18, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 2.5.19. The *Śvetāśvatara* 4.10 refers to *māyā*, therefore *jāla* may be rendered as *māyā*. Actually, the word *Indra-jāla* means '*magic*.' As the *Mahābhārata* (5.160.55, not included in the cr. ed.) says: *indrajālaṁ ca māyā vai kuhakā v=āpi bhīṣaṇā.*

The next few verses (3.3-7) are invocations to Rudra for His grace and mercy: 'Those who know Him as Lord becomes immortal.' Then it is said:

'I know this mighty Puruṣa (person)
Of the colour of sun, beyond darkness.
Only by knowing Him does one pass over death,
No other path exists for going there.
Than whom there is naught else higher.
Than whom there is naught smaller, naught greater,
The One stands like a tree shining in his self-effuigence (*divi*)[2]
By Him, the Puruṣa, this whole universe is pervaded. (3.8-9)

[1] *Śvetāśvatara*, 2.1-5 are from *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 4.1.1 1-5 and with variations also found in *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* 11.1-5, from which they are cited in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.3.1. 12-17. *Śvetāśvatara* 2.4. is also found in RV, 5.81.1 *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* 5.14 and 11.4, and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.5.3.11-12. *Śvetaśvatara* 2.5. is also found in RV, 10.13.1 and *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* 11.5. The first three lines of this verse, with slight variations are found in AV, XVIII. 3.39 last three lines.

[2] *Divi* means 'in heaven.' But here we are following the commentary, which is ascribed

Verses 10-15 are taken from various Saṁhitās and Upaniṣads, 3.14-15 being the first two verses of the *Puruṣa-sūkta* (RV.X.90.1-2), that is Rudra is identified with the Ṛgvedic Puruṣa. Verse 16 is the same as *Gītā* 13.13, while the first two lines two of the next verse are the same as the first two lines of *Gītā* 13.14. The next verse (3.18) has affinities with *Kaṭha* (5.1) and *Gītā* 5.13, while 3.19 resolves in Him all contradictions:

Without foot or hand, he is swift and a seizer!
He sees without eyes; he hears without ear!
He knows what' er is to be known; Him there is none who knows!
Men call Him the Great Primeval Puruṣa.[1]

Chapter 4 is a continuation of Chapter 3, and invokes Śiva in His benign aspect (3.1-14), and propitiates the terrible Rudra (3.21-22). Everything has evolved out of Maheśvara (the Great Lord). Prakṛti is His illusory power (*māyā*), and He is the illusion maker. With His powers He creates the world to which the individual soul is confined, covered by illusion.

Chapter 5 is free from any repetition from other texts. Its subject-matter is the essential nature of Brahman, the One God of the manifold world, the nature of reincarnating individual, and his liberation through knowledge of God. The word *yoni* has been used several times (5, 2, 4, 5, 6) with different connotations depending on the context, but the central idea seems to be *śakti* (power) of the Lord. The use of the word *guṇa* (lit. quality) (5.7, 8, 9) is also significant. The teaching of this chapter is that, the Great Lord is all pervasive. He is the substratum and controller of everything. He has become *jīva* (individual soul). In a *jīva*, He appears outwardly as veiled, but in reality 'He is the measure of a thumb, of sun-like appearance.' A *jīva* is neither masculine, nor feminine, nor a neuter (5.10); he is as fine as a part of the hundredth part of the point of a hair subdivided a hundredfold, and yet he partakes of infinity. He takes many forms according to his action. By knowing God, he is released from all fetters.

to Śaṅkara. But MM. Gopinath Kaviraj rejects this claim of Śaṅkara's authorship on the ground that the *Śvetāśvatara's* commentary refers to Gauḍapāda as 'the disciple of Śuka, while in the Br. S. 1.4.15 and 2.1.9, Śaṅkara has referred to Gauḍapāda with the honour due to his spiritual predecessors; *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 134, MM. Kane (*HDK*, V, il, p. 1407 fn. 2309) also doubts the authenticity of ascribing this commentary to Śaṅkara on the ground that while in the Br. S., Śaṅkara has cited no Purāṇa by name, and only a few verses as '*iti purāṇa*,' the commentary on the *Śvetāśvatara* contains a very large number of verses from the *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, and the *Liṅga-purāṇas*. MM. Gopinath Kavirāj has also shown that the benedictory verse at the beginning of the commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya* contains several mistakes, hence it could not have been composed by Śaṅkara.

In the present context, however, it seems that the commentary's rendering of *divi* suits the context, and we have therefore, adopted it.

[1]*Śvetāśvatara* 3.3. uses the word *patatra*, which should be rendered as 'that which saves from falling,' that is, 'wings' of a bird. However, the famous Naiyāyika writer, Udayana, uses this verse to correlate Nyāya-Vaiṣeṣika philosophy with Veda by rendering *patatra* as *paramāṇu* (atom), which is not accepted by any other school. Udayana: *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali*, V. 3.

Chapter 6, which is the last chapter, inquires further into the nature and attributes of God: 'Some [so-called] wise men labouring under delusion regard Nature, and others Time as the source of being. In reality it is the greatness of God (*deva*) which causes the wheel of Brahman to turn round. He envelopes everything. He is the only knower; author of time; possessor of qualities; and omniscient. Having performed all His actions [i.e. having transformed actions into worship, *Yogāsūtra*, 1.23-26], and then refraining from all activities (*Yogasūtra* 1.13-16), with the help of one [by serving the *guru*], of two [devotion to *guru* and to Lord], of three [by listening to and reciting scriptures and meditation] and of eight [*yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇā*, and *samādhi*, *Yogasūtra* 2.29-32] [and] by qualities of the self (viz., kindness, politeness, purity, auspiciousness, absence of desire, non-miserliness, being always at ease, and free from malice] [and] with subtle qualities [due to meritorious deeds performed in previous births] [the *yogin* gains emancipation] with time [in this or in later birth] by establishing union (*yoga*) with the Ultimate Principle (*tattvasya tattva* 6.1-3).[1] The next verse elaborates this idea.

The *Śvetāśvatara* then enumerates the attributes of God: He is the permanent as well as the accidental cause of unions. He is beyond past, present, and future. He is without any parts. That universal God, who is immanent in all beings, should be meditated upon as dwelling in our minds also—that God, who is the Supreme Mighty Lord (Maheśvara) of Lords, the Supreme Divinity of divinities, the Supreme Ruler of the rulers, paramount. Of Him there is no cause, nor from Him any effect. None is His equal, nor superior. His power [*māyā*], inherent in Him, manifests itself in the form of knowledge-and-action. Of Him, there is no master in this world, nor any controller, nor is there anything which may be regarded as His mark (*liṅga*). He is the cause (*kāraṇa*), lord of the lord of the sense-organs; of Him there is neither progenitor nor ruler. Like spider, that weaves a web out of the material from within itself, the one Godhead unfolds Himself by means of [the qualities born of] the Pradhāna (unmanifested nature). May He grant us union with Brahman. (6.5-10)

The next three verses (6.11-13) emphasize the all pervading power of God, while 6.13 states that He can be attained by Sāṁkhya and Yoga. The reference may be to the two well-known systems of philosophy, but it is usual to render these two terms as 'discrimination' (*sāṁkhya*) and 'abstraction' (*yoga*).

Śvetāśvatara 6.14 is the same as *Muṇḍaka* 2.2.10 and *Kaṭha* 2.2.15, while 6.15, is practically a repetition of 3.8. Verse 6.16 attributes more qualities to Him, including that of 'author of time.' Verse 6.17 emphasizes that He alone rules the world. 6.18 says, that, at the beginning He created Brahmā, the creator, and delivered the Vedas to Him. 'To Him, being desirous of liberation, do I resort as a shelter (*śaraṇaṁ prapadye*).' 'He is without parts

[1]This verse is explained in an entirely different manner in the commentary mentioned above in fn. 2, p. 257, which Hume seems to have followed. We are following Swami Gambhirananda, *Upaniṣad Granthāvalī*, I, 2nd ed.

(*niṣkala*), without activity, tranquil (i.e. not susceptible to modification), irreproachable, the ultimate as it were (i.e. without any limiting cause).[1] When men will be able to perform the impossibility of rolling up the sky (*ākāśa*) as if it were a piece of leather, then, and only then, (i.e. never) will there be an end to their sufferings without their realizing God.' (6.19-20)

The sage Śvetāśvatara, having realized Brahman by dint of his austerity and by the grace of God, revealed this purest of doctrines to the most advanced *sannyāsins* (*atyāśramī*)[2] 6.21.

Two more verses conclude the *Śvetāśvatara*. The first of these contain a condition for imparting this supreme mystery of Vedānta. One is forbidden to pass it on to a person whose mind is not tranquil, and who is not a son, nor a pupil. Similar restrictions are imposed in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 6.3.12, and in a slightly different form in the *Gītā* 18.67. And then the *Svetāśvatara* ends on a note of devotion (*bhakti*):

To one, who has the highest devotion (*bhakti*) for God (*Deve*) [And] for
his spiritual teacher (*guru*) as for God,
To that great soul (*mahātman*) these matters, which have been declared,
Become manifest. Yea, become manifest to that great soul!

PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANIṢADS

Nature of the Upaniṣads

It is possibly unnecessary to repeat the obvious that the Upaniṣads are not the work of one man, nor were they produced within a compact period. Even individual Upaniṣads contain heterogenous materials, and their composition also is mixed. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, for example, is composed of three divisions, each of which is concluded as if it was a complete text. The famous dialogue between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī is repeated. Obviously, the compiler was presented with two separate works which he united. The name of the third part of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, namely, *Khila* or 'supplementary section,' is in conformity with its heterogenous nature.

The *Chāndogya* too, though not so obviously disparate, is composite in character. Disconnected explanations of sacrificial rituals, legends, dialogues, etymological sayings, and philosophical disquisitions are almost mechanically assorted. These features are absent from the other Upaniṣads, and as a result they are shorter, but they contain quotations not only from the Saṁhitās but from other Upaniṣads also.

The language of the Upaniṣads is more akin to the classical than to the Vedic Sanskrit. Older usages are more frequent in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya* than in the rest, which are therefore termed 'later Upaniṣads.' The metrical Upaniṣads particularly are written in an easy and almost classi-

[1] In logic, fire can be inferred from smoke, that is a special cause can have a general effect, but in His case there is no cause, As *Kaṭha* 2.1.13 says of the Puruṣa that He is 'like light without smoke.'

[2] See ch. I, fn. 2, p. 28,

cal Sanskrit, which is most marked in the *Śvetāśvatara*. Of the prose Upaniṣads, the *Māṇḍūkya* is written in an aphoristic style, indicating popularity. However, as stated above, so far as Vedānta philosophy is concerned, the chronological sequence of the Upaniṣads, particularly of the eleven discussed above, has no significance.

Some common features of the Upaniṣads are: 1. use of simple homely similes and metaphors; 2. repetition of an idea almost in the same words to ensure recollection; 3. description of minute details to create and sustain interest; 4. introduction of short anecdotes to stimulate interest in the dry philosophical discussions which follows; 5. corroborations of philosophical concepts by means of popular legends to create faith and sustain interest.

Upaniṣads and Sāṁkhya Doctrine

It has been held that the Upaniṣads are not only 'heterogeneous in point of structure, but they also contain passages which set forth the dualistic Sāṁkhya philosophy, which has been the chief antithesis of the monistic Vedānta.'[1] There are undoubtedly passages in two or three Upaniṣads, particularly in the *Śvetāśvatara*, which may be interpreted to show that these were the precursors of Sāṁkhya. For, while the Upaniṣads were exclusively concerned with One Reality, these passages indicate that two 'fundamental principles,' and certain other features peculiar to Sāṁkhya, may have been known to the composers of these passages, which they were not averse to admitting as truth. But these passages are hardly sufficient to link up the Upaniṣads with Sāṁkhya. For early Sāṁkhya philosophy one has to turn to the *Mokṣadharma* chapters of the *Mahābhārata* (12.168-353). Just as in the Upaniṣads the discussion always centres on Brahman, so in the *Mokṣadharma* chapters the discussions centres round Puruṣa and Prakṛti, and Her evolutes, interspersed with miscellaneous matters. The *Gītā*, apparently, incorporated many Sāṁkhya features, but it has always been considered as a Vedānta text. In any case, Śaṅkara had no difficulty in explaining all the passages of the Upaniṣads, and also of the *Gītā*, without conceding that any of them were written from the Sāṁkhya point of view, and the famous passage of the *Śvetāśvatara* (4.10) which says '*māyāṁ tu prkṛtim vidyān māyinaṁ tu maheśvara*, ('know Prakṛti as illusion [*māyā*] and the Great Lord as the illusion-maker [*māyin*]) merely strengthens his doctrine of idealistic monism. For while it says that Prakṛti or 'nature' is Māyā, or 'illusion' the Great Lord is the 'illusion-maker' or *māyin*. This is exactly opposed to the Sāṁkhya doctrine, which, as we shall see, holds the Prakṛti to be the eternal material cause, and does not recognize any *māyin* or Great Lord as dominating over Prakṛti.

Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has said: 'There are also passages in *Śvetāśvatara* and particularly in *Maitrāyaṇī* from which it appears that the Sāṁkhya line of thought had considerably developed, and many of its technical terms were already in use. But the date of *Maitrāyaṇī* has not yet been definitely settled,

[1]Hume, op. cit., introduction, p. 8; R.D. Ranade, op. cit., pp. 134-39.

and the details found there are also not such that we can form a distinct notion of the Sāṁkhya thought as it developed in the Upaniṣads. It is not improbable that at this stage of development it also gave some suggestions to Buddhism or Jainism, but the Sāṁkhya-Yoga philosophy as we now get it is a system in which are found all the results of Buddhism and Jainism in such a manner that it unites the doctrine of permanence of the Upaniṣads with the doctrine of momentariness of the Buddhists and the doctrine of relativism of the Jains.'[1]

However, even if the idea that the Upaniṣads contain elements of Sāṁkhya philosophy is rejected, their heterogenous nature cannot be denied. It is difficult to deduce a single well-articulated system from these texts. Hence the importance of Śaṅkara's commentary, which we have used most sparingly in the very brief summaries of the texts given above. Western scholars, and some Indian scholars also, are averse to admitting any commentary as authoritative. Hence it is important to remember the basic difference between Western philosophy and Indian philosophy in general, and Upaniṣadic philosophy in particular. In Western philosophy new 'truths' are discovered by reason and experience, while the ancient Indians regarded reason generally as occupying a comparatively subservient place, while intuitive realization, as recorded in the Upaniṣads, were regarded as the highest truths: reason had only to unravel it in the light of experience.

The contrast between the two systems is not only between two basically different philosophies, but as W. S. Haas points out, between different approaches to life. Hence he uses the term 'philousia' to designate Oriental thought as opposed to Western 'philosophy.' Because 'East is less interested in factual knowledge—sophia—of the external world, than in ousia—essential being; that is it prefers intuitions to reason, symbols to concepts, self-realization through the annihilation of the ego to self-realization through the unfolding of individuality.' There may be some exaggeration in this generalization, but it contains more than one grain of truth.[2]

As the Upaniṣads are neither homogeneous nor written in a systematic manner, more than one interpretation are possible, but it has been held by competent authorities that Śaṅkara's interpretation very largely represents the view of the earlier Upaniṣads with which we are concerned here, and that his non-dualistic doctrine may be regarded as the purport of majority of the texts.[3] The main points of the dualistic and the non-dualistic philosophies will be considered in a later chapter, and brief sketch of the main points of inquiry found in the Upaniṣads are given below.

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, pp. 211-12.

[2]W.S. Haas, *The Destiny of the Mind*, London, 1956.

[3]'The teaching of Śaṅkara himself is the natural and legitimate interpretation of the doctrines of the Upaniṣads.' A.E. Gough, *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads and Ancient Indian Metaphysics*, 3rd ed., London, 1903, Preface, p. vii.

'. . . .by whom the teaching of the Upaniṣads have been most adequately sytematized, whether by Bādarāyana, or Śaṅkara, or Rāmānuja, or some other commentator. . . . it is

Brahman: The Ultimate Reality

What is Brahman? Where is He? What is His nature? These are the main problems of the Upaniṣads.

The word *brahman* meant *mantras*, the ceremonies, and a class or priests who officiated at the Vedic sacrifices. The word in a secondary sense came to signify a mysterious power which could be called forth by various ceremonies, a sort of occult force which was derived from the orderly co-operation of the hymns, the chants, and the sacrificial gifts. When the sacrifices began to be replaced by meditations, the faith in the efficacy of the sacrifices lingered, and in many passages of the Upaniṣads people are found meditating upon the great force 'Brahman' as being identical with diverse symbols, natural objects, or parts and functions of the body.

This tendency is first noticeable in the Āraṇyakas. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (2.1) says: 'This is the path; this is the sacrifice; this is *brahman;* Therefore let no man diverge from it; let no man trangress it.'[1] Later, the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (2.6) says: 'Who is he, whom we meditate on as the self? Who is that self?... That self is *brahman*, Indra, Prajāpati, all the gods, the five great elements, earth, air, ether, water, lights, all these and those which are mixed with small as it were, seeds of various kinds, born of eggs, born from the womb, born from heat, born from germs, horses, cows, men, elephants, and all that breathes, whether it walks or flies, and what is immovable. All that is guided by knowledge (*prajñā);* it rests on knowledge. The world is guided by knowledge. Knowledge is its foundation. Knowledge is *brahman*. He by his knowing self having left this world and having obtained all delights in the world of heaven becomes immortal.'

Apparently, the sages were striving towards the discovery of an underlying unity, but precision of thought was yet undeveloped, and 'as a result we find in the Āraṇyakas the most grotesque and fanciful unifications of things which to our eyes have little or no connection.'[2] However, a determined effort to explain the different stages of conscious life is made in the Āraṇyakas. In the following passage from the *Aitareyā Āraṇyaka* 'it will be observed that distinctive marks of man are all elements which make his consciousness into an ordered system, and they imply self-consciousness as opposed to the mere consciousness of animals, in the form of their receptivity of external stimuli,' which, according to A.B. Keith, is worth comparison with Aristotle's *De Anima*, II, 4ff.[3] The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (2.3.2-3) says:

by no means impossible that Śaṅkara, for instance, would in the end have to be declared a more trustworthy guide with regard to the teaching of the Upaniṣads. . . .' G. Thibaut, *The Vedānta Sūtra with the Commentary by Śaṅkarācārya, SBE*, XXXIV, reprint, 1962, Introduction, pp. cii-ciii. S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 42 advises a modern investigator to read the texts independently.

[1]*Aitareya Āraṇyaka* edited and translated by A.B. Keith, London, 1969. In his commentary on this passage, Sāyaṇa discusses the relation between Karma-kāṇḍa and the Upaniṣads, See Keith's note on p. 199.

[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 36.

[3]*The Aitareya Āraṇyaka* edited and translated by A.B. Keith, p. 216 fn.

'He who knows more and more clearly the self obtains fuller being. There are plants and trees and animals, and he knows the self more and more clearly (in them). For in plants and trees sap only is seen, in animals consciousness. In animals the self becomes more and more clear, because in them sap also is seen, while thought is not seen in others. The self is more and more clear in man. For he is most endowed with intelligence, he says what he has known, he sees what he has known, he knows tomorrow, he knows the world and what is not the world. By the mortal he desires the immortal, being thus endowed. As for the others, animals, hunger and thirst comprise their power of knowledge. They say not what they have known, they see not what they have known. They know not tomorrow, they know not the world and what is not the world. They go so far, for their experiences are according to the measure of their intelligence.

'This man is the sea, he is above all the world. Whatever he reaches, he desires to be beyond it. If he gains the sky world, would desire to be beyond it. Fivefold is this man. What is not in him is fire; the apertures are the ether; blood, mucus, and seed are water; the body is earth; the breath is air. Fivefold is the air, up-breathing, down-breathing, back-breathing, out-breathing, on-breathing (*prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *udāna*, *samāna*). The deities sight, hearing, mind, and speech, are comprised in up-breathing and down-breathing. For they depart with the departure of breath. He is the succession of speech and thought which is the sacrifice . . . .'

This traditional form of identification was incorporated into the early Upaniṣads like the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya*, the first part of both being *āraṇyaka*. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (1.1) shows that instead of horse-sacrifice, the visible universe is to be conceived as a horse, and meditated upon as such. The dawn is the head of the horse, the sun is the eye, wind is its life, fire is its mouth, the year is its soul and so on. The *Chāndogya* (1.5.1) says: 'What is Udgītha [of the SV] is verily Praṇava, and what is Praṇava is Udgītha.' In *Chāndogya* (2.1-7) *sāman* is identified with rain, water, seasons, *prāna* etc. *Chāndogya* 3-16-17 identifies man with sacrifice; his hunger, thirst, and sorrow, with initiation; laughing, eating etc. with the utterance of the *mantras*; and asceticism, gift, sincerity, non-violence, and truth with *dakṣiṇā* (sacrificial fees). Even so, the logic, to say the least, is peculiar. For example, *Chāndogya* (3.16.1) declares: 'Verily, a person is a sacrifice. His [first] twenty-four years are the morning Soma-libation, for the Gāyatrī meter has twenty-four syllables and the morning Soma-libation is offered with a Gāyatrī hymn . . . .' Thus without denying the efficacy of sacrifice, it was being allegorically metamorphosed into a symbol for meditation.

Later, the conception of Brahman became clearer, and the *Kena* (3 and 4) shows that all the powers of the gods such as that of Agni (fire) to burn, of Vāyu (wind) to blow depended upon Brahman, and that it is through Him that all the gods and all the senses of men could work. The *Kaṭha* (2.2.15), *Muṇḍaka* (2.2.10) and the *Śvetāśvatara* (6.14) declare in identical language, that '. . . n, moon, stars, lightning, and fire shine in the reflected lustre of

Brahman.

'The sum and substance of the Upaniṣad teaching.' Prof. Dasgupta has said, 'is involved in the equation Ātman=Brahman.'[1] In the RV, the word Ātman is used to denote on the one hand the ultimate essence of the universe, and on the other the vital breath in man. In the Upaniṣads, the word Brahman is generally used in the former sense, while the use of the word *ātman* is commonly limited to indicate the inmost essence in man, usually rendered as 'soul.' Many passages in the Upaniṣads identify the two, and of these the most well-known are, *tat tvam asi* (That thou art, *Chāndogya*, 6.8.7, *ahaṁ brahmāsmi*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 1.4.10), and *ayam ātmā Brahma* (*Māṇḍūkya*, 2). The *Śvetāśvatara* (1.6) compares the individual soul (*ātman*) to a swan which flutters about in the Brahma-wheel so long it thinks that it is different from Brahman; as soon as it realizes its identity with Brahman, it becomes immortal. The *Muṇḍaka* (1.1.7) says that just as a spider produces a web out of itself, the Brahman does the world. It also says (2.1.1) that, the manifold beings are produced from Brahman, as sparks by the thousand issue forth from a blazing fire. And as to the end of the individual souls, the same Upaniṣad (3.2.8) says that just as the rivers flow into and disappear in the sea, so does the knower of Brahman merge into Him.

There are, however, passages in the Upaniṣads which do not identify Brahman and *atman*. Two of the most important such passages are *Katha* (1.3.1); and the identical passage in the *Mūṇḍaka* (3.1.1) and *Śvetāśvatara* (4.6) which has been taken from RV. 1.164.20. Both the passages, which have been translated above, speak of *ātman* as being different from Brahman. Since the passage in the *Muṇḍaka* and the *Śvetāśvatara* is taken from the RV, it must be earlier than the Upaniṣadic passages which identify Brahman and *ātman*. Hence it may be held on historical grounds that the conception of duality is the earlier, which also appear to be more probable.

Another idea is expressed in *Śvetāśvatara* 1.9 and 12, where Brahman is regarded as Triunity Godhead. This idea was later developed by Rāmānuja into his Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. The two passages states:

'There are two unborn ones: the knowing [Lord] and the unknowing [individual soul] (*jñ-ājñau dvāv-ajau*), the Omnipotent and the impotent. She [Prakṛti], too, is unborn [and] is linked with the enjoyer and the objects of enjoyment. Ātman is infinite, universal, inactive. When one realizes this triad [as] Brahman [one attains delivery] . . . . Verily, [Brahman] should be known as always residing in the self (*nityam ev-ātma-saṁstham*); than that there is nothing higher to be known. All is known when one recognizes the enjoyer, the object of enjoyment, and the Mover. That is the threefold Brahman.'

Another strand of thought is pantheistic: the *Chāndogya* (3.14.1) says: *sarvaṁ khalv=idaṁ Brahma taj-ja-l-ān* '(Verily, this whole universe is Brahman; everything comes out of Him, into Him do they dissolve, and by Him are they sustained.' Similarly, *Taittirīya* 3.1. says: 'That, verily, whence beings here

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 45.

are born, that by which when born they live, that into which on deceasing they enter . . . . That is Brahman.' The *Īśā* 6 says: 'The wise man beholds all beings in the *ātman*, and the *ātman* in all beings . . . .' *Kaṭha* 2.2.9-10 compares the immanent soul in all things corresponding in form to every form and yet remaining transcendent. The *Praśna* 2.5 says that Brahman is fire, sun, rain, wind, earth, matter, god, being and non-being, and is immortal. This pantheistic approach resolves the distinction between noumenon and phenomenon, between 'One' and 'many.'

How to define Brahman? The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (3.9.28/7) says: 'Brahman is [absolute] knowledge (*vijñānam*), and bliss (*ānanda*), the ultimate resort of the giver of offerings (i.e. the sacrificer), and also of him who has realized Brahman and stands firmly in It.' The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (5.1.1) again says: 'Brahman is *kha* (ether), the primeval ether, the ether that blows.'[1] The *Chāndogya* (4.10.5) says: 'Brahman is *prāṇa*.' The *Taittirīya* 2.9 emphasizes the *ānanda* (bliss) aspect of Brahman, and in 3.1. gives a definition of Brahman which has been quoted in the last paragraph. The *Taittirīya* then shows the successive stages of realization in an ascending order: Brahman is food; It is *tapas* (austerity), It is *prāṇa*; It is mind; It is absolute intelligence (*vijñānam*); and finally is realized that It is bliss (*ānanda*) (3.6). The *Aitareya* 3.1.3 says: *Prajñānaṁ Brahma* (Brahman is intelligence). The *Śvetāśvatara* 3.11-20 describes Brahman as the cosmic Person with human and superhuman powers, in whom all contradictions are resolved. The *Kaṭha* (1.3.15) says that Brahman is 'soundless, touchless, formless, imperishable, tasteless, constant, odourless, without beginning, without end, higher than the great.' *Kaṭha* 1.2.15 identifies Brahman with the mystic syllable *Om*. The *Muṇḍaka* (1.1.6) says that Brahman is 'invisible, ungraspable [by physical sense-organs], without roots (or without family antecedent *agotram*), without form (or without caste), without sight or hearing, without hand or foot, eternal and omnipresent, all-pervading and extremely subtle, imperishable and the source of all beings.' These negative attributes are given in greater details in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 3.8.8: Brahman is apart from all moral, causal, or temporal realities. He is void of any mark (*aliṅga*), that is, He is imperceptible (*Kaṭha*, 2.3.8). He is the witness, inspirer, attributeless, devoid of all qualities (*Śvetāśvatara*, 6.11). About formless Brahman, the teaching is: 'Not this! Not this! (*n=eti n=eti*), for there is nothing higher than this . . . . He is the "Real of the Real." Verily, breathing creatures are the real. He is their Real.' (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 2.3.6; see also 3.9.26 and 4.2.4).[2]

[1] *Kha* means 'sky' or 'space,' but as Śaṅkara points out *khaṁ purāṇam* shows that *paramātm-ākaśa* is indicated.

[2] Rāmānuja on Br. S. 3.2.21 says: . . . . 'Hence the later passages cannot be meant as a sheer negation, but must be taken as (denying). . . . the previously stated attributes only. . . . . The phrase *not so* therefore means that Brahman is not distinguished by the previously stated modes only. This interpretation is further confirmed by the fact that after the negative phrase further qualities of Brahman are declared by the text. . . . *True of the True*. . . . the clause "not so not so" cannot deny that Brahman possesses distinctive attributes.' Translation by G. Thibaut, *SBE*, XLVIII.

'"Indefinable", "inconceivable"; mere negative statements are all that can be asserted of this pure being, which *ex hypothesi* is incapable of the qualification, determination, and diversity implied in descriptive attributes. That is exactly the conclusion which Spinoza reached with his—in many respects similar pantheism—famous dictum "Omnis determinatio negatio est."[1]

As the *Chāndogya* (6.2.1) says: He is one without a second (*ekaṁ ev= ādvitīyam*), hence He cannot be described by comparison or analogy.

Brahman is everything but nothing is Brahman. He is everywhere, but is confined nowhere. His circumference is everywhere, His centre is nowhere. As Swami Vivekananda has said: 'The generalisation principle ought to be satisfied along with the principle of evolution. We have to come to an ultimate generalisation, which not only will be the most universal of all generalisations, but out of which everything else must come. It will be of the same nature as the lowest effect; the cause, the highest, the ultimate, the primal cause must be the same as the lowest and most distant of its effects, a series of evolutions. The Brahman of Vedānta fulfils that condition, because Brahman is the last generalisation to which we can come. It has no attributes but is Existence, Knowledge, and Bliss—Absolute . . . . The Brahman, the God of the Vedānta, has nothing outside of Himself, nothing at all. All this indeed is He: He is in the universe: He is the universe Himself . . . '[2]

As the RV (1.164.46) says: 'Him who is One existent, sages name variously.'

Thus the ultimate unity of reality, which has been the quest throughout the Upaniṣads, is finally reached. That was Brahman, the undifferentiated unity. What then is the manifold world? How does it come into existence?

Two Aspects of Brahman

There are two aspects of Brahman, one higher, the other lower. As the *Praśna* (5.2) says: '. . . that which is the syllable *Om* is both the higher (*para*) and the lower (*apara*) Brahman.' The *Muṇḍaka* (2.2.8) speaks of the perception,

Nimbārka on Br. S. 3.2.22 explains *n=eti n=eti as: na hy=etasmād=iti n=ety−anyat param asti*. That is: 'It is not [to be understood] that Brahman has no higher form [than this], there is another higher [form of Brahman].'

Śaṅkara on Br. S. 3.2.22 says: '. . . . The passage of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* under discussion has, therefore, to be understood as follows. 'Brahman is that whose nature is permanent purity, intelligence, and freedom; it transcends speech and mind, does not fall within the category of "object," and constitutes the inward Self of all. Of this Brahman our text denies all plurality of forms; But Brahman itself it leaves untouched . . . . After the clause "Not so, not so" has given information about Brahman, the clause next following illustrates this teaching by saying: There is nothing beyond or separate from this Brahman; therefore Brahman is expressed by "Not so, not so!" which latter words do not mean that Brahman itself does not exist. The implied meaning rather is that different from everything there exist the "non-negatived" Brahman. . . .' Translated by G. Thibaut, *SBE*, XXXVIII, pp. 168 and 170.

[1]'All determining (describing or qualifying) is a negating.' Hume, op. cit., Introduction, p. 40.

[2]Swami Vivekananda, Reason and Religion, *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, 1963, I, pp. 372 and 374.

that is, realization, of both *para* (higher) and *avara* (lower) Brahman, which, Śaṅkara says, indicate *kāraṇ-ātman* and *kāry-ātman*, that is, the causal state and the state of its effect. The *Śvetāśvatara* (1.13) explains this duality as, the indestructible and invisible fire latent in a piece of wood is the *real* fire in a subtle form, and the fire which is seen when the piece of wood is burning.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2.3.1) speaks of two forms of Brahman, the formed (*mūrta*) and the formless (*amūrta*), the mortal and the immortal, the limited and the unlimited, the perceptible and the imperceptible. The Supreme Brahman, who transcends everything, is called the 'Truth of Truth.' He can be known through the elimination of all attributes (*n=eti n=eti*) and distinguishing marks (*liṅga*). The Upaniṣads and the Vedānta philosophy are concerned with this Supreme Brahman.

Two Knowledges

The Vedic sages began the search for Reality. Their attempts led to personal god as the governor of the universe: Viśvakarman, Hiraṇyagarbha, Brahmaṇaspati, Puruṣa. The RV describes them as creator from outside, a controller of mundane events, to whom prayers are offered for worldly benefits. The famous hymn, RV. X.129, which begins, 'There was then neither being nor non-being, there was no air nor sky above,' ends with saying, 'From whence this creation came into being, whether it was created or not—he who is in the highest sky; probably knows or does not know.'

The name Viśvakarmā occurs once in the Upaniṣads (*Śvetāśvatara* 4.17), Hiraṇyagarbha twice (*Śvetāśvatara* 3.4 and 4.12) as the first created being, and Brahmaṇaspati is mentioned only once in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 1.3.21 but not in the sense it is used in the RV. Puruṣa is mentioned in the Upaniṣads, but he is quite different from the Puruṣa of the *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the RV.

In the Upaniṣads there is no creator from outside, but in the self. There is no worshipped and worshipper, no prayers are offered to a deity. The quest is of the highest truth, and the true self of man is discovered as the highest reality. Hence two grades of knowledge are contemplated, distinct from each other. *Muṇḍaka* 1.1.4-5 says: 'There are two knowledges to be known . . . . a higher (*parā*) and also a lower (*aparā*). The lower is the RV, YV, SV, AV, *sikśā* (phonetics), *kalpa* (rituals), *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *nirukta* (etymology), *chandas* (metre), and *jyotiṣa* (astronomy). The higher is that whereby the Imperishable (Akṣara) is apprehended.'

The *Chāndogya* (6.1) relates the story of Śvetaketu. He spent twelve years learning all the Vedas. Then he returned home, conceited, thinking himself learned. His father asked him: 'Śvetaketu, my dear, since now you are conceited, think yourself learned, and are proud, did you also ask for that teaching whereby what has not been heard of becomes heard of, what has not been thought of becomes thought of, what has not been understood becomes understood.' Śvetaketu admitted his ignorance, whereupon his father patiently explained to him that Brahman, the Absolute, the only Reality is alike throughout, and the knowledge of a part of it is knowledge of the whole,

the ultimate substratum of all beings being Brahman.

These passages establish the difference between the Vedic *karma-kāṇḍa*, which is concerned mainly with sacrifices, and Upaniṣadic *jñāna-kāṇḍa*, which mainly deals with meditation on Brahman. As Śaṅkara says in his introduction to the *Aitareya Upaniṣad:*

'When a man has apprehended the Self, there being no fruits [of action], action is inadmissible. The statement that knowledge of self is attained by the performer of actions (i.e. Vedic rites), and that such knowledge is related to actions are not correct. When a man says to himself, "I am Brahman, free from all blemishes of *saṁsāra* (mundane world), the ultimate fulfilment of all desires," he does not see any fruit to be reaped from what he has done, or what he had to do. Because he does not seek any fruit of action (i.e. Vedic rites), no action is possible for him.'

Śaṅkara's view has been criticised by other schools of Vedānta, but there is no doubt that fundamentally his position agrees with the teachings of the Upaniṣads.

Ātman: The Individual Self

In the earliest phase of philosophy, the self was distinguished from the body, but the two shared the same qualities of feeling. After death, a person went to heaven, where he enjoyed all the worldly pleasures in a more intense degree, and for a very long period. His sojourn in heaven depended upon the rituals and sacrifices performed during life, hence the elaborate Vedic rituals[1] and sacrifices. However, it appears that quite early there was an attempt to establish concordance between man and nature found in the *Creation Hymn* of the RV (X.16.3) where the deceased is addressed:

> Let the eye go to the sun, let the spirit (*ātman*) go to the wind (*vāta*);
> to heaven or to earth according to their desert;
> Or to waters go, if that is your lot,
> or set you up in the plants with your limbs. (RV.X.16.3).

This idea has to be compared with *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 3.2.13, where it is elaborated: 'Yājñavalkya,' said Ārtabhāga, 'when the voice of a dead man goes into fire, his breath (*prāṇa*) into wind (*vāta*), his eye into the sun, his mind into the moon, his hearing into the quarters of heaven, his body into the earth, his soul (*ātman*)[2] into space, the hairs of his head into plants, the hairs of his body into trees, and his blood and semen are deposited in water, what then becomes of this person (*puruṣa*)?'

In reply Yājñavalkya said: 'Ārtabhāga, my dear, take my hand. We two only will know of this. This is not for us two [to discuss] in public.'

[1]For 'the nature of the dead' during the Vedic period See A.B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, pp. 403-16. The Vedic people do not seem to have any idea of hell. ibid, p. 409 and *HDK*, IV, pp. 168-71.

[2]According to Śaṅkara, *ātman* here means *hṛday-ākāśa*, where the *ātman* is located. This *hṛday-ākāśa* is absorbed in the external *ākāśa* or space.

As Yājñavalkya's private discussion with Ārtabhāga is not recorded, we do not know what the sage had in his mind. It is apparent, however, that Ārtabhāga had almost come to realize the distinction between the self and the body with its physical attributes.

While the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* describes the dissolution of the members of the body at death, the *Aitareya* describes its creation and assembly and the entry of the *ātman* into the body through the head (1.3.12). Though the first chapter of the *Aitareya* refers to gods, the second chapter describes the self as an embryo, and its development from conception till birth, that is the evolution of the Cosmic Self to individual self. In the third chapter, the *Aitareya* describes the all-pervading self and ultimately concludes 3.1.3 that 'Brahman is intelligence' (*Prajñānaṁ Brahma*). This is explained by Śaṅkara in his commentary:

'[Brahman] who is free from all attributes, untainted, pure, action-less, tranquil, one, non-dual, who is to be cognized by eliminating everything (*n=eti n=eti*), becomes, when conditioned by the attributes of pure intelligence (*atyanta-viśuddha-prajñ-opādhi-sambandh-eva*), the Īśvara, author of the seed of the world, known as the Antaryāmin (the internal regulator) because He controls [the self]. As the seed of the manifested universe, attributed as it were with intelligence, He is known as Hiraṇyagarbha. As the first issue from that Cosmic Egg conditioned by the body He is known as Virāṭ-Prajāpati. From it (Virāṭ) conditioned by fire etc., He becomes the gods (*devatā*). Thus Brahman [assumes] different names and forms when associated with particular bodies, ranging from Brahmā to a sheaf of corn. Thus One Being, who is beyond all attributes and differentiation, is described in various ways by everyone and by the disputants as they conceive or misconceive.'[1]

This is the teaching of the *Chāndogya* (6.1.16), *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2.4 and 4.5), *Śvetāśvatara* (4.2 4) etc. The ultimate unity of Reality is the basic teaching of all the Upaniṣads.

The *Māṇḍūkya* (2), while identifying *ātman* with Brahman, says that 'this *ātman* has four steps (or 'stages,' *catuṣpāt*). The four *pādas*, as Śaṅkara explains, are like the four parts of a *kārṣāpaṇa* (coin) and not like 'four cows,' that is, the four parts or stages form a divisible entity, which even on division does not loose its identity unlike the cows which are already separate. The four stages, which pertains to consciousness, are *vaiśvānara* the waking state, the *taijasa* the dreaming state, *prājña* the state of deep sleep, and beyond these three stages, there is another stage, where the *ātman* reaches the superconscious state or union with Brahman. The *Maitri* (7.11), a late Upaniṣad, calls this fourth state *turīya*, which means 'fourth.'[2]

[1]Here Śaṅkara has quoted Manu 12.123 which says 'Someone call This Agni, others Prajāpati, Indra, Prāṇa, and yet others the Eternal Brahman.'

[2]*The Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* 1.23 says: 'The sound (of the letter) *A* helps its worshipper to attain to Viśva, *U* to Taijasa, and *M* to Prajñā. In the "soundless" there is no condition (*gati*).' Śaṅkara explains that, one who meditates on *AUM* (OM) having for his support *A* becomes Vaiśvānara, the meditator on *U* becomes Taijasa, while *M* leads to Prājña,

The *Taittirīya* (2.1.3-2.2-5) describes the five sheaths of the *atman*: 1. *anna-rasa-maya* (essence of food); 2. *prāṇa-maya*; 3. *mano-maya*; 4. *vijñāna-maya*; and 5. *ānanda-maya*. Each is referred to as a body. Thus in the body of a man, successively encased one within the other, are a body of matter, body of energy, a body of mentation, a body of intellection, and finally at the core, a body of bliss. Because, as the *Taittirīya* (3.6) says, 'All beings are born from the Ānanda aspect of Brahman' (*ānandād=hy=eva khalv=imāni bhūtāni jāyante*), they live in *ānanda*, and after death they pass into *ānanda*.

Māyā

The doctrine of *māyā* forms an integral part of Śaṅkara's non-dual philosophy. However, neither was the idea fabricated by him, nor was it invented by his spiritual predecessor Gauḍapāda. References to *māyā* are scattered in the Upaniṣads, sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly. Indeed the word *māyā* has been used in RV VI. 47.18, where it means 'the magic power' of Indra. The AV X.8.34 says : 'Where both gods and men are set as spokes in a nave, I ask thee of the flower of the waters, where that [Hiraṇyagarbha] by magic (*māyā*) was placed.'

The Upaniṣads repeatedly declare the unity of the world, and deduce from it the conclusion that the world is nothing that is real in the true sense of the word, since everything in it are not regarded as having a truth of its own. In what sense then can the phenomenal world be said to exist? When Yājñavalkya explains to Maitreyī that, after death there is no consciousness, he argues that duality is necessary for one to see another, smell another and so forth, while in death no such duality is present. The phrase, however, which he uses in this connection is 'where there is a duality as it were' (*yatra hi dvaitam iva bhavati, Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 2.4.14). Later, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (4.3.31) again says, 'where there seems to be another (and the same '*iva*' is used). Here, as A.B. Keith has said, 'is the germ of the illusion theory.'[1]

The *Chāndogya* (6.1.4-6) declares that all that is made up of clay, copper or iron, is only a modification, a verbal expression (*vācārambahaṇa*), a mere name, the reality being clay, copper, or iron. With the dawn of knowledge, all things can be reduced to the primary form of reality. The *Chāndogya* (1.1.10) distinguishes between *vidyā* and *avidyā*, and similar distinction is made in the *Kaṭha* (1.2.4-5), and the *Muṇḍaka* (1.2.8) where the word *avidyā* is used in the sense of 'individual ignorance,' just as the word was used in later Vedānta to distinguish it from *māyā*, the nescient energy of cosmic creation. The *Kaṭha* (2.1.2) also says that, 'the wise, having realized immortality seek not the stable (*dhruvam*) among things which are unstable (*adhruvam*) here.' That is, worldly objects are ephemeral, and there can therefore be no reality in the unrealities which is the world.

But when *M* disappears, the seed [of causality] being absent in the letter, his *AUMKĀRA*, no state [of consciousness] can be predicated.' In later Vedānta these four stages were correlated with Universal Self in the forms of Virāṭ, Hiraṇyagarbha, Īśvara, and Brahman, (see Sadānanda, *Vedāntasāra*, 18-20) thus correlating microcosm and macrocosm.

[1]A.B. Keith, op. cit., p. 530.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2.5.19) mentions *māyā* when it quotes RV VI, 47.18 where it is said: 'Indra by his *māyā* (magic powers) goes about in many forms.' Śaṅkara explains Indra as Parameśvara, and *māyābhiḥ* (by the *māyās*) as 'by *prajñā*' (intellect or design), or 'by the false superimposition of name and form, not in reality (*na tu param-ārthatah*).' Śaṅkara is undoubtedly right, for the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2.5.19) adds:

'He [the Ātman], verily, is the steeds. He, verily, is tens and thousands, many and endless. This Brahman is without antecedent (cause) and without sequel (effect), without interior and without exterior. This *ātman* is Brahman, the all-experiencer. This is the instruction. Such is the instruction [of the entire Vedānta. Śaṅkara].'

Māyā is more fully described in the *Śvetāśvatara,* which introduces *māyā* as a personal attribute of God. The *Śvetāśvatara* (1.10) says: '*Pradhāna* (primary matter) is perishable, Hara is immortal and imperishable. Over both the perishable, and the *ātman* (i.e. *puruṣa*) that One God controls.' In 4.9.9-10, the *Śvetāśvatara* says: 'The *māyin* (the illusion maker) projects the whole world out of this [Brahman], and the other [the individual soul] is confined in it by *māyā* (illusion). Realize that Prakṛti (nature) is *māyā* and Maheśvara (Mighty Lord) is the *māyin*. The whole world is pervaded with beings that are [i.e. appears to be] parts of Him [through super-imposition of illusion].'

The nature of *māyā* is not explicitly stated, but the *Śvetāśvatara* 1.3. says that, 'those who perform *dhyāna* (meditation) and *yoga* saw the *ātma-śakti* of God hidden in His *guṇa*,' which may be interpreted to mean that *māyā* is His *ātma-śakti* (self-power). For, this explanation can be correlated with *Śvetāśvatara* 6.8., which says that, 'His *parāśakti* (great power) is said to be various indeed.'

An indication of the nature of *māyā* through association of ideas is given in the *Praśna* (1.16) which says : 'To them belongs the pure *Brahma-loka* (Brahma-world), in whom there is no *jihma* (crookedness), *anṛta* (falsehood), nor *māyā* (trickery).' It may not be out of place to mention here that, commenting on *Gītā* 15.16, Śaṅkara explains *kūṭa* as *māyā, vañcanā, jihmatā* and *kuṭilatā.*

For deliverance from this false appearance of the phenomenal world is the famous Upaniṣadic prayer:

asato mā sad=gamaya
tamaso mā jyotir=gamaya
mṛtyor=m=āmṛitaṁ gamaya (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka, 1.3.28*)

From the unreal lead me to the real!
From darkness lead me to light!
From death lead me to immortality!

This was the goal of the Upaniṣadic seers, the *summum bonum* of human existence : release from human bondage.

CHAPTER VIII

JAINISM

Early History

JAINISM is possibly the earliest non-Vedic Indian religion of which an account is available. The Jainas claim that there were twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* or *tīrthakaras* (one who shows the true way across the troubles of way of life), of which the last two, namely, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra were historical persons and the former possibly lived between 750 BC to 650 BC though, as noticed below, the Jaina tradition assigns him to a much earlier date. The other *tīrthaṅkaras* also may have been historical figures, but the aeons of age which they are supposed to have lived and the immeasurable periods which are said to have separated them render it impossible to arrive at any conclusion as to the period when this sect originated. The name of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* with their respective cognizances etc. are :

Name of the Tirthaṅkara	*Cognizance*	*Upāsaka*	*Śāsanadevatā*
1. Ṛṣabhadeva or Ādinātha	Bull	Gomukha	Cakreśvarī
2. Ajitanātha	Elephant	Mahāyakṣa	Ajitabalā
3. Sambhavanātha	Horse	Trimukha	Duritāri
4. Abhinandanātha	Monkey	Yakṣanāyaka	Kālikā
5. Sumatinātha	Krauñca (bird)	Tumburu	Mahākālī
6. Padmaprabha	Lotus	Kusuma	Śyāmā
7. Supārśvanātha	Svastika (Symbol)	Mātaṅga	Śāntā
8. Candraprabha	Moon	Vijaya	Bhṛikuṭi
9. Suvidhinātha	Makara	Ajita	Sutārakā
10. Śitalanātha	Srivatsa (Symbol)	Brahmā	Aśokā
11. Śreyaṁsanātha	Rhinoceros	Yaksheś	Mānavī
12. Vāsupūjya	Buffalo	Kumāra	Caṇḍā
13. Vimalanātha	Boar	Ṣanmukha	Viditā
14. Anantanātha	Falcon	Pātāla	Aṅkuśā
15. Dharmanātha	Thunderbolt	Kinnara	Kandarpā
16. Śāntinātha	Deer	Garuḍa	Nirvāṇī
17. Kunthunātha	Goat	Gandharva	Balā
18. Aranātha	Nandyāvarta (Symbol)	Yakṣeś	Dhāriṇī
19. Mallinātha	Pitcher	Kubera	Dharaṇapriyā
20. Munisuvrata	Tortoise	Varuṇa	Naradattā

21. Neminātha	Blue Lotus	Bhṛkuṭi	Gāndhārī
22. Neminātha or Ariṣṭaneminātha	Conchshell	Gomedha	Ambikā
23. Pārśvanātha	Snake	Pārśva	Padmāvatī
24. Mahāvīra	Lion	Mātaṅga	Siddhāyikā

As stated above, the Jaina texts give mythical accounts of the first twenty-two *tīrthaṅkaras* wherefore the scholars are inclined to reject them as imaginary persons without any historical foundation. It may be pointed out here that Ariṣṭanemi, the twenty-second *tīrthaṅkara* is said to have been a cousin of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.[1] If this tradition be true, Ariṣṭanemi shall have flourished during age of the Bhārata war, the date of which has been discussed above in Volume I (p. 98). It seems, therefore, possible that Jainism was founded in remote antiquity, but its influence was confined within a small group which neglected to maintain any account of its origin or early history but preserved the names of the successive pontiffs or great teachers of the sect. The systematic lists of cognizances, *upāsakas* and *śāsanadevatās* indicate an attempt to absorb the popular non-Vedic cults into the folds of an ethical system which took a long time to develop as a creed. It is also possible that the forerunners of the Jainas worshipped the image or the cognizances of the *tīrthaṅkaras* from a very early age in the form of *ayagapaṭas* or something like it. Thus they would have remembered the names of the *tīrthaṅkaras* but not their biographies, not surprising in a land where historical literature never developed. However, when their religion developed and took a definite form, they had to give an account of the early teachers and had to invent legends, a feature common to all religious sects.

Pārśvanātha[2]

The historicity of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthaṅkara*, was denied by scholars till H. Jacobi and others established his authenticity. H. Jacobi also established that Mahāvīra was the reformer of an existing faith of which Pārśva was the last promulgator.

According to the Jaina traditional history, King Aśvasena ruled in Varanasi. His queen was Vāmā. To them was born about 817 BC a son, who was named Pārśva. Pārśva grew into a brave warrior, and defeated the *yavana* king of Kalinga. He then married Prabhāvatī, daughter of Prasannajita or Prasenajita, king of Ayodhya. At the age of thirty, Pārśvanātha renounced the world and became an ascetic after performing the same rites which were later performed by Mahāvīra. After practising austerities for eighty-three days, Pārśva gained *kevala* or omniscience, while he was seated under a *dhataki* tree near Varanasi.

[1] *Uttarādhyayanasūtram*, ed. Jarl Charpentier, pp. 164-69; English tr. by H. Jacobi, *SBE*, XLV, pp. 122-29.

[2] Maurice Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories of the Jaina Saviour Pārśvanātha*, based on Bhavadeva Sūri's *Pārśvanāthacarita*, Yaśovijaya Granthamālā, Benares, 1919 condensed version in *Jaina Journal*, V, January, 1971, pp. 136-46. Bhavadeva Sūri wrote in 1412 VS.

According to tradition, Pārśva became the head of a large community, but it is more probable that he was the leader of a small group like the Jews under their early leaders. This is partly indicated by the tradition that his first disciples were his mother and wife.

Pārśva then preached his doctrine for seventy years, and, having exhausted his *karma*, he reached his deliverance on Mount Sumeta Sikhara, now known as Pārśvanātha's Hill (Hazaribagh District) 250 years before Mahāvīra. The importance of Pārśvanātha can be estimated by the fact that, though nineteen other *tīrthaṅkaras* are stated to have obtained their *nirvāṇa* on Sumeta Sikhara the hill is still known as Pārśvanātha's Hill.[1]

Mahāvīra

Mahāvīra was the twenty-fourth and the last *tīrthaṅkara*. The Jaina texts give a detailed account of his life, parts of which are legendary, like parts of Buddha's life given in the Buddhist literature. It should be remembered that, the life of all great religious leaders are partly based on legends, and some of their activities, as described in the religious texts, are miraculous.[2] However, some authentic details of Mahāvīra's life can be gathered from the Jaina canons, namely the *Ācārāṅga* (*Uvahāṇasuya, Bhāvaṇāo*), the *Kalpasūtra*, and the *Bhagavatī*. As the Digambaras deny the authenticity of these texts, their account of Mahāvīra's life is slightly different.

The ancient city of Vaiśālī is represented today by Basar, a small town in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar, eighteen miles north of Hajipur on the left bank of the Gandak. Vaiśālī was the capital of Videha, and, besides the city proper, it included the quarters or suburbs of Kundapura or Kundagrāma and Baṇiyagāma. Baṇiyagāma was apparently the *bania* quarter, but Kundagrāma was inhabited by *kṣatriyas*. Among the *kṣatriyas*, was a clan called Nāya or Nāta, or Nāta in Pali and Jñātṛ in Sanskrit. The head of this clan was Siddhārtha, who had married Triśalā, the sister of Ceṭaka, a prince of Vaiśālī.[3] On the 13th day of the bright half of Caitra of *c.* 599 BC, Triśalā

[1]Pronounced as 'Pareśnath Hill' in W. Bengal and Bihar. For some unknown reason Pārśvanātha seems to be more popular than other *tīrthaṅkara's* in Bengal. In Calcutta, the famous Jaina temple complex at Halsibagan is known as 'Pareśnath's temple', though it actually contains three temples, the first dedicated to the eighth *tīrthaṅkara*, Candraprabha, the second to the tenth *tīrthaṅkara*, Śītalanātha, and the third to the last *tīrthaṅkara*, Mahāvīra. Similarly, the annual procession taken out in Burrabazar area on the full moon day of Kārttika is referred to by the Bengalis as 'Pareśnāth's procession', though it is in honour of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth *tīrthaṅkara*. Apparently the Bengalis have identified Jainism with Pārśvanātha, but it is not possible to determine whether this confusion is due to their ignorance or is the result of a persistent tradition.

[2]'The conclusion, then, that is most plainly put before us is, that miracles were natural occurences and must therefore be so explained as to appear neither new (in the words of Solomon) nor contrary to Nature, but, as far as possible, in complete agreement with ordinary events'. Spinoza: On Miracles, *The Philosophy of Spinoza*, ed. J. Ratner, Carlton House, New York, p. 121.

[3]See above I, pp. 111 and 117.

gave birth to a son. The delighted parents said that 'since the prince was placed in the womb of the *kṣtriyāṇī* Triśalā, the family's (treasure) of gold, silver, riches, corn, jewels, pearls, shells, precious stones, and corals increased; therefore the prince shall be called Vardhamāna (the Increasing, or the Prosperous).' However, he was destined to become famous as Mahāvīra, a name which is said to have been bestowed on him by the gods. The Jaina texts also refer to him by several other names or epithets, such as, Nāyaputta, Nātaputra, or Jñātṛputra (scion of the Nāya, Nāta, or the Jñātṛ clan), Kāsava, on account of his *gotra*, Veśāliya, from Vaiśālī, the city of his birth, and Vedehadinna, from the country, Videha. But he is usually referred to as 'the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra.'

Miraculous legends are associated with the birth of Mahāvīra. It is said that he was conceived by a *brāhmaṇa* woman, named Devānandā. But Indra, the chief of gods, had the embryo removed to Triśalā's womb, so that the last *tīrthaṅkara* may not be born in a 'beggarly or *brāhmaṇa* family.' This legend is usually taken to indicate a *kṣatriya* bias, but it may also be interpreted to mean that a great religious leader could only be born to a *brāhmaṇa* couple.[1]

Before the birth of her son, Triśalā had fourteen auspicious dreams in which she saw (1) a mighty elephant, (2) a white bull, (3) a white lion, (4) the goddess Śrī or Lakṣmī, (5) a garland of sweet-smelling *mandāra* flower, (6) white moon, (7) radiant sun, red as the beak of a parrot, (8) a banner, according to the Śvetāmbaras, and two fishes, according to the Digambaras, (9) one (or two) golden pitcher (or pitchers), (10) lotus, (11) white ocean of milk, (12) a jewel-bedecked celestial abode, (13) great vase piled up with jewels, and (14) clear fire fed with *ghī*. The Digambaras add two more dreams, namely, a vision of a throne of diamonds and rubies, and great king of gods dwelling below the earth. Each dream, properly interpreted, foretold the birth of a superman. The wise men, whom Siddhārtha consulted, predicted the birth of a Jina or 'spiritual conqueror.'

The importance of these dreams are that they are found engraved in Jaina temples, and even today the Jainas, particularly women, recall these auspicious auguries, which may be said to be a part of Jaina religious faith and practice.

Vardhamāna grew up among other *kṣatriya* boys of his age but he excelled all of them in strength and physical endurance. He was also the most handsome among them, and the most intelligent and brave. One day, as the boys

[1]Mrs. Stevenson has compared this incident 'with the story of Kṛṣṇa being removed from the womb of Devakī to Rohiṇī, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 26 fn. 2. She is wrong, for Kṛṣṇa was never removed from Devakī's womb. According to the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (10.2.13-15) Balarāma was removed from Devakī's womb to Rohiṇī's, wherefore he was known as Śankarṣaṇa. But this legend does not seem to have a long tradition. The *Harivaṁśa* (Cr. ed. 49.1-2) merely states that Balarāma was born to Rohiṇī, and the transfer of embryo is not mentioned. However the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (5.2.2) states, that the seventh embryo was removed from Devakī to Rohiṇī, and that Kṛṣṇa was Devakī's eighth child. It is quite possible, therefore, that the Jaina legend is older than the Balarāma legend.

were playing, a mad elephant rushed towards them. All the boys fled, but Vardhamāna caught the infuriated animal's trunk and calmly climbed on it.

Another day, while he was playing with his friends, a god appeared and carried him high into the sky to frighten him. Vardhamāna, far from being afraid, belaboured the god and pulled his hair so hard, that the god was glad to rid himself of the boy at the earliest opportunity. It was for this unusual feat that the other gods named him Mahāvīra, because he had defeated one of them.

When he came of age, Mahāvīra married Yaśodā (Jasoyā) of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, and a daughter was born to them, named Aṇojjā or Piyadaṁsaṇā (Priyadarśanā). The Digambaras deny that Mahāvīra ever married, and hold him to have been a lifelong celibate. But the Śvetāmbara tradition, that Aṇojjā married, and that her husband created the first schism among the Jainas, lends credence to the Śvetāmbara version. Aṇojjā's husband was Jamāli, a son of Mahāvīra's sister. Jamāli's name is not found in early texts, and is given only in the *Āvaśyaka* tradition. Possibly the early texts did not deem it fit to perpetuate his name in view of his odious activities. Jamāli and Aṇojjā had a daughter named Śeṣavatī or Yaśovatī.

The Śvetāmbara tradition continues that Mahāvīra had decided not to become a monk during the life of his parents, so as not to cause them mental pain. When Mahāvīra was nearly thirty, Siddhārtha and Triśalā died of voluntary starvation.[1] Mahāvīra then obtained permission from his elder brother, and became a monk at the age of thirty.

Many miraculous stories are related in connection with Mahāvīra's initiation. Leaving those apart, it appears that before the formal ceremony he fasted for two and a half days, and then gave away all his possessions. He was then carried in a palanquin to the park, where he sat on a throne and uprooted his hair. For thirteen months he practised austerities, after which he abandoned all clothing and took to the life of a wandering monk in a state of complete nudity. The *Ācārāṅga* (*Ohanasuyam* I.8) possibly gives a faithful description of Mahāvīra's ascetic life:

'As I have heard it, I shall tell how the Venerable ascetic exerting himself and meditating, after having entered the order in the winter, wandered about....

'For a year and a month he did not leave off his robe. Since that time the Venerable One, giving up his robe, was a naked, world-relinquishing houseless (Sage)....

'Giving up the company of all householders whomsoever, he meditated. Asked he gave no answer; he went, and did not transgress the right path....

'Disregarding slights difficult to bear, the Sage wandered about....

'For more than a couple of years he led a religious life without using cold

[1]The manner of their death indicates that Siddhārtha and Triśalā were followers of Jainism as preached by Pārśvanātha. For, embracing death by voluntary starvation or the *sallekhanā* vow is considered highly meritorious by the Jainas. It would thus appear that Mahāvīra was born in a Jaina family.

water; he realised singleness, guarded his body, had got intuition, and was calm.

'Thoroughly knowing the earth-bodies and water-bodies and fire-bodies, and wind-bodies, the lichens, seeds, and sprouts, he comprehended that they are, if narrowly inspected imbued with life, and avoided to injure them; he, the great hero....

'He did not use what had expressly been prepared for him; he well saw [that bondage comes] through action. Whatever is sinful, the Venerable One left them undone: he consumed clean food....

'He sometimes lodged in workshops assembling places, wells or shops; sometimes in manufactories or under a shed of straw....

'He sometimes lodged in travellers' halls, garden houses, or towns; sometimes on burying ground, in relinquished houses or at the foot of a tree.

'In these places was the wise Śramaṇa for thirteen long years; he meditated day and night, exerting himself, undisturbed, strenuously.

'The Venerable One, exerting himself, did not seek sleep for the sake of pleasure; he waked up himself, and slept only a little, free from desires....

'In his resting places he sustained fearful and manifold calamities; crawling or flying animals attacked him.

'Bad people, the guard of the village, or lance bearers attacked him; or there were domestic temptations, single women or men....

'Always well controlled, he bore the different sorts of feelings; overcoming carelessness and pleasure, the Brāhmaṇa wandered about, speaking but little.

'In the resting places there once, in a night, the single wanderers asked him [who he was, and why he was there]; as he did not answer, they treated him badly; but he persevered in his meditations, free from resentment.

'[Sometimes to avoid greater troubles when asked], "Who is there within"? He answered, "It is I, a mendicant"....

'When a cold wind blows, in which some feel pain, some houseless monks in the cold rain seek a place sheltered from the wind.

'But the Venerable One desired nothing of the kind; strong in control, he suffered, despising all shelter.

'Always well guarded, he bore the pains (caused by) grass, cold, fire, flies, and gnats; manifold pains.

'He travelled in the pathless country of the Lāḍhas, in Vajjabhūmi, and Śubbhabhūmi; he used there miserable beds and miserable seats.

'In Lāḍha [happened] to him many dangers. Many natives attacked him. Even in the faithful part of the rough country the dogs bit him, ran at him.

'Few people kept off the attacking, biting dogs. Striking the monk, they cried *khukhu*, and made the dogs bite him.

'Such were the inhabitants. Many other mendicants, eating rough food in Vajjabhūmi, and carrying about a strong pole or a stalk [to keep off the dogs] lived there.

'Even thus armed, they were bitten by the dogs, torn by the dogs. It is difficult to travel in Lāḍha.

'Ceasing to use the stick [i.e., cruelty] against living beings, abandoning the care of the body, the houseless [Mahāvīra], the Venerable One, endured the thorns of the villages, [*i.e.*, the abusive language of the peasants], [being] perfectly enlightened.

'As an elephant at the head of the battle, so was Māhavīra there victorious. Sometimes he did not reach a village there in Lāḍha.

'When he who is free from desires approached the village, the inhabitants met him on the outside, and attacked him, saying, 'Get away from here.'

'He was struck with a stick, the fist, a lance, hit with a fruit, a clod, a potsherd. Beating him again and again many cried.

'When he once [sat] without moving his body, they cut his flesh, tore his hair under pains, or covered him with dust.

'Throwing him up, they let him fall, or disturbed him in his religious postures; abandoning the care of his body, the Venerable One, undisturbed, proceeded [on the road to *nirvāṇa*].[1]'

Thus did the great saint travel for twelve years seeking perfect knowledge. During the thirteenth year, he came to stay at a place called, Jṛmbhikagrāma, not very far from the Pārśvanātha Hill. In that village the farmer Samāga owned a field through which flowed the river, Ṛjupālikā. Here in this field, sitting under the shade of a *śāla* tree (Vatica Robusta) one afternoon, as Mahāvīra fell into the deepest trance after having fasted for two days and half, he attained *kevala-jñāna*.[2] Henceforth he became the Jina (Conqueror of the eight *karmas*), an *arhat*,[3] (worthy of veneration), *arihanta*, (destroyer of enemies), and *aruhanta* (one who has killed even the roots of *karma*).

A *jina* also is possessed of *kevala-jñāna*, and frees himself from human bondage. But a *tīrthaṅkara* not only liberates himself, but guides others to freedom from the fetters of *karma*. As Mahāvīra was a *tīrthaṅkara*, he now had to work for the salvation of humanity. Therefore, having attained the supreme knowledge, he came to Pāvā or Pāpā.[4] Here a *brāhmaṇa* named Somila had organized a great Vedic sacrifice (*yajña*), which was being attended by *brāhmaṇas* from all parts of India. Thus it gave Mahavira a splendid opportunity to preach his views before a select audience of intellectuals, whose conversion would have great impact on the entire country.

Mahāvīra arrived at Pāpā on the tenth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha,

[1] *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* tr. by H. Jacobi, *SBE*, XXII, reprint, Delhi, 1964.

[2] According to the Jainas, there are five degrees of knowledges, namely. *mati-jñāna śruta-jñāna, avadhi-jñāna, manaḥparyāya-jñāna,* and *kevala-jñāna* as explained below. A householder can attain up to *avadhi-jñāna*, while the last two can be attained only by monks. Mahāvīra was born with the first three, and on his initiation gained the fourth. After twelve years of asceticism, he gained the fifth or *kevala-jñāna*. The sermons of a man with *manaḥparyāya-jñāna* may contain mistakes, therefore Mahāvīra did not preach till he attained *kevala-jñāna*.

[3] According to the Jainas, an *arhat* is venerated because he is:
sarvajña jita-rāgādidosas = trailokya-pūjitaḥ
yath-āsthit-ārthavādi ca devo'rhan parameśvara.

[4] Sanskrit Apāpapuri or Pāvāpuri. It is situated about 7 miles south-east of Bihar town and 2 miles to the north of Giriyek.

and took up his abode in the garden of Mahāsena. Streams of visitors came to him, and to them Mahāvīra preached his new faith. The previous *tīrthaṅkaras* had stressed the importance of non-violence, truth, non-stealing, and non-acceptance of gifts. To those Mahāvīra added a fifth vow, namely continence (*brahmacarya*), and henceforth these five vows formed the basis of Jaina religion.

The fame of Mahāvīra and his doctrine, delivered in a homely dialect, soon reached Somila's sacrificial altar. Of all the *brāhmaṇas* gathered there, Indrabhūti of the Gautama *gotra* (wherefore he is often referred to as Gautama) was the senior-most. Proud of his intellectual attainments, Indrabhūti considered himself as omniscient. He voluntarily took upon himself the task of unmasking Mahāvīra by exposing the hollowness of his doctrines. But the sight of Mahāvīra so impressed Indrabhūti, that instead of challenging him to a debate, he decided to ask the Tīrthaṅkara whether soul existed or not. But before he could frame the question, Mahāvīra told him: 'Gautama, you doubt the existence of soul, is it not?' Indrabhūti was dumbfounded at his thought-reading, and was overwhelmed when Mahāvīra removed all his doubts. Then Indrabhūti prayed for being taught the tenets of Jainism, and, after listening to Mahāvīra, became his disciple with all his pupils.

The news of Indrabhūti's conversion inflamed his younger brother, Agnibhūti, who immediately set off with his 500 disciples promising to himself: 'I shall go, defeat that Śramaṇa, and bring him (Indrabhūti). I think he has been defeated by a trick of debate—*chala* (quibble) etc., or he (Mahāvīra) may be a magician (sorcerer). Who knows what actually happened? Now his doings will be found out. If he is able to go to the end of any of my theses (i.e., able to answer any of my views—*pakṣa*—thoroughly) I shall become his pupil.' Thus saying he approached the Jina.

'The Jina, free from birth, old age, and death, and omniscient, and all seeing accosted him (Agnibhūti) by his name and *gotra* . . . .

"Are you thinking (i.e., is this your problem), 'Does *karma* exist or does it not'? This is your doubt. You do not know the meaning of the words of the Veda (and hence your doubt). This is what they mean . . . . "[1]

Then Mahāvīra explained the nature of *karma*. Agnibhūti's doubts were removed, and he too, along with his 500 pupils, became Mahāvīra's disciple.

The news of Agnibhūti's conversion upset the *brāhmaṇas* who had gathered to witness Somila's *yajña*. They did not know what to do, and ultimately all of them, accompanied by their pupils, repaired to Mahāsena's garden with Agnibhūti's younger brother, Vāyubhūti, at their head. They gave up the idea of confounding Mahāvīra, and, in a spirit of humility, approached him to have their problems resolved and doubts removed.

All the *brāhmaṇa* scholars were satisfied with Mahāvīra's explanations, and they along with their pupils accepted his tenets. Thus at a time 4411 *brāhmaṇas* were converted to Jainism. Of them, the eleven teachers like

[1]*Gaṇadharavāda: Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya, gāthās* 1606-11 of Jinabhadra (AD 489-593) tr. by Esther A. Solomon, Gujarat Vidyasabha, 1966.

Indrabhūti and Agnibhūti were appointed as leaders, and are known as *gaṇadharas*.[1] On that tenth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha many others got converted to Jainism, including Candanā, the first woman to embrace the new faith. On this day, Mahāvīra established the core of his religious organization, dividing it into four orders namely, *sādhu* (monk), *sādhvī* (nun) *śrāvaka* (lay worshipper) and *śrāvikā* (lay female worshipper). These four orders have survived more than 2500 years.

For the rest of his life, Mahāvīra adopted the life of a wandering monk, and preached his doctrine to all types of men. Only during the four months of the rainy season did he stay in one place. The Jaina canonical texts have preserved the names of the places where he spent four months (*cāturmāsya*) annually. The places where he spent more than one season were Campā, Vaiśālī, Rājagṛha, Mithilā, and Śrāvastī. This list does not cover the four decades of his monastic life, but the indication is that his peregrinations covered a limited area of eastern India.

At the age of seventy-two, Mahāvīra went to Pāvā, the same place where he had attained *kevala-jñāna*. This time he accepted the hospitality of King Hastipāla (or Hatthivāla). There amidst the lotus tank outside the city the last Tīrthaṅkara attained *nirvāṇa* in the last watch of the night of the 14th day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika (*c.* October, 527 BC).

It is said that the kings and the large crowd that had gathered to hear him declared: 'Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make illumination of material matter', light being the symbol of knowledge. This incident, it is claimed, was the origin of the *divālī* festival.[2]

Jainism after Mahāvīra

Mahāvīra had twelve principal disciples, who, as stated above, were known as *gaṇadharas*: One of them, named Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, had left him; among the remaining eleven were the three brothers Indrabhūti (usually referred to by his *gotra* name, Gautama), Agnibhūti, and Vāyubhūti, and Sudharman. Of these eleven *gaṇadharas*, only two, namely, Indrabhūti and Sudharman, survived Mahāvīra, the rest having died of voluntary starvation (*sallekhanā*) before their master's death. According to the *Kalpasūtra*, on the night of Mahāvīra's death, Indrabhūti, 'cut asunder the tie of friendship which he had for his master, and obtained the highest knowledge and intuition called *kevala*'.[3] Twelve years later Indrabhūti died, but neither he nor the ten

[1]The word '*gaṇa*' means 'a group'. The word was used as a political term as *gaṇa-rājya* in the *Mahābhārata* (Cr. ed. 12.108.6-31) where the defeat of a *gaṇa* is explained by Bhīṣma. These defects could only be removed by appointing a recognized leader, which Mahāvīra did. *Gaṇa* also means a group of *brāhmaṇas* see above I, p. 116, and II, pp. 125-144. Mahāvīra may have used the word in this sense. The Mallas and the Licchavis are referred to as *gaṇa-rāyano* in the Jaina texts.

[2]The Jaina *divālī* is undoubtedly a very old festival, but it is difficult to say whether it originated before or after the brahminical festival. For a discussion see A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 304-05 and 326.

[3]*Kalpasūtra* tr. H. Jacobi, *SBE*, XXII, p. 265.

gaṇadharas, who had predeceased him, had left any disciple. That duty was performed by the last surviving *gaṇadhara*, Sudharman, and all the Jaina monks are considered to be his spiritual descendants. Candanā, mentioned above, was the head of the Jaina order of nuns.

During his lifetime, Mahāvīra was the head of all the four orders of the Jaina community. He was succeeded by Indrabhūti, who in his turn, was succeeded by Sudharman. Sudharman led the community for twelve years, and was succeeded, after his death, by his pupil Jambūsvāmī, who led the community for twenty-four years. Jambūsvāmī is said to have been the last person to have attained *kevala-jñāna*, and after him *mokṣa* and omniscience were no longer available to mortals.

Jambūsvāmī died 64 years after Mahāvīra and was succeeded by Prabhava. The worship of Mahāvīra's images probably began during Prabhava's apostolate. Prabhava was succeeded by his disciple Śayyambhava (Sejjambhava,) the author of the *Daśavaikālika*, a conspectus of Jaina tenets said to have been written for the benefit of his son. Sayyambhava was succeeded respectively by Yaśobhadra and Śambhūtivijaya. In *c.* 357 BC, Bhadrabāhu, the author of the *Kalpasūtra* and several other works, succeeded Sambhūtivijaya.

During the apostolate of Bhadrābahu, north India was visited by a terrible famine, which is said to have lasted for twelve years. As it became increasingly difficult for the lay worshippers to support the monks, Bhadrabāhu with a contingent of 12,000 monks, including the Emperor Candragupta Maurya left for south India,[1] while the rest of the monks, also numbering 12,000, remained in north India under the leadership of Sthūlabhadra. With this migration began the process of the great division in the Jaina church.

What is important, however, is that the Jaina church and the community still remained united. Bhadrābahu, on his return assumed his former office as head of a united church. After his death in 297 BC, Sthūlabhadra succeeded him. He died in 252 BC, when Mahāgiri, a Digambara, became the head of the church. After Mahāgiri came respectively, Suhastin, Susthita Sūri, Indradinna, Āryadinna or Dinna Sūri, Siṁhagiri, and Vajrasvāmī. In spite of occasional schisms, which will be noted below, the Jaina church remained united during this long period. The definite breach came during the apostolate of Vajrasvāmī's successor, Vajrasena, when the Digambaras left to form a separate organization. According to the Śvetāmbaras, this event took place in AD 142.[2]

After Vajrasena, the next great name among the Jaina teachers is that of Haribhadra Sūri, who is said to have written the incredible number of 1444 books, some of which have survived. The last great Śvetāmbara teacher was Hemacandra Sūri (AD 1089-1173).[3]

[1] See above I, pp. 151-52.

[2] For an account of the schism in Jaina church see below p. 297.

[3] For the life of Hemacandra see G. Buhler, *The Life of Hemacandra*, *SJS*, Santiniketan, 1936, and *Jaina Journal*, II, no. 4, April, 1968; A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 83-6, 97ff, 314-19.

Royal Patrons of Early Jainism

Mahāvīra was born in a distinguished *kṣatriya* family, which was related to princely houses. Though his earliest disciples were common men and *brāhmaṇas*, it was natural for him to have received the support of *kṣatriyas* and princes. The Jainas claim that Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, whom they refer to as Śreṇika or Seṇiyo and Kūṇika or Kūṇiyo, were followers of Mahāvīra and converts to Jainism. The *Uttarādhyayaṇa Sūtra* relates that, Bimbisāra, 'the lion of kings,' visited the 'lion of homeless ascetics' (*aṇagāra-sīhaṁ*), Mahāvīra, at a *caitya* 'with his wives, servants, and relations, and became a staunch believer in the Law.' On the other hand, the Buddhist sources are unanimous that Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru were followers of Buddha. It is now impossible to check the two versions and arrive at any definite conclusion. Most probably, like good Hindu monarchs, Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru reverentially waited upon all the great saints who passed through their realm. As both Buddha and Mahāvīra frequently passed through Magadha, they must have been welcomed with due veneration by the two monarchs. Moreover, Mahāvīra was related to Ceṭaka, the father-in-law of Bimbisāra, hence he must have been very cordially received by the latter.[1] The majority of modern scholars believe that Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru were Buddhists, but there are others who believe them to have been Jainas.[2]

The conversion of Chandragupta Maurya to Jainism has been referred to above. Another Jaina Maurya king was Samprati. The Jainas usually describe him as Aśoka's grandson, but their relation is not quite certain.[3] The Jaina texts are full of praise for Samprati's religious activities, and for his efforts towards the propagation of the Jaina faith. It appears that Samprati's services for the cause of Jainism were of the magnitude of Aśoka's for the spread of Buddhism. But these accounts are found in the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra, a twelfth century text, which can hardly be accepted as a reliable historical work. There is, however, no reason to doubt Samprati's conversion to Jainism, but under him the Maurya empire was no longer what it had been under Aśoka, so that, in any case, the effect of Samprati's endeavours must have been proportionately less.

During Samprati's reign, Mahāgiri, a nephew and the spiritual successor of Sthūlabhadra was the *de jure* head of the Jaina church, while his brother, Suhastin, also one of Sthūlabhadra's disciples, was the *de facto* head. It was

[1]See above I, pp. 117-20.

[2]Muni Nagaraj: Śreṇika-Bimbisāra (In the light of the Jaina Āgamas and Buddhist Tripiṭakas), *Jaina Journal*, VI, no. 2, October 1971, pp. 69-78, no. 3, January, 1972, pp. 96-102. The Muni concludes that Bimbisāra was a Jaina but adds: 'It is undoubtedly true that during the last three years of his life, Śreṇika was in contact with the Buddha and his order, but this was no more than a courtesy to another great leader of the age.' ibid, p. 102. The Buddhist's may with equal cogency argue that Bimbisāra's contacts with Mahāvīra were of the nature of the customary respects paid to a great saint. Moreover, the Muni has accepted, the evidence of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* as historical, which we do not find possible to accept. For an estimate of Hemacandra as an historian, see A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 404-09.

[3]See above I, p. 166.

Suhastin who had converted Samprati, and he had no compunction in accepting generous gifts from the liberal king, presumably in consideration of the latter's support for the cause. As the ascetically inclined Mahāgiri was unable to dissuade Samprati from bestowing rich food and costly gifts to the Jaina monks, he retired to Daśārṇabhadra, where he died of the *sallekhanā* vow, whereupon Suhastin, became the head of the church. Pupils of Māhagiri and Suhastin established many schools.

Susthita succeeded Suhastin, and under him the name of the community is said to have been changed from Nirgranthagaccha to Kālakā-gaccha, in honour of Kālakā, a famous teacher, who had imparted a secret *mantra* to Susthita.

Two other kings traditionally associated with early phase of Jainism are Gardabhilla and Vikramāditya. It is related that Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjain, abducted Kālakācārya's sister, whereupon the monk obtained the help of the Śaka or the Scythian king of Śakasthāna. Gardabhilla was protected by a demoness, but Kālakā, by his superior magical power, rendered her powerless. The Śaka king then captured Gardabhilla and released Kālakā's sister. Gardabhilla was set at liberty, and he retired to a forest where he was devoured by a tiger. Some years later, Gardabhilla's son, Vikramāditya, came with a army from Pratiṣṭhānapura, drove away the Śakas, occupied Ujjain, and established the era (58/57 BC) which still goes under his name.

The story, particularly the Śaka invasion of Ujjain, may have been based on a substratum of fact which is well hidden within thick layers of interesting legends. This tradition for the establishment of the Vikrama era may have had some historical basis, but the Jaina monk Siddhasena, who is stated to have converted Vikramāditya, has been assigned by H. Jacobi in his introduction to the *Samaraiccakahā*, to the seventh or the eight century. Vikramāditya, mentioned by Hāla in his *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (V. 64) written in *c.* AD 200, may have been identical with this Vikramāditya.

Spread of Jainism

Mahāvīra was born in Bihar, and as stated above, his itinerary indicates that during his lifetime Jainism gained popularity in the kingdoms of Kosala (Oudh), Videha (Mithilā), Magadha (Patna region) and Aṅga (Bhagalpur and Monghyr area), that is, roughly eastern U.P. and Bihar. Besides these regions, Mahāvīra is said to have gone to Lāḍha, which has been identified with Rāḍha, (Burdwan District) in West Bengal, but it does not appear from the description given in the *Ācārāṅga*, quoted above, that he was able to gain converts in that area.

One of the *Chedasūtras* (*Kalpasūtra*, I, 51-2) allows a Jaina monk to wander as far as Aṅga-Magadha to the east, Kauśāmbī to the south, Sthūṇā to the west, and Kuṇālā to the north. The same rule permitted a Jaina monk to go to a country where the faith had taken roots, indicating that Jainism was spreading into new regions.

Due to lack of evidence, it is not possible to give a systematic account of the spread of Jainism. From the available evidence, it appears that Jainism prospered in different centres at different periods. Some of these centres were more prosperous than the others, evidently because of more favourable circumstances. Thus up to the third century BC, Magadha, the cradle of Jainism, was the most important area. In the next century, Kalinga and perhaps south India also were the flourishing centres of Jainism. These seem to have been followed by Ujjain in the first century BC as the prominent Jaina centre if the Vikramāditya episode mentioned above is believed. In the early centuries of the Christian era, Mathura became the greatest centre of Jainism in north India, and retained its position for several centuries. In the south, Jainism, after enjoying a spell of popularity in Tamil Nadu, established a permanent base in Karnataka, which became the stronghold of the Digambaras. In north, the Śvetāmbaras, after a long period of varying fortune, established themselves in western India.

We shall now give brief descriptions of the spread of Jainism in different areas, omitting Bihar, for enough has been stated above regarding the rise of Jainism in Bihar.

Bengal

Jainism seems to have flourished in Bengal from ancient days, though no direct evidence is available. It seems almost certain that, the Sārak community found in several parts of Bengal, originally denoted the Jaina *śrāvakas* or lay worshippers, as suggested by O'Malley and Risley.[1] It is possible that the ancestors of the Sārak community continued to follow Pārśvanātha's doctrine as a result of which they were, in course of time, isolated from the mainstream of Jainism. Later they seem to have preferred to merge their identity with the dominant faith of the country, retaining a few characteristic traits of their former faith.

Mahāvīra, as we have seen, was cruelly treated by the people of Lāḍha, which has been identified with Rādha. Jainism however, had followers in Bengal. The Paharpur plates of AD 478 record the donation of some land by a private individual and his wife for the maintenance of worship at the Jaina *vihāra* at Vaṭa Gohālī, which was presided over by the *nirgrantha* teacher Guhanandin of the Pañcastūpanikāya of Varanasi.[2] It has been suggested that the famous Buddhist *vihāra* of Paharpur was erected several centuries later on the site of this Jaina *vihāra*. A considerable number of images of Jaina gods and goddesses as well as of *tīrthaṅkaras* have been found in Bengal.

[1]O'Malley, *District Gazetteer of Singhbhum*; Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, (189). The Sāraks worship brahmanical deities, but prefix their invocation by chanting: '*ahiṁsā paramo dharmaḥ*.' They are vegetarians and practise non-violence. The Sārak community is found in parts of Bihar also. Recently, the discovery of a Jaina temple now converted into a Sikh shrine was reported by D.R. Das in *Śramaṇa* (Bengali), *Phalgun*, 1382, pp. 323-25. The temple is situated in Deultad, under Ichagarh P.S., in the Chota-Nagpur District bordering on Ranchi. Most of the inhabitants of Deultad belong to the Sārak community.

[2]Paharpur Copper-plate Grant of the [Gupta] year 159, *EI*, XX, pp. 59-64.

These belong to various periods, and testify to an abiding faith in Jainism among a section of the people in certain localities.

Uttar Pradesh

The large number of Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathura show that this region was a stronghold of the Jainas from about the first century BC to the sixth century AD. The earliest phase of Jainism in Mathura is characterized by the inscribed *āyāgapaṭas* (Sans. *āryakapaṭas=worshipful tablets*) a number of which has been found in Kankali Tila in Mathura. As V. Smith observed: 'The inscriptions are replete with information as to the organization of the Jaina church in sections known as *gaṇa*, *kula*, and *śākhā*, and supply excellent illustrations of the Jaina books. Both inscriptions and sculptures give interesting details proving the existence of Jaina nuns, and the influential position in the Jaina church occupied by women.'[1] Among the donors were Bankers, jewellers, caravan-leaders, dyers, perfumers, village-headmen, dealers in metal etc., and their wives, daughters, sisters, or daughters-in-law. The lay worshippers were the pupils of some Jaina teachers at whose instance they made the gifts.

Mathura continued to be an active centre of the Jaina faith under the Guptas. A Gupta inscription of AD 432 records the dedication of a Jaina temple by a lady at Mathura. Jainism also flourished in other parts of the Gupta empire, as shown by an inscription found at Udayagiri (Malwa), which records the erection of a statue of Pārśva by a private individual in AD 426. Another inscription of AD 461 refers to the setting up the images of five *tīrthaṅkaras* in the village of Kakubha (modern Kahaum).[2]

The influence of Jainism in the Bundelkhand region is testified by the splendid Jaina temples at Khajuraho. The thirty and odd temples at Khajuraho are dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva, and the *tīrthaṅkaras*. Of the last group, the most imposing is the temple dedicated to Pārśvanātha, by the side of which stands the small but the exquisite Ādinātha temple.

There are indications that Jainism spread to other parts of north India, including the Punjab.

Orissa

One of the most important Jaina kings of ancient India was Khāravela. According to Jaina tradition, Mahāvīra visited Orissa, and the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela (1.14) has been taken to imply that Mahāvīra preached at the Kumari hill (Udayagiri). The Hathigumpha inscription begins with an invocation to the Jinas, and states that Khāravela himself was a Jaina lay worshipper of pious disposition. The inscription records that Khāravela offered 'respectful royal maintenances, Cīna clothes (silks), and

[1]V. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura*, p. 6.

[2]Mathura-Jain Inscription of Kumāra-gupta I, *EI*, II, p. 210; Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Kumāra-gupta I, *CII*, III, p. 251; Kahaum plates of Skanda-gupta, *CII*, III, p. 65; *IHQ*, XXVIII, p. 298.

white clothes to the monks who by their austerities have extinguished the round of lives, the preachers on the religious life and conduct at the Relic memorial.' Khāravela also organized a council of ascetics and sages brought from all quarters, and 'caused to be compiled expeditiously the text of the sevenfold *aṅgas* of the sixty-four letters.' Earlier he had brought back and set up the image of the Jina of Kalinga which had been carried away in former times by King Nanda of Magadha. It is then emphasized that though Khāravela was a patron of Jainism, 'he was a respecter of every sect, and the repairer of all temples' (*sava devāyatana saṁskārakārakā*).[1]

The Khandagiri and the Udayagiri caves of Orissa, in one of which the Hathigumpha inscription is engraved, contain some early Jaina reliefs. A continuous frieze of relief carvings on the facade of the Rani Nur cave at Udayagiri illustrate, according to some scholars, incidents from the life of Pārśvanātha.

It is strange that the name of Khāravela is not found in any Jaina text, nor is his memory preserved in any Jaina tradition. A reason for the omission or suppression of the name of this great Jaina monarch may have been that, Khāravela was a great conqueror, and that in those days of pristine faith, the Jainas were averse to great conquerors. The composition of the *aṅgas* at his behest may have also turned the orthodox church against him. Khāravela's summoning a council reminds one of a similar act by Aśoka, but the Jaina church was much more cohesive than the Buddhist church, and even in later days the Jaina monks did not allow the secular authorities to interfere in purely ecclesiastical matters.

After Khāravela, Buddhism seems to have gained greater popularity than Jainism in Orissa, but Hiuen Tsang remarked in the seventh century that in Orissa 'among the unbelievers the most numerous are the *nirgranthas*'. Some later kings of Orissa are said to have been Jainas, but Jainism in Orissa never recovered the position it had enjoyed under Khāravela.

Tamil Nadu

The Buddhist work *Mahāvaṁśa* relates that king Paṇḍukābhaya of Ceylon (*c.* 377-307 BC) built a residence for the Nigantha Jotiya in an area east of the cemetery where ascetics of various sects used to reside. This casual reference to the Jainas in a Buddhist work may be accepted as fairly reliable, but it does not testify to the existence of the Jainas in Tamil Nadu, though the possibility cannot be ruled out.[2] The evidence of the early Tamil works prove the flourishing condition of Jainism in Tamil Nadu during the early centuries of the Christian era. The *Manimekhalai* (third century AD), written by a Buddhist, gives a fairly accurate account of the Digambaras, while the *Silappadikāram* is held by some scholars to have been written by the Cola

[1]For Khāravela see above I, p. 181.

[2]See Ayyangar and Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 32ff. quoted in *HCIP*, III, p. 413, and P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Inscriptions*, Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā, no. 6, Sholapur, 1957, p. 25.

prince Ilango-Adigal, after his conversion to Jainism.[1] The Cola prince Tiruthakkathevar, the author of the *Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi*, was also a Jaina. Other works for which Jaina origin is claimed are the *Nīlakesi* and the *Yaśodharakāvya*. The date of these works are uncertain, but it is usually assumed that they were written before the seventh century AD when, as we shall see, Jainism suffered a reverse in Tamil Nadu.

The city of Kanci was associated with the Jainas since the days of Samantabhadra (*c.* 2nd century AD), the famous Jaina author.[2] Kundakunda, the celebrated Digambara monk, is said to have as his disciple a ruler called Śivakumāra-mahārāja who may have been an early Pallava king.[3] According to a late tradition, Sarvanandin, a Jaina monk, wrote the *Lokavibhāga* in AD 458, during the reign of Siṁhavarman, the Pallava ruler of Kanchi (AD 436-458). Decline in the fortunes of Jainism in this area began with the conversion of the Pallava king Mahendra-varman I (*e.* AD 600-681) to Śaivism by the Śaiva saint Appar.[4] About this time, Kūṇ Pāṇḍya, better known as Arikesari Māravarman, (*c.* AD 670-700) was also converted to Śaivism by Saint Jñasambandar.[5]

With the loss of royal patronage, decline set in the fortunes of the Jainas in the Tamil country. They transferred their main centres of activities from the territories of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas to Koppana, Sravana Belgola and the surrounding areas. Here they received the steady patronage of the Gaṅga kings, as will be related presently. It is difficult to assign any date for the downfall of Jainism in Tamil land, but after AD 750 it ceased to be a force in that area, though Jaina influence was not totally banished from Tamil country. This is attested by about seventeen inscriptions issued by the Coḷa and the Vijayanagara emperors between the twelfth to the sixteenth century AD, recording gifts of lands and villages to a Jaina shrine in Kanchi. This temple, dedicated to Māhavīra styled Trailokyanāthasvāmī, is the larest shrine at Tiruparuttikkunram, which is about two miles from Kanchi, and is known as Jina Kanchi.[6]

Andhra and Karnataka

Jainism lost its royal support in north India after Samprati and Khāravela, and the inscriptions indicate that the main support of the Jaina community came from the merchants. The same fate seems to have overtaken the Jainas in Tamil Nadu after the conversion to Śaivism of the Pallava and

[1]The *Manimekhalai* is a sequel to the story related in the *Silappadikāram*, but is held to be the earlier work.

[2]Vajrasena was succeeded by Candrasūri whose successor was Samantabhadra.

[3]It has been suggested that Śivakumāramahārāja was one of the early Pallava rulers who issued Prakrit copper plates, but none of such plates have yet been discovered. However, the history of early Pallavas is obscure, and this king may have been a Pallava. For the history of the early Pallavas see above I, pp. 289-90.

[4]See above I, p. 290.

[5]ibid, pp. 293-94.

[6]P.B. Desai, op. cit., pp. 34-5.

the Pāṇḍya kings. Conditions differed in Karnataka and Maharashtra where Jainism thrived under the patronage of different dynasties.

The greatest patrons of Jainism in Karnataka were the Western Gaṅgas. According to late Gaṅga inscriptions, the Jaina *ācārya* Siṁhanandin bestowed a kingdom upon Koṅgunivarman or Mādhava, the founder of the Western Gaṅga dynasty.[1] This account is suspected by some scholars, while others are inclined to accept it.[2] However, the inscriptions of Gaṅga kings like Avinīta, Śivamāra, and Śrīpuruṣa record their construction of Jaina temples, and their gifts to Jaina monks. But since they showed similar favours to brahmanical temples also, it is difficult to conclude that they were Jainas. However, it is known that the Gaṅga king Mārasiṁha III, under circumstances to be related below, turned a Jaina ascetic, and died of voluntary starvation (*sallekhanā*) in *c.* AD 974. He was succeeded by his son Rācamalla or Rājamalla, whose reign has been rendered memorable by the activities of his great minister, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya.[3] In *c.* AD 1028, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya erected a Jaina temple named after himself at Sravana Belgola, and about a year later had the colossal statue (56 1/2 feet in height) of Gommateśvara installed there. Of this statue it has been said that, 'in daring conception and gigantic dimensions [it] is without a rival in India.' Thus it is apparent that, either the Gaṅga kings were Jainas, or that the conditions of the Jainas under them were so favourable that Jainism could gloriously flourish in their realm.

Jainism also enjoyed the patronage of the Cālukyas of Badami. Poet Ravikīrti, the author of the famous Aihole *praśasti* of Pulakeśin II, was a Jaina. An inscription of Vikramāditya II records that after repairing a Jaina temple he gave a grant in respect of it to the great disputant Vijaya Paṇḍita. The Jaina temple at Lakkundi is a distinct landmark in the evolution of the Cālukyan style of temple architecture.

The spread of Jainism is also shown by the Jaina cave architecture. There is a Jaina cave at Badami, and another at Aihole, but the most famous caves are found on the northern horn of the ridge at Ellora. The date of the earliest Jaina caves would be about AD 800, but their importance is that 'with the Jaina caves at Ellora the cave architecture of India ceases for all practical purposes'. There are five Jaina caves at Ellora, of which three are justly famous. Of them the Choṭa (small) Kailāsa is a smaller replica of the famous Kailāsa temple. Next in importance is the famous Indrasabhā, which is said to be 'one of the most perfect specimens among the cave temples' at Ellora. The Jagannāthasabhā is an imitation of the Indrasabhā.

[1]See above I, p. 295.

[2]See *HCIP*, III, pp. 411-12, and A.B. Saletore, *Medieval Jainism*, Bombay, 1938, pp. 6-13.

[3]The earliest epigraphical record of the Marathi language is found in the Sravana Belgola inscription of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. *Nagpur University Journal*, VIII, p. 81ff., quoted in *HCIP*, V, p. 352. For the date of the Gommateśvara statute see Saletore, op. cit., p.111.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs were tolerant towards all sects, but some of them were particularly interested in Jainism. It has been said of Amoghavarṣa I that he 'was more a Jaina than a Hindu.' His chief preceptor was Jainasena and he had appointed Guṇabhadra as the preceptor for his son, Kṛṣṇa II. Amoghavarṣa is also said to have been the originator of the ritual of the Jaina monasteries at Banavasi. The contemporary work *Gaṇitasāra-saṅgraha* of Mahāvīrācārya, graphically describes Amoghavarṣa's initiation to Jainism. However, it should be remembered that, Amoghavarṣa was very devoted to the brahminical deity Mahālakṣmī, and on one occasion offered one of his fingers during a sacrifice performed to mitigate the severity of a raging epidemic.

The influence of Jainism on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is testified by the fact that, the last, Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Indra, a grandson of Kṛṣṇa III, after failing to regain his kingdom with the help of his uncle, the Gaṅga king Mārasiṁha III, turned a Jaina ascetic, and, like Mārasiṁha as noted above, gave up his life by the *sallekhanā* vow.

The Western Cālukyas of Kalyani, who succeeded the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, continued their patronage to Jainism. Taila II, the founder of the dynasty, was the patron of the great Kannada poet, Pampa I, who wrote the *Ādi-purāṇa* in AD 941. Taila's son Satyāśraya constructed a *nisidhi* (a pillar, generally forming part of a temple, dedicated to the memory of a deceased person) in honour of a Jaina *guru*. The names of a large number of women devotees are known from the inscriptions of this period. Of them, the most famous was Attimabbe, the daughter of Mallappa, a general in the army of Taila II. Attimabbe was married to Nāgadeva, and they had a son named Paduvala Taila. She had one thousand copies of Ponna's *Śānti-purāṇa* made at her expense as well as 1500 images of gold encrusted with jewels. These were circulated all over the country. Later inscriptions extol the devotion of a female lay worshipper by comparing her with Attimabbe.

The Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī also extended their patronage to Jainism. It appears that Rāmatīrtham near Vizianagram flourished during this period as a centre of pilgrimage. Vimalāditya (AD 1011-1018) was most probably a Jaina, and in his later years became so religious-minded that he relinquished his throne. But with the accession of his son Rājarāja Narendra, a grandson of Emperor Rājarāja the Great, Jainism lost royal patronage in Andhra. It is possible that he was influenced by his mother's family, the Coḷas, who were devout Śaivas. It may be noted also that the condition in Andhra after the accession of Rājarāja Narendra was no longer conducive to the development of any religion or culture. But worse days for Jainism was yet to come, and under the Kākatīyas Jainism practically disappeared from the Telugu country.

According the Hoysala records, Sala, the founder of the dynasty, was asked by a Jaina *muni* to kill a tiger (*Hoy Sala*). Sala expeditiously executed this order whereupon the *muni* bestowed upon him a kingdom.[1] Many scholars,

[1]See above I, p. 502.

including Jainas, accept this story as an historical fact, which may be so, but it would be a strange Jaina *muni* indeed who would ask a man to destroy a living being. From the days of Khāravela, the followers of this creed of peace and non-violence had reconciled themselves to taking part in warfare, but the Jaina monks have always (even today) been votaries of extreme non-violence. Hence we do not think this story to be at all probable, though the early Hoysala kings were ardent supporters of Jainism. But Viṣṇuvardhana, the greatest Hoysala king, is said to have embraced Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of Rāmānuja. There are, however, enough evidences to show that he continued to patronize Jainism by giving grants and endowments to Jaina monks and shrines. His queen, Santaladevī, continued to be a staunch Jaina, and died by the *sallekhanā* vow in AD 1031. Later Hoysala kings also actively patronized Jainism, and Vīra Ballāla II and Narasiṁha III are said to have had Jaina saints as their spiritual guides.

It should be emphasized here that not only the kings, but many of their army commanders were Jainas, and renowned for their piety. Of them the most famous was Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, mentioned above, whose victories in the field earned him the *virudas* of *raṇa-raṅgasiṅga*, *jagad-eka-vīra*, and *vīra-mārtaṇḍa*.

Another famous Jaina general was Śāntinātha, who served under Rāya-daṇḍa-Gopāla Lakṣma, the right-hand man of the Western Calulya Someśvara II. Śāntinātha was also a famous poet. Once Śāntinatha petitioned Lakṣma to replace with stone a wooden Jaina shrine. In his application he stated: 'With lines of temples of Jina, Rudra, Buddha, and Hari decorated with gold and jewels, Balinagara is well known as a place of five *mathas*.'[1] This statement reveals the harmonious relations between the different faiths prevalent at that time.

Even more famous than Śāntinātha was Gaṅga Rāja,[2] who along with seven other Jaina generals served the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana. Gaṅga Rāja's main achievement was the expulsion of the Coḷas from Karnataka by storming the city of Talakad, which was burnt and 'ploughed with hoofs of horses.' Gaṅga Rāja then defeated the remaining two Coḷa feudatories in Karnataka, one of whom was killed, while the other became a Śaiva monk or a beggar. Gaṅga Rāja also had other victories to his credit. Therefore after he had conquered the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi, the grateful king permitted him to ask for a boon. Gaṅga Rāja asked for Gaṅgavāḍi. Having received this princely gift, Gaṅga Rāja renovated all the *basadis* in Gaṅgavādi, and had an enclosure erected around the statue of Gommateśvara at Sravana Belgola. Extolling his merits, an inscription states: 'Wherever he marched wherever he was encamped, wherever his eyes rested, wherever his mind was attached, there he had rich Jina temples made, and thus the country was everywhere brought through Gaṅga Rāja to the condition in which it had

[1]Saletore, op. cit., p. 113.
[2]See above I, p. 504.

been in the days of yore.'[1] Till the end, the Jaina ministers and commanders served the Hoysalas and continued as pillars of Jainism in Karnataka.

Western India

Gujarat and Rajasthan were the last strongholds of the Jainas, particularly of the Śvetāmbaras, and even today they are more numerous in these regions than elsewhere in India. The Jainas owe this position mainly to the patronage they received from the Caulukyas of Gujarat, whose kingdom at one time extended over the whole of modern Gujarat and large part of Rajasthan including Chitor, Jodhpur, Jaisalmere, and Banswara.

Jainism had a long history in western India before the rise of the Caulukyas. Ṛṣbhadeva and Neminātha, along with their disciples, are said to have performed penance on the Satrunjaya and Girnar respectively. About the first century BC, a Jaina monk founded the Satrunjaya as a place for pilgrimage. Definite information is provided by the Junagarh inscription of the grandson of Jayadāman (either Dāmayasada also known as Dāmajadaśrī I, or Rudrasiṁha I) belonging to the second century AD.[2] The inscription is found in a cave, one of a group near the city of Junagarh, which appears to have been used by the Jaina monks as is attested by the peculiar Jaina symbols like the *savastika, bhadrāsana, mīna-yugala* and others. The inscription refers to men who had attained *kevali-jñāna* (perfect knowledge), and were free from *jarā-maraṇa* (decrepitude and death), which are also suggestive of Jainism. In that case this inscription contains the earliest recorded reference to Jaina monks' claim to the attainment of perfect knowledge.

The Gūrjara-Pratīhāras were the earliest great royal dynasty of Rajasthan. It appears that they were patrons of the Jainas, for king Vatsarāja of this dynasty is mentioned in the Jaina work *Kuvalayamālā* composed in AD 778, and the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* of Jinasena composed in AD 783. Also a Jaina temple built at Osia is said to have been built during his reign. The Jaina chronicles credit Vatsarāja with having built a 100 cubit high temple at Kanauj where a golden image of Mahāvīra was set up. He is also said to have built Jaina temples at Mathura, Anahilapattana, and Modhera, the last two places being at Gujarat. Vatsarāja's son Nāgabhaṭa II, known as Nāgāvaloka in the Jaina chronicles, honoured the famous Jaina saint Bappa Sūri, and was induced by the latter to construct several Jaina temples. His successor Bhoja is also said to have patronized Jainism under the influence of Bappa Sūri's disciples, Nanna Sūri and Govinda Sūri.[3] Bhoja's contemporary Pratīhāra ruler of Mandor was Kakkuka. Kakkuka's Prakrit inscription at Ghatiyala opens with a prayer to the lord of the Jinas and records the building of a Jaina temple by Kakkuka, who entrusted its management to two ascetics and

[1]Saletore, op. cit., p. 127.

[2]For the successors of Rudradāman see I, p. 207. For the inscription see *EI*, XVI, p. 239.

[3]For the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra kings, see I, pp. 321-24,

a merchant belonging to the Dhaneśvara-*gaccha*.[1]

According to the Jaina chronicles, there was a contest between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras during this period, as a result of which Girnar passed under the exclusive control of the Śvetāmbaras.

The Jaina chronicles relate that, Vanarāja, (*c.* AD 745) the founder of the Cāpa dynasty was a patron of Jainism. According to these chronicles, Vanarāja was installed on the throne by his Jaina *guru*, Śilaguṇa Sūri, who refused Vanarāja's offer of the kingdom. However he induced Vanarāja to build a temple called the Pañcasara-*caitya*, in which the image of Pārśvanātha, brought from Pañcasara, was installed. Vanarāja's chief minister was a Jain *bania* named Campa, who founded Campaner. Vanarāja's successors were also patrons of Jainism.

Jainism in Rajasthan underwent a revival under Haribhadra Sūri (*c.* AD 700-770). His teachings faithfully carried on by his line of disciples left a permanent mark on the area which will be discussed later.

After the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras, the great royal dynasties of western India were the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and the Caulukyas of Gujarat.[2] The Cāhamāna king Pṛthvīrāja I had golden cupolas put on the Jaina temple at Ranthambhor, though he was most probably a Śaiva. Similarly, his son Ajayarāja, the founder of Ajmer, gave a golden pitcher to the Pārśvanātha temple at Ajmer. The Cāhamānas of Nadol were more fervent Jainas than the main branch. Ālhaṇa of this dynasty gave a monthly grant to the Mahāvīra temple at Nadol, and forbade slaughter of animals on the 8th, 11th, and the 14th days of the two fortnights. The punishment for the violation of this order was 5 *drammas* for an ordinary offender, and one *dramma* only if the offender belonged to the royal family.[3] Another inscription from Rajasthan which records the prohibition of slaughter on the 11th, 14th, and the 15th days of the two fortnights was issued by Pūnapākṣadeva and his wife Girijādevī.[4] Both Ālhaṇa and Pūnapākṣadeva were feudatories of the Caulukya king Kumārapāla of Gujarat, the greatest patron of Jainism during this period.

Jainism received the patronage of the Caulukpyas, who had succeeded the Cāpas, practically from the beginning of their rule, though the Caulukyas were Śaivas. In vs 1033, during the reign of Mūlarāja, the founder of the dynasty, his son *Yuvarāja* Cāmuṇḍarāja granted land for the maintenance of

[1] *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 513-21.

[2] For the Cāhamānas, see I, pp. 354-55, and 392-96; for the Caulukyas, see ibid, pp. 352-54 and 445-52.

[3] *EI*, IX, pp. 62 and 44.

[4] *Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions of Kattywar etc.*, published by the order of H.H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar; Ratnapura Stone Inscription of Kumārapāla, p. 205. For grants of the Cāhamānas of Nadol to the Jaina temples see K.C. Jain, *Jainism in Rajasthan*, Jaina Saṁskṛti Saṁrakṣaka Saṅgha, Sholapur, 1963, pp. 20-23. The four days mentioned in the inscription probably corresponds to the days when the *poṣadha* or the *pauṣadha* vow of fasting was observed. But this vow was observed usually on the 8th, the 14th, the full moon, and the day before the new moon. For details of the *poṣadha-vrata* see below.

a Jaina temple at Varunasarmaka (Vadsama, Mehsana District).[1]

The reign of Cāmuṇḍa's son, Durlabharāja, is memorable in the Jaina annals. The great Jaina monk Vardhamāna Sūri and his disciple Jineśvara Sūri defeated the Caityavāsins at a debate held in Durlabha's court in AD 1024. The Caityavāsins, in conformity with the terms under which the debate was held, left the capital Aṇahilapāṭaka, and Durlabha, pleased with the acumen of Jineśvara, conferred on him the title '*kharatara*' (the very keen one). When Jineśvara succeeded Vardhāmana, the sect came to be called the Kharatara-*gaccha*, which was one of the most important *gacchas* in the history of Jainism.

During the reign of Durlabha's successor, Bhīma I, Vardhamāna Sūri consecrated the famous Neminātha temple at Dilwara (Mt. Abu) built by Bhīma's *daṇḍanāyaka*, Vimala. Shortly after the consecration of this temple, Vardhamāna died by practising the vow of starvation. Bhīma's successor Karṇa conferred on Abhayatilaka Sūri the *biruda* of *maladhārī* (he who is capable of retaining the impurities) on account of the celebrated monk's holy indifference to cleanliness.

With Karṇa's son and successor, Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, Jainism in western India reached a new peak in its history. A debate was held in vs 1181 in Siddharāja's court between the Digambara monk Kumudacandra from Karnataka and the Śvetāmbara Devacandra Sūri (AD 1086-1169) of the Pūrṇatalla-*gaccha*. Kumudacandra's reputation was based on the defeats he had inflicted on all his opponents from Gauḍa and Vaṅga to Sapādalakṣa and Karṇāṭaka. But Devachandra was a very famous scholar, and his book on logic, the *Pramāṇanyāyatattvālokālaṅkāra* on which he had written his own commentary called the *Syadvādaratnākara* became standard works on the subject. The condition under which the debate was held was that, if Kumudacandra won, the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat would adopt the Digambara views and practices, but if the Śvetāmbaras won the Digambaras would have to leave the country. The conditions show that the Śvetāmbaras were far more numerous in Gujarat at that time than the Digambaras. The outcome of the debate was that Devacandra won, and the hapless Kumudacandra with his brothers-in-faith left the country.[2] As a result the Śvetāmbara doctrine became the dominant Jaina creed in western India. The Digambaras, however, remained in Rajasthan, even if they had to leave Gujarat during the reign of Siddharāja (vs 1150-1200), and they managed to retrieve their position at least to some extent within about fifty years. For, an inscription of the reign of Bhīma II records that, one Hema Sūri (not to be confused with the famous monk who was Devacandra's disciple) who belonged to the Kundakunda sect, an important Digambara group, rebuilt an old temple, apparently at

[1] *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, (*Hindi-Gujarati*), I, p. 73.

[2] This debate is described in many Gujarat chronicles and in the drama *Mudrita-Kumudacandra*. For details of the debate see A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 311-14.

Somanātha.[1] This type of sporadic activities, however, did not affect the position of the Śvetāmbaras in western India.

Siddharāja also extended his patronage to Jainism by building a Jaina temple and he once worshipped Neminātha at Girnar praying for the gift of a son. However, Siddharāja's greatest service to Jainism was the patronage he extended to a young monk named Hemacandra, probably the greatest scholar of medieval India, and the last of the great Jaina teachers. It seems likely that during the closing years of his reign,[2] Siddharāja came under the influence of Hemacandra for which there could have been several reasons. These were his exemplary character, his towering personality, his ready wit, and his massive scholarship, which, to the delight of Siddharāja, had firmly placed Gujarat on the intellectual map of India. But above all was Hemacandra's catholicity in religious matters. The following hymn is ascribed to him by all his biographers all of whom were Jainas:

At whatever time, under whatever condition
Whoever thou art, by whatever name known,
If thou art that one free from the stain of sin,
That only one—honour to thee, O adorable being!
Whether he be Brahmā or Viṣṇu or Śiva, honour to that being,
In whom passion, and the other feelings that produce[3] the germination of the seed of birth are extinguished.

In his own work, the *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya* (1.79) he said:

Tvam Īśo bhavinām Arhan bhavān Viṣṇur=bhavān Ajaḥ

These sentiments are the expressions of a noble mind, but the time too was propitious. The cleavage between the orthodox and the heterodox was not so sharp as it became later. Hemacandra's father was an orthodox Hindu, while his mother was a Jaina. His parentage may have had a formative influence on his views, though he had left his home at the age of five to be trained as a monk by Devacandra Sūri.

Hemacandra's ascendancy was even more pronounced during the reign of Siddharāja's successor, Kumārapāla (vs 1200-1229). He adopted various measures to improve the morals of his subjects probably under the guidance of Hemacandra. But it is difficult to determine as to whether Kumārapāla actually renounced the faith of his ancestors and embraced Jainism.[4] Probably, like Harṣa-vardhana, he adopted the dogmas of the heterodox creed without leaving the orthodox fold.

Kumārapāla built a large number of Jaina temples none of which, with the

[1]Somanātha Pattana Inscription of Bhīma II, *Poona Orientalist*, II, p. 223. This inscription was issued some time between VS 1250-1259; the exact year cannot be determined as the unit figure has peeled off.

[2]For the life of Hemacandra, see G. Buhler, *Life of Hemachandra* tr. from German by M. Patel, *SJS*, Santiniketan, 1911; A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 83-6, 96-102, 314-16; *Jaina Journal*, II, no. 4, April, 1968.

[3]*Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, tr. by C.H. Tawney, *EI*, Calcutta, 1901, p. 131.

[4]For a discussion of this problem see A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 119-24, and 315-16.

probable exception of a few, have survived.[1]

With the death of Kumārapāla, Jainism ceased to enjoy royal patronage. This loss was, however, compensated by the support which it received from the wealthy merchants, who have maintained it ever since. Kumārapāla's successor, Ajayapāla (vs 1229-1232) has been accused by some Jaina chroniclers as a persecutor of Jainas. There are, however, good grounds to reject this charge as false, though there is no doubt that Ajayapāla strictly observed the orthodox, that is brahmanical, tenets.[2]

The equally short reign of the next king, Mūlarāja II (vs 1232-1235) is memorable for the defeat he inflicted on the Muslim invaders, for which he has been lauded by all the chroniclers, almost all of whom were Jainas. Mūlarāja II was succeeded by his younger brother Bhīma II (vs 1235-1298). During this long period, the two brothers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, occupied pre-eminent positions in the government of the country. They were Jainas and if their services towards the promotion of Jainism of Gujarat were not as great as that of Kumārapāla's, it was not much less either.[3] Today Tejaḥpāla is chiefly remembered by the temple of Neminātha which he built at Dilwara (*deval-vāḍa: deulvārā*='province or city of temples') to increase the merit of his wife Anupamādevī and their son Lūṇasiṁha, whence it is known as Lūṇa-*vasahikā*. The construction of the main temple was finished by AD 1230, though Tejaḥpāla continued to build some of the subsidiary structures, one of which is dedicated to his second wife, Suhaḍādevī.

Vastupāla died in vs 1296 and Tejaḥpāla in vs 1304, two years after the accession of the Vāghelā Caulukya Vīsaladeva. The two brothers retained their position in the Government up to their death, but after them no great historical figure is associated with Jainism in Gujarat or Rajasthan, though the Vaghelā kings (vs 1302-1360) continued to support Jainism as all the Caulukya kings had done. One of the reasons was the political ascendancy of the Muslim Turks in North India. They had conquered the Cāhamāna kingdom in AD 1193, and by AD 1305 they conquered Gujarat and Mālava. The problem after the Muslim conquest was more of survival of the faith than its propagation.

Another reason for the suspension of temple building activities was probably the difficulty in maintaining the old ones. An inscription issued in AD 1293, that is 63 years after the completion of Tejaḥpāla's Neminātha temple, records that at the request of several merchants (*mahājanas*), whose names are given, Vīsladeva, the governor of the area, issued an order under which the merchants were to pay a fixed percentage on the sale price of certain commodities as well as certain periodical taxes, which were to be used for the maintenance of the Vimala-*vasahikā* and the Tejaḥpāla-*vasahikā*, that is, the two famous Dilwara temples. On the other hand, no taxes, were

[1]For Kumārapāla's temples see ibid, pp. 317-19.

[2]For Ajayapāla's religious attitude, see ibid, pp. 129-30.

[3]For details of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla's religious activities, see ibid, pp. 320-22.

to be levied on pilgrims (which was royal due).[1] Tejaḥpāla was a very rich merchant, but evidently his descendants were unable to pay for the maintenance of the temple. The local merchants, presumably Jainas, volunteered to share the expenses and were able to induce the governor to levy a tax on merchants irrespective of their religion, which saved the splendid edifices from decay. These two magnificent temples may be called in modern terms 'monuments of national importance,' and their preservation and maintenance were matters of concern for the government and the local people, for these temples attracted pilgrims from all over India. Apparently the less pretentious temples were allowed to decay and tumble down when their builders were no longer able to maintain them. The fate of the old temples shall have restrained the would-be builders from erecting new ones.

Jaina Church

A short account of the Jaina church, up to the final break up of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, has been given above. There were, however, several schisms in the Jaina church before Bhadrabāhu's departure to the south. The *Samagamasutta* mentions that Buddha had already scented dissensions in the Jaina church after the death of Mahāvīra or Nigantha Nataputta, and exhorted his disciples not to fall a victim to such schismatic impulses.[2] According to the Jaina sources, the first schism was led by Jamāli, the nephew and son-in-law of Mahāvīra four years after his enlightenment. The second schism was led by Tiṣyagupta at Rājagṛha, the third by Asaḍha in *c.* 313 BC, the fourth in 307 BC by Aśvamitra, the fifth in 299 BC by Gaṅga, the sixth in AD 18 by Rohagupta, and the sixth by Gotthāmāhila in AD 57.[3] To this list may be added the breakaway of Mahāvīra's disciple Gosāla, who founded the Ajīvika sect.

The last two schisms, led by Rohagupta and Gotthāmāhila are stated to have taken place during the pontificate of Vajrasvāmī, while the split between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras is said to have taken place shortly after his death.[4]

Udyotana Sūri was the thirty-eighth spiritual successor to Mahāvīra. He is said to have eighty-four disciples each of whom was made the head of a group, called the *gaccha* by Udyotana, 1464 years after the death of Mahavira i.e. (AD 937).

However, the Mathura inscriptions mentioned above show that already in

[1]Abu Vimala-vasāhi Inscription of Sāraṅgadeva, *Poona Orientalist*, III, p. 69.

[2]Nalinaksha Datta, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools*, p. 200.

[3]A. Guerinot, *La Religion Djaina*, Paris, 1926, pp. 46-8.

[4]In that case the split between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras must have taken place in the first century AD. A.F.R. Hoernle, who suggested the dates AD 79 or AD 82 for the great schism, practically accepted the date AD 83 advanced by the Sthānakvāsins, which may be nearer the truth than AD 142, if the dates given by Guerinot for the last twod ates are accepted and synchronized with Vajrasvāmin's date.

the early centuries of the Christian era, the Jaina monks were divided into various groups like the *gaṇa*, *kula*, *śākhā*, and the *sambhoga*. Among the Digambaras, the usual divisions were *saṅgha* (like the Mūla, Draviḍa), *gaṇa* (Devī, Sena, Kamura etc.), and *gaccha*[1] (Pustaka etc.). These groups were instituted for organizational purposes, and they were not based on any doctrinal differences. In the absence of a well-organized church like the Roman Catholic Church, or the Church of England, groups were needed to maintain the cohesion of the monks, and to direct their activities along proper channels. Possibly they bear some analogy with the various orders, like the Jesuits etc. of the Roman Catholic Church. There may have been some healthy rivalry between the various groups of Jaina monks, but it never degenerated into fratricidal strife. The real contest was between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. There was also a third sect, called the Yāpanīya, whose influence lasted for a short period, and was confined to the south.

The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras differ on so many points of tradition, ritual, and custom, that it is not possible to enumerate them here. For example on matters of dogma, the two sects differ on the number of the moveable and immoveable beings, the possibility of women attaining liberation, and the food taken by omniscient teachers.[5] Their tradition differ on the events like the transference of Mahāvīra's embryo, his marriage, and the sex of Malli, the nineteenth *tīrthaṅkara*.[3] Among other differences

[1]According to Vasunandin's Sanskrit commentary on the *Mūlācāra*, IV. 32 (Bombay, 1920), a group of three monks was known as a *saṅgha*. This classification, probably applies to the south Indian Digambaras at a very early period. In north India, the origin of the *gacchas* has been traced to the disciples of Uddyotana, eight-four of whom started similar number of *gacchas*. According to the *Kharataragaccha-paṭṭāvaiī*, Uddyotana flourished 500 years after Devarddhi, and the Gandhani inscription on the back of the metal image of Ādinātha, which refers to two of his disciples, shows that he became *ācārya* in VS 937 (AD 880). The *paṭṭāvalīs* give 994 VS (AD 937) as the year of his death, and the *gacchas*, which are not mentioned in the Gandhani inscription, must have arisen soon after. For list of *gacchas* see, G. Buhler, *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, English translation by J. Burgess, London, 1903, pp. 77ff. For the Gandhani inscription see P.C. Nahar, *Jaina Lekha Sangraha*, III, Calcutta, 1929, p. 164. For the *Kaharataragaccha-paṭṭāvalī*, see *IA*, XI, p. 248. The Siddharabasti pillar inscription of Saka 1320 (AD 1398) *Inscriptions of Sravana Belgola*, (*EC*, II, Revised ed., Introduction, p. 23, Inscription, no. 254, tr. p. 109, text, p. 121) records that Arhadbali, whose disciples were Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, split the Mūla Saṅgha Kundakundānvaya into four branches, namely, Nandī, Deva, Sena, and Siṁha in order to prevent jealousy, presumably among his disciples. The *saṅghas gaṇas*, *gacchas*, *balis*, and *śākhās* went on proliferating and the inscriptions refer to a large number of them of which the important ones were: among the *sanghas*, Mūla, Nandī, Namilura or Mayura, Kittura, and Kollatura; among the *gaṇas*, Nandī, Desi, Dramila, and Kanura; among the *gacchas*, Pustaka or Sarasvatī, Vakra, Tagarila, and Manditala; among the *balis*, Iṅguleśvara and Pansoge.

[2]The Digambaras hold that women cannot attain liberation. They also maintain that, once a saint had obtained *kevala-jñāna* he needed no food, and could sustain life without nourishment.

[3]The Digambaras hold that Mahāvīra was lifelong celibate. According to the Śvetāmbaras, Mallinātha, the nineteenth *tīrthaṅkara* was a woman, but the Digambaras hold that Mallinātha was a male; according to the Digambaras, a woman can never become a

are iconographical, namely, that the *tīrthaṅkaras* must be represented as nude, unadorned, and with downcast eyes. But the main point, on which the split really occurred, and from which the two sects derived their names, was that, according to the Digambaras, the male ascetics must be nude, while the Śvetāmbaras allowed the monks to wear a white robe. However, all the points of difference except the last one, were minor, if not trivial,[1] and the result was that though there was a split, the crack was never wide enough to bring down the entire edifice. Less serious doctrinal differences among the Christians led to prolonged bloody conflicts in Europe, but the strict adherence to non-violence prevented the Jainas from commiting similar acts. Victory over rival sects was decided in a debating hall, the battlefield was left to the soldiers to decide political issues.

The Yāpanīyas and the Drāviḍa Saṅgha

The origin of the Yāpanīya sect is obscure. It has been held that the sect arose in the early centuries of the Christian era soon after the split between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. It is evident from epigraphical remains, that the activities of the Yāpanīyas were mainly confined to the Kannada country, which has yielded a large number of inscriptions recording the activities of the Yāpanīyas. Even in Karnataka, the Yāpanīya records are mostly confined to the northern part of the country, and it is significant that they are not explicitly mentioned in a single Sravana Belgola inscription.[2]

The Yāpanīyas seem to have secured their position by the last quarter of the 5th century AD as attested by the copper plate grant issued in the eighth year of the Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman (AD 475-490), which records that the Yāpanīya monks were residing at Palasika, or modern Halsi, in the Belgaum District. Several other princes of the same dynasty issued grants in favour of the Yāpanīya monks.[3] The Yāpanīyas are also mentioned in an inscription of Vikramāditya VI (AD 1076-1126).[4] The Yāpanīya sect continued to exist for about another two centuries.

The Drāviḍa Saṅgha was primarily confined to the Tamil country, but little is known about its origin and development. The indications are that, it was an offshoot of the Mūla Saṅgha for an inscription refers to the *Drāviḍa anvaya* as associated with the Mūla Saṅgha.[5] The Drāviḍa Saṅgha also had its sub-

tīrthaṅkara.

[1]Another important difference at present is that a priest in a Digambara temple must be a Jaina, while in a Śvetāmbara temple the priest can be, and usually is, a *brāhmaṇa*. It is difficult to say as to how old is this Śvetāmbara custom.

[2]From the available records, it appears that the Yāpanīyas confined their activities to the following districts of Karnataka: Gulbarga, Kolhapur, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, and Bellary.

[3]*IA*, VI, pp. 24-26; VII, p. 34; P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India*, Sholapur, 1957, pp. 98-99.

[4]Inscriptions of Huli, no. 8(H); *EI*, XVIII, p. 201; this inscription is badly damaged.

[5]*EC*, VI, Mudgere, no. 18.

divisions, namely the Pustaka-*gaccha* and the Nandī-*gaṇa*.[1] Now, a Sravana Belgola inscription (no. 254) dated AD 1398 records that, Arhadvalli divided the Mūla Saṅgha into four groups, namely, Sena, Nandī, Deva, and Siṁha. Hence it appears that for unknown reasons, the Mūla Saṅgha operated in the Tamil country under the name of Drāviḍa Saṅgha. Later the Drāviḍa Saṅgha, like the Yāpanīyas, was held to be a heterodox sect. As Indranandī in his *Nītisāra* writes:

Gopucchikāḥ Śvetavāsā Drāviḍa Yāpanīyakāḥ
Niḥpiñchaś=c=eti pañc=aite Jainābhāsāḥ prakīrtitaḥ[2]

Tradition recorded by Devasena in the *Darśaṇasāra* (vs 900 or 909) and by Ratnanandī (later than the 15th century) in the *Bṛhadbāhucarita* indicates that the Yāpanīyas were northern Śvetāmbaras, who gave up wearing their robes but retained the Śvetāmbara dogmas. As a result they were looked upon as heretic by some Digambara writers.[3] There are also indications that the Yāpanīyas were closely connected with the Jvālāmālinī cult.[4] This cult, however, was introduced by Helācārya (Elācārya), an eminent monk of the Drāviḍa-*gaṇa*.[5] Thus the cult had its origin in the Tamil country, whence it was introduced to Karnataka, where it prospered.

It is possible that the Yāpanīyas and the Drāviḍa Saṅgha were responsible for the wide prevalence of the Tantric cult in medieval Jainism, which had a degrading effect upon them and led to their downfall.

A pleasant feature of south Indian Jainism was the high position accorded to women in the monastic order. The inscriptions refer to a number of lady teachers as *kuratti* which is the Tamil equivalent of *guru*, and in Karnataka they are referred to as *ajjās* (Sans. *āryā*) and *känti*, the latter probably denoting the higher order, equivalent to *kuratti*. These teachers usually studied under women teachers, and usually had women as their pupils. But there are examples of male students studying under a woman teacher. Though it cannot be asserted positively, it seems that the heterodox sects were responsible for the prominence given to women, because the Tantras exalt the position of women.

Later Development of the Jaina Church

The Drāviḍa and the Yāpanīya Saṅghas have been mentioned above. Other Digambara Sanghas were the Kāṣṭhā, and the Māthura (Madura). Later the Digambaras were split into several '*panthas*' which are flourishing even now.

In course of time, many Jaina monks adopted practices which had no

[1]ibid, VI, Mg. no. II, VIII, no. 36.

[2]*Tattvānuśasanādisaṅgrahaḥ*, v. 10; Bombay, Samvat 1975, pp. 58ff.

[3]A.N. Upadhye, More light on the Yāpanīya Saṅgha, *ABORI*, LV, 1974, pp. 9-22.

[4]P.B. Desai, op. cit., pp. 143, 164 fn.

[5]ibid, p. 47. According to the Digambaras, Candraprabha, the eighth *tīrthaṅkara*, had for his Yakṣini or Śāsanadevatā a divinity named Jvālinī or Jvālāmālinī. This guardian goddess is known as Bhṛkuṭi in the terminology of the Śvetāmbaras. Desai, op. cit., p. 292.

scriptural support. They were known as the *bhaṭṭārakas*. In the seventeenth-century AD, Pandit Banarasidas of Agra led a movement against the *bhaṭṭārakas*, and formed a strong group called the Terāpantha. Those who remained loyal to the *bhaṭṭārakas* are known as the Bīspanthis. Both these *panthas* worship images, which distinguish them from the non-idolatrous Samaiyāpantha, founded in the sixteenth century AD. The Gumānapantha was founded in the eighteenth century to improve the purity of the Jainas.

The Śvetāmbaras, as we have seen, were divided into *gacchas* of which the traditional number is eighty-four. At present the Śvetāmbara Jainas are divided into three main groups, namely, 1. Pujerā, 2. Sthānakavāsī, or Dundhiā, or Bistolā, and 3. Terāpanthi.

As the name implies, the Pujerās worship images in temples, and claim to represent the original Jaina church. One Loṅkāśāhā denounced image worship, and founded a non-idolatrous sect named after him in AD 1474. The Loṅkā sect was later split, and the splinter group was known as the Sthānakavāsī or the Dhundhiā sect. In the eighteenth century AD, the Sthānakavāsī sect was divided, the seceding group being called the Terāpanthīs. Both the sects are non-idolatrous, but the Terāpanthī saints, unlike the Sthānakavāsī saints, do not live in houses built for them. During recent years, the Terāpanthīs were revived under the inspiring leadership of Ācārya Tulasī.

Jaina Canon

The Jainas have followed the teachings of Mahāvīra with remarkable assiduity in spite of the changes in their religious texts which have been subject to several changes. The canon of the undivided community is not available, and at present the Digambaras do not accept as genuine the Śvetāmbara canon for the reasons given below.

As noted above, during Bhadrabāhu's twelve years sojourn in south India, Sthūlabhadra had called a council at Pataliputra. This Council collected the eleven Aṅga texts, but the twelfth Aṅga, which consisted of the fourteen Pūrva texts, was missing. This text of Aṅga was supplied by Sthūlabhadra, who alone knew it. But Bhadrabāhu and his followers refused to recognize these Aṅga texts as authentic.

The texts adopted at the first Council have not come down to us, and we are also ignorant of their contents. Some of the Aṅga texts have retained their old names, but it is not known as to what extent they have retained their original contents, though parts of the *Ācārāṅga* and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* may have preserved much original matter. Even less is known of the Pūrva works. From a later text it is known that, apart from the twelve Aṅga texts, which dealt with the main doctrine of Jainism, there was another group of texts known as the Aṅgabāhiriya. As these texts dealt with the discipline of the monastic life, these too must have been composed at a fairly early date. All other texts were called the *Āvassayavairitta*, which comprised of certain texts called the *Kālika* and other called the *Utkālika*. The former had to be learnt within a fixed period, while the study of the latter was free from such

compulsion.

Many of these canonical texts are now lost, and it is evident that additions to canonical texts were made periodically. Thus some texts are attributed to later writers like Śāmārya, Āryarakṣita, Vīrabhadra and others. However, in spite of the loss of some old texts and later additions, a substantial part of the canon may be held to have been composed at an early date. The canonical texts hardly mention the Buddhist doctrines like the Vijñānavāda and the Śūnyavāda wherefore it has been suggested that they were composed before the third century AD. Even the latest part of the canon mentions only works of the pre-Gupta era, and it is evident from the canon that, the stronghold of their religion was at the time of their composition in Magadha, the country of their origin.

The canonical texts agree with the tradition that Mahāvīra preached in the local dialect called the Ardha-Māgadhī, in which the texts are supposed to have been written. The language of the available canon, however, is akin to the standard Prakrits (Mahārāṣṭrī and Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī) with only two grammatical features (the nominative singular ending in *e*, and the change of *ra* to *la* in a few words) in common with the Magadhi of the Prakrit grammarians. It is also evident that, during the centuries that followed the Council at Pataliputra, many texts redacted by that body were partially or temporarily lost. Hence, as stated above, the necessity of adding to the Jaina canonical texts or scriptures, which was a continuous process. The situation seems to have become grave during the 4th-5th century AD. Tradition speaks of repeated spells of severe famine, which rendered the preservation of the sacred texts extremely difficult. The situation was aggravated by the death of great teachers, who knew these texts by heart. There could also have been another reason: the Guptas had brought about a revival of brahmanical religion, and the age saw a decline in the fortunes of the heterodox sects, like Buddhism and Jainism. Tradition ascribes two attempts made in the early part of the 9th century after *Vīra-nirvāṇa* (4th-5th century AD) to restitute the canon, one by Sthaṇḍila at Mathura, and the other by Nāgārjuna at Valabhī at Saurashtra. Little of their works have survived. Only variant readings attributed to Nāgārjuna by later commentators preserve something of his work.

Possibly the individual attempts by learned teachers to restore the scriptures did not meet with wide approval. Hence another Council was held at Valabhī in AD 512 or 525, which is known as the 'Second Council' J. Charpentier suggested that this Council was held during the reign of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena I of Valabhī which ended in *c.* AD 545.[1] The association of Dhruvasena with the second council is not improbable, but the suggestion lacks affirmative evidence.

It was in the second Council held at Valabhī under the guidance of Devarddhi Gaṇi that the Jaina canon took its present shape. Voluminous canonical texts were in existence, and the Council performed the task of arranging

[1]For Dhruvasena see above I, p. 251. For Charpentier's opinion see introduction to the *Uttarādhyayana*, Upsala, 1922.

them into six groups: Aṅga, Upāṅga, Prakīrṇaka, Chedasūtra, Mūlasūtra, and an unnamed group. The texts which are bereft of these titles, and do not incorporate them in their introductory portions, are presumed to be later.

The Aṅga texts are the original matrices of the Jaina canon, and they deal with rituals, legends, and ethics. There are twelve of them:

The first Aṅga is the *Ācārāṅga* (*sūtra*) or 'the *sūtra* of conduct.' In ten sections or *śrutaskandhas* the general rules of conduct and monastic discipline are dealt with. The final part describes by way of example, the ascetic life of Mahāvīra. Some of the verses are found in the *Suttanipāta* and the *Dhammapada*, while some of the regulations are analogous to the Vedic demestic rituals. The presentation is often abrupt, fragmentary, and difficult. The work is partly in verse and partly in prose.

The second Aṅga is the *Sūyagaḍanga* or the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* which distinguishes between good and bad doctrines. It refutes the heretical doctrines, enjoins the young monks to follow the true doctrine, and points out the fallacies which they should avoid. It is important for determining the ancient views of the opponents of Jainism, like the Vedāntins, Buddhists, Paurāṇikas, and the Vaiśeṣikas. Besides these various other topics are dealt with interspersed with polemics. This work is partly in verse and partly in prose.

The third Aṅga is the *Ṭhānaṅga* or *Sthānāṅga*. In ten chapters arranged numerically, it gives a list of doctrinal 'motifs.' It also contains legends as well as the names of the eight kings converted by Mahāvīra. It also deals with mathematics. The arrangement has similarity with that of the *Aṅguttaranikāya*.

The fourth Aṅga, the *Samavāyaṅga*, is a continuation of the third.

The fifth Aṅga is the *Viyāhapannatti* or the *Vyākhyāprajñapti* popularly known as the *Bhagavati* or the *Bhagavai*. The word *Vyākhyāprajñapti* means 'the venerable information or explanations [given by Mahāvīra to the young disciples in reply to their questions].' These are arranged in four groups of 'hundred dialogues' each containing a point of dogma or a short narrative, such as that of the conversion of the *brāhmaṇa* Skandhaka. The principal interlocutor is Gautama (Gotama) Indrabhūti. No other text gives such graphic account of Mahāvīra's personality, and of his relation with his disciples and princes. It also contains a description of the sects and of the rivalry between the Jainas and the Ajīvikas. It also gives a complete account of the cosmogony.

The sixth Aṅga is the *Nāyādhammakahāo, Jñātadharma-kathāṅga* (?), or simply *Nāya*, that is 'parables and preachings.' It consists of two parts differently sub-divided. The first part contains edifying stories often with a secular background, such as the stories of travellers, sailors, and thieves, reminiscent of the *Bṛhatkathā*. There is also the story of Draupadī (Dovaī) and her five Pāṇḍava husbands, a travesty of the epic story. However, this part gives important information regarding social manners and customs. The second part contains the history of conversion of Kālī by Mahāvīra. The work is in prose interspersed with verse.

The seventh Aṅga is the *Uvāsagadasāo* or the *Upāsakadaśa*. In ten chapters or *adhyāyas* it gives the biographies of the ten disciples of Mahāvīra who attained deliverance by dint of their faith and asceticism, after having overcome all sorts of temptations and perils. This text too is of interest to the historian of social customs.

The eighth Aṅga is the *Antagaḍadasāo* or the *Antakṛtadaśa*. This work contains stereotyped biographies of the saints who attained deliverance, but the period of the subjects varies from that of Ariṣṭanemi to that of Mahāvīra. Thus there is the legend of Gaya Sukumāla, son of Queen Devaī (Devakī) and brother of Kṛṣṇa. There are also other Kṛṣṇa legends in this Aṅga, which appear to be the Jaina version of the *Harivaṁśa* stories.

The ninth Aṅga is the *Aṇuttaro-vavāiya-dasāo* or the *Anuttara-aupapātika* (*daśa*), meaning 'ten [stories concerning those] who have attained the highest [celestial sphere]'. As the name implies, this Aṅga deals with the ascetics who became gods. Most of the stories are conventional, the most important being of pious Dhānya, where the effect of penances on a shrinking body is described. It also gives the story of Kṛṣṇa from the fall of Dvārāvatī to his death. This Aṅga seems to have replaced an earlier one of the same name.

The tenth Aṅga is the *Paṇhā-vāgaraṇaim* or the *Praśna-vyākaraṇāni* that is, 'questions and explanations.' But the contents belie the title, the reason being that the contents were completely changed as was admitted by the later commentators. In fact, a new work replaced an old one, which was lost. The present text gives, in ten chapters, descriptions of the five major faults and their consequences, the five grave negligences (*samvara*) with stereotyped stories of converted sinners.

The eleventh Aṅga is the *Vivāgasūya* or the *Vipāka-sūtra*, that is, 'ripening [of the actions]'. It contains ten stories illustrative of the consequences of bad acts (doctrine of *Karmavipāka*) to which has been added in the second part ten parallel stories of the consequences of god acts.

The twelfth Aṅga, as stated above, is now lost. It is said to have contained, besides the fourteen Pūrvas, five sections which consisted of : 1. Preparations (*parikarman*) for proper understanding of the *sūtras* ; 2. refutation of heretical doctrines ; 3. the fourteen Pūrvas ; 4. and 5. various appendices called the *cūlikā*.

The Upāṅga (Uvaṅga) or 'subsidiary Aṅga', are said to be organically linked with the Aṅga, but in fact their relation is not at all close. The title Upāṅga is found in the introduction to the last five texts of this group (nos. 8-12), collectively called *Nirayāvaliyao*. Thus it is evident that, before receiving their present shape, the Upāṅga group consisted only of the last five texts, and the remaining seven, which are to be found in the old Aṅga-bahiriya section, were joined with the group later to form a group of twelve books in agreement with the number of the Aṅga. Their identical number is responsible for the widespread belief that, each Upāṅga text is correlated to an Aṅga text. Like the Aṅga, the Upāṅga also deals first with the doctrinal matters, but the treatment is more technical; this is followed by the narra-

tive part containing mythologies.

The *Uvavāiya* or the *Aupapātika* (though the Sanskrit form should be Aupapādika=reincarnation) is the first Upāṅga. It contains two sections. The first section describes the scene of Mahāvīra preaching to King Kūṇika (Kūṇiyo) near the town of Champā, while the other, in the form of a dialogue between Mahāvīra and Gotama, dwells upon reincarnation, deliverance, conditions leading to it, and the conditions of the released souls who inhabit one of the twelve worlds of gods. The work is divided into 189 *sūtras*, and gives copious information on religious life.

The second Upāṅga is the *Rāja-praśnīya* (questions of the king'). In its Prakrit form, the title '*Rāyapaseṇaijja*' reminds one of king Prasenajit, who appears in the corresponding Buddhist version. This Upāṅga consists of a dialogue between the atheist kind Pradeśin (Paesī) of Setavyā, and the monk Keśin, a follower of Pārśva, who succeeds in converting the king.

The third Upāṅga is the *Jīvābhigama*, or the division of beings, both animate and inanimate. The divisions are enumerated in a dialogue between Mahāvīra and Gotama covering twenty sections. First is described the basic elements, and then is given their qualities according to their possession of sense organs, intellectual faculties, and *leśyā* etc. It also enumerates the 148 *karmans* and delineates the cosmography while describing the sojourns of the living beings.

The fourth Upāṅga is the *Paṇṇavaṇā* or the *Prajñāpanā* that is, 'information.' It deals with thirty-six philosophical subjects in numerical order, and includes an outline of the geography of India. The text gives the name of its author as Ārya Śyāma (Ajja Sāma), who lived 400 years after the death of Mahāvīra.

The sixth Upāṅga is the *Jambūddīvapannatti* or the *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, that is, 'information on [southern] Jambūdvīpa.' It gives the Pauranic type of cosmography, with seven oceans, seven continents, and the legend of King Bharata. There is a fairly important section on astronomy, and number of miscellaneous information.

The seventh Upāṅga is the *Sūrapannatti* or the *Sūryaprajñapti* that is, 'information on the sun.' In twenty chapters, this Upāṅga describes the sun, its apparent or real movements, its various orbits, its velocity, the extent of the universe etc. This Upāṅga includes another, called the *Candapannatti* (*Candraprajñapti*) which gives similar information on the moon. Neither of the texts seems to have any scientific value.

The eighth to the twelfth Upāṅgas are grouped under the common title *Nirayāvalī* (*sūtra*), or 'series of hells', though actually only the first book of this group is known under this title. That book describes the adventures of Prince Kāla, son of King Śreṇika, and his nine brothers, who go to hell. The idea may have been borrowed from the *Daśakumāracarita*, but the stories are typically Jaina. This text relates the story of the imprisonment of Seṇiyo (Bimbisāra) by his son Kūṇiya (Ajātaśatru) referred to above in volume I (p. 118.) The second book (9th Upāṅga) is called the *Kappāvaḍiṁsiyāo* or

Kalpāvataṁsikā, which describes the conversion of Padma (Paüma), son of Kāla. Padma and his brothers become monks, and descend to hell. There is also a description of heaven. The third book (10th Upāṅga) the *Pupphiyāo* or the *Puṣpikā* contains various mythological tales which end in conversion of disbelievers to Jainism. The next book (11th Upāṅga), the *Pupphacūlāo* or the *Puspacūlikā* relates the story of ten goddesses converted by Pārśvanātha. The last book the *Vaṇhidasāo* or the *Vṛṣṇidāsa*, is also the twelfth or the last Upāṅga. It describes the conversion of prince Niṣadha of the Vṛṣṇi dynasty by Ariṣṭanemi and nine other stories of the same type.

The ten Prakīrṇaka (Paiṇṇa) texts deal with, as the name implies, miscellaneous matters, such as, rituals, legends, hymns, astronomy including lists of auspicious and inauspicious days for monks, and a sort of anatomy and physiology of human beings according to calculations based on the quantity of rice a man can consume in one hundred years. These texts are sometimes in prose, but usually in the *gāthā* metre.

The Cheya-or the Cheda-sūtras are six in number. The word *cheda* means 'to cut', but this sense is hardly applicable to these texts. Here *cheda* obviously refers to the punishments which consist in reducing the *paryāya* (grade) of the monk for various faults. Like the Vinaya texts, these texts too have a ritualistic significance. The sequence of the texts is not rigid.

The first Cheda is the *Ācāradaśa* or the *Āyāradasāo* or simply the *Dasāo*, also known as the *Daśāśrutaskandha* or the *Dasāsuyakandha*. This text mainly deals with the preconditions for a monastic life. The eighth section of this text is called the *Kalpasūtra* or the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* of Bhadrabāhu. This section deals in three sub-sections the life of Mahāvīra, the lives of the former Jinas, and a list of the disciples (*therāvalī*), the schools and their chiefs whose names are chronologically arranged up to the Council of Valabhi. The language is ornate prose of the *kāvya* type.

The second Cheda is the *Kalpa* or the *Kappa*, also called the *Bṛhatkalpa* to distinguish it from the preceding Cheda. It is a collection of monastic regulations in six sections.

The third Cheda is the *Nisīha* (*niṣedha*=prohibition), which in twenty chapters deals with the castigation and the expiation of various lapses in monastic life.

The fourth Cheda, the *Mahā-nisīha*, is a supplement to the *Nisīha*. The date of the *Mahā-nisīha* is comparatively late. It deals with tantric practices also.

The text of the fifth Cheda, the *Pañcakappa* (*Pañcakalpa*) is now lost. It is known from a commentary which deals with the organization of the monastic order.

The sixth or the last Cheda is the *Jīyakappa* or the *Jītakalpa* attributed to Jinabhadra. It is a late text on punishment in verse.

The last series of the canon are the Mūla texts. They are called *Mūla-sūtras* or 'fundamental *sutras*,' because they deal with the basic principles of Jainism and form the beginning of the canonical study. There are four *Mūla-sūtras*

of which the most important is the *Uttarādhyayana* (*Uttarajjhāyana*). It is a religious poem in thirty-six sections, and may be called an anthology of doctrine, parables, and hymns related within the framework of sermons. One of the narratives is based on a Kṛṣṇa legend. There is also a scholastic part, which describes the eight parts of *karman*, particularly the six *leśyās*. The text is partly in prose and partly in verse. It is written in a suitable style, and with due appreciation of human values. There are some passages which are similar to those of the *Suttanipāta*.

The next Mūla is the *Daśavaikālika* or the *Dasaveyāliya* or the *Daśakālika* attributed to Śayyambhava (Svāyambhuva) a *śrutakevalin*. This Mūla contains important doctrinal rules, namely, monastic vows, alms, legitimate and illegitimate methods of discussion etc., in twelve sections, which are partly in prose and partly in verse. The last two sections are said to be later additions.

The next Mūla is the *Āvaśyaka* or the *Āvassaya*, the [six] obligatory [daily duties]. It has come down along with a *nijjutti* or *nirvyukti*. In six chapters this Mūla gives the formulae which are to be recited daily in connection with the six *āvaśyaka* or 'essential' vows, namely:

1. Avoidance of all blameworthy acts (*sāmāyika*);
2. Singing the eulogy of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* (*caturviṁśatīya*);
3. Homage to persons possessing *mūla* and *uttara-guṇa* (*vandanā*);
4. Confession (*pratikramana*);
5. Silent meditation (*kāyotsarga*);
6. Non-acceptance of food and drinks which are not necessary (*pratyākhyāna*).

This Mūla also contains legends, a biography of Mahāvīra, refutation of heresy, and a few historical data.

The last two Mūla texts are not mentioned in all the lists. They are the *Piṇḍa-nirvyukti* and the *Oha-nirvyukti*. The former deals with the permissible food for the monks, while the latter contains a general account of religious life.

Two more works were added to the canon, namely, the *Nandī* and the *Aṇuyogadvārā*. *Nandī*, which means 'benediction' is attributed to Devarddhi. The *Nandī* deals particularly with the means and ways of knowledge. The *Aṇuyogadvārā* (*Aṇuogadārā*) or the 'investigation of the doctrine' is a redaction. These two encyclopaedic texts with their discursive treatment serve as a kind of introduction to the canonical texts, though no group name has been appended to them.

The Digambaras hold that the authentic canonical texts were lost some time between the death of Mahāvīra and the second Council mentioned above. According to them, the lost texts have been replaced with new ones at a later date. The Digambara tradition preserves the names of the texts and a kind of 'table of contents' which bear some similarity to the Śvetāmbara canonical texts.

The Digambaras have produced a 'secondary' canon in Jaina Śaurasenī

(Prakrit). These texts are divided into four Anuyogas, sometimes also called the 'four Vedas.' The 'first, or the *Prathamānuyoga* comprises of twenty-four Purāṇas and corresponds to the legendary biographies or *caritas* of a later date. The second work is the *Karānanuyoga*, which deals with cosmology. The *Dravyānuyoga*, which is the third text, is mainly concerned with the philosophy, and includes the *Pravacanasāra* of Kundakunda. The *Pravacanasāra* (=quintessence of exposition) is a treatise in 275 chapters in *gāthā* verse, which deal with the principal points of the Jaina epistemology and ontology, the theory of *tattva*, the theory of *āstikya* (=anything that occupies space or has some pervasiveness), and the theory of admission to deliverance. The last text, the *Caraṇānuyoga*, relates to 'conduct of life' or 'moral behaviour.' This text seems to be a kind of adaptation of the first Aṅga.

According to another tradition, in AD 156, the Digambara scholar Puṣpadanta composed three works in collaboration with other scholars, one of which is the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama.*

Among other Digambara canonical texts may be mentioned the *Pancāstikāya*, the *Samayasāra*, and the *Ṣaṭprabhṛtas* all written by Kundakunda, the author of the *Pravacanasāra* mentioned above. Among other early Digambara Prakrit writers may be mentioned Vaṭṭakera, the author of the *Mūlācāra* which deals with the monastic rules; Svāmi Kārttikeya, author of the *Dvadaśānuprekṣa* which contains twelve reflections on the grave shortcomings of the daily life; and Yativṛṣabha, the author of the *Tiloyapannati* (*Trilokaprajñapti*), a comprehensive survey of cosmography. Puṣpadanta, mentioned above, Bhutabali and Guṇadhara wrote the *siddhānta granthas.* The Digambara scholars also wrote in Sanskrit, particularly on philosophy. Among the writers in Sanskrit were Pujyapāda, Akalaṅka, and Mānatuṅga.

JAINA PHILOSOPHY

The fundamental basis of Jaina faith is expressed in a triad sometimes called the *guṇa-traya*, but usually the *ratna-traya* or 'the three gems.' They are *samyag-darśana*, *samyag-dṛṣṭi* or simply *samyaktva* (right belief), *samyag-jñāna* (right knowledge), and *samyak-caritra* (right conduct). An aspirant begins with the last, namely, *samyak-caritra*, which leads to *samyag-jñāna*, and ultimately to *samyag-darśana*, which has been defined by the Digambara *ācāryas* as 'faith in the path to final liberation indicated by the Jina.' Other Digambara teachers have defined it as faith in the three articles of belief : *āpta* (the Jina), *āgama* (the scriptures), and *padārtha* or *tattva* (the dogmas). The Śvetāmbara interpretation is provided by Hemacandra, who defines it in his *Yoga-sastra* (2.2) as 'faith in the right *deva*, the right *guru*, and the right *dharma*.'[1]

[1]Quoted by R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, London, 1963, pp. 32 and 41. For *samyag-darśana* see K.C. Sogani, *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism*, Sholapur, 1967, pp. 43-71.

Before one can have 'faith,' one must have *samyag-jñāna*, which implies an accurate knowledge not only of the religious dogmas but of philosophy also. For, according to the Jainas, ethical rules are based on metaphysical considerations. Hence the importance of philosophy in Jainism.

Astikāyas

According to the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, Gautama asked: 'What is this universe?' In reply, Mahāvīra said that the universe was an aggregate of six *astikāyas* (*asti*=existence as connected with the three divisions of time, and *kāya*=body) or 'categories'. These categories are: *dharma*, *adharma*, *ākāśa*, *pudgala*, *jīva*, and *kāla*. All the *astikāyas* except the *jīva* are inanimate (*ajīva*), and with the single exception of *pudgala*, all are immaterial (*arūpa*). While *kāla* is unconditionally acknowledged as *dravya* (matter) by the Digambaras, the Śvetāmbara recognition is conditional. Hence the first five *astikāyas*, which are also *dravyas*, may be treated as a distinct group. However, it has also been held that, *kāla* is not properly an *astikāya*, because it does not occupy any separate parts of space, still it may be considered as a *dravya*, since it possesses 'qualities and action.'

Dharma

As we have explained elsewhere, the term *dharma* is not the equivalent of the English word 'religion.' In one context, *dharma* means the 'rules of conduct' for the monks and the lay devotees. However, *dharma* has also been interpreted as 'that which puts the soul in the place of salvation' (*ātmānaṁ mukti sthāne dhatte*), or 'that which sustains beings in the cycle of transmigration' (*saṁsāra-sthāne-prāṇino dharate*).[1] It is in this latter meaning that it forms a compound with *astikāya* and indicates the medium through which movement is possible. *Dharmāstikāya* means 'the condition or the principle of movement', 'or motion'. As an example the *Pañcāstikāya* compares *dharma* to water, which does not help the fish to move about, but without water any movement of the fish would have been impossible.

Adharma

Adharma is the negation of *dharma*, and indicates the medium that makes rest and immobility possible. That is, *adharma* is the principle of the passive condition when movement ceases of its own accord, just as the shadow of the tree is the place where a traveller takes rest, though the shadow does not act as a mechanical brake.

Neither the *dharmāstikāya* originates motion, nor does the *adharmāstikāya* stop it, but within the realm of souls, they produce all possible conditions of movement and rest such as, 'coming and going, speaking, moving an eyelid, activity of the inner sense, speech', and 'standing motionless, sitting, lying

[1]Quoted by Y.J. Padmarajiah, *A Comparative Study of the Jaina Theories of Reality and Knowledge*, Bombay, 1963, pp. 261-62.

and inactivity of the inner sense' (*Bhagavati*, 608 A).

Ākāśa

Ākāśa means space, but a distinction is made between the *lokākāśa* or 'mundane space', and *alokākāśa* or 'supra-mundane or cosmic space.' The *lokākāśa* is an infinitely small fraction of the total space, and it provides accommodation (*avagahana*) to any amount of atoms. The principles of motion and rest (*dharma* and *adharma*) are immanent in the *lokākāśa*, like oil in the seed, but they do not merge their specific nature with the *lokākāśa*. From the commonplace point of view, all substances may appear subsisting in space, but from the absolute point of view, all substances exist in themselves. The effect of *ākāśa* is seen when one thing enters into the space previously occupied by another. In distinction to the *lokākāśa*, the *alokākāsa* is empty space completely void of substances.

Dharma, *adharma*, and *ākāśa* are singular categories and not generic, neither have they the attribute of 'action', though they are causes of a substance's change of place.

Pudgala

In Buddhistic terminology the word *pudgala* means 'an individual soul.' But the Jainas use the word to mean 'matter' in general, and inanimate objects, or an atom. Compounds sometimes arise from their separation and conjunction, hence they are called *pudgala*, because they 'fill' (*pur*) and 'dissolve' (*gal; purayati galati ca*).

Pudgala (atom) possesses the qualities of touch, taste, smell and colour in the relation of invariable concommitance, that is one quality is never found in isolation, but always in conjunction with the three others, though the intensity of each quality may vary from one substance to another. The inner variations of the qualities are as follows :

Touch : 1. soft; 2. hard; 3. heavy; 4. light; 5. hot; 6. cold; 7. viscous; and 8 rough.

Taste : 1. bitter; 2. pungent; 3. sour; 4. sweet; and 5. astringent.

Smell : 1. fragrance; and 2. stench.

Colour : 1. blue; 2. yellow; 3. white; 4. black; and 5. red.

The functions of *pudgala* are the formation of 1. five types of body, 2. speech, 3. mind, 4. the karmic particles, 5. breathings: inhaling and exhaling, 6. pleasure and pain, 7. life and death, and 8. five senses.

The five types of body mentioned above are as follows:

1. *Audārika* : this is the physical body of men and animals and is composed of flesh, bones, nerves etc.

2. *Vaikriyika* : the body of transformation or change, which is possessed by gods and denizens of hell, and by some men of extraordinary power. As the name indicates, this body can be changed at will of its in-dwelling soul.

3. *Āhāraka* : the body which can be conveyed to any place far removed from the physical body. This body is obtained by virtue of pious acts and operated

by magic. It can be used only for beneficial acts, but cannot be retained.

4. *Taijasa* : the vigorous body; this is formed by a great condensation of energy. This body is ordinarily unmanifest, it can be assumed by occult means for either good or bad purpose.

5. *Kārmaṇa* : karmic body; this body is in a continuous process of building by the mass of the karmic matter which the soul collects by virtue of its acts. Sometimes the karmic matters are absorbed and sometimes rejected. The karmic matter is qualitatively differentiated according to the eight kinds of *karmans* noted below.

Formation of Matter

Pudgalāstikāya is the substance which pervades the entire universe. It has been classified into four divisions, namely: 1. *skandha*; 2. *skandha-deśa;* 3. *skandha-pradeśa*: and 4. *paramāṇu.*

As has been stated above, the *pudgala* is an *astikāya* as well as *dravya.* It is the *mūrta-dravya*, the corporeal category which can be perceived by the senses. It possesses sense properties like colour, odour, and taste, which are made up of *paramāṇus* or atoms. These *paramāṇus* form aggregates called 1. *skandha*, 2. *skandha-deśa*, and 3. *skandha-pradeśa.*

1. *Skandha* is an individual aggregate formed by the combination of *paramāṇus* or of *skandhas.* A *skandha* may be composed of binary to infinite aggregates, such as the *mahā-skandha* or the physical universe.

2. *Skandha-deśa* is an imaginary portion of a *skandha*, like 'a page of a book', where the book is a *skandha*, and the page, which is an integral part of the book but is mentally separated by the reader, is a *skandha-deśa.* When the page is physically detached from the book, it will form another *skandha.*

3. So long as the *paramāṇu* remains attached to the *skandha*, it is called a *skandha-pradeśa.*

While the *skandha-pradeśas* are essential for the structure of the world, the *skandha-deśa* represent the calculable qualities. It may be added that, the *paramāṇus* or the ultimate particles or atoms cannot be perceived by the ordinary senses.

In connection with the aggregates, the atom is called the *paramāṇu-pudgala.* Either spontaneously or by an external impulse, the atoms merge to constitute the *skandhas* or aggregates. As stated above, a *skandha* may be *dvi-pradeśīya, tri-pradeśīya* to *ananta-pradeśīya.* An atom is indestructible, eternal, indivisible, beginningless, endless, and without any middle, and has the qualities of taste, touch, odour, and colour. Atoms are soundless, but may produce sound by striking against each other. An atom may possess any one colour, any one taste, but a pair of touches which are of contradictory nature. Thus an atom may be cold and viscous, or hot and dry. The remaining touches, namely, softness, hardness, lightness, and heaviness are only manifested in a *skandha.* The qualities of *snigdhatā* (viscousness) and *rūkṣatā* (dryness) may vary in intensity from one to infinity.

Though the atoms (*paramāṇus*) are active, the merger of atoms and aggre-

gates (*skandhas*) is brought about by *snigdha-kāya*. A viscous atom will not combine with another viscous atom, nor a dry atom with another dry atom; and atoms with equal degrees of viscousness and dryness will also not combine. For combination, at least two degrees of difference in viscosity or dryness between the two atoms is needed. Thus atoms possessing four degrees of viscousness or dryness are capable of transforming atoms possessing two degrees of dryness and viscousness into their own nature.

The *skandha* or the aggregates of atoms exist in six forms:

1. Gross-gross: that is, the class of matter which when divided cannot regain its original state without extraneous aid, such as wood, stone etc.
2. Gross: matter which can be re-united after division without extraneous aid, such as liquids.
3. Gross-fine: matter which are incapable of disintegration or of being grasped such as shadow, sunshine etc.
4. Fine-gross: matters which are the object of touch, taste, smell, and hearing.
5. Fine: karmic matter etc. which are imperceptible by the senses.
6. Fine-fine: binary aggregates smaller than the karmic matter.

The formations of aggregates lead to the formation of material masses called *dravyas*, which alone are palpable (i.e. heavy, light, soft, rough, cold, warm, viscous, dry, etc.). Material masses or *dravyas* are formed spontaneously, but when the inanimate objects (*ajīvas*) are destined to serve the souls (*jīvas*) in the form of bodies with opportunities for activity, their shapes etc. result from an impulse derived from their past *karmans*.

An atom is eternal as a substance, but its qualities, namely, colour, odour, taste, and touch are changeable. For though the qualities are inherent in the substance, the relation between the substance (*dravya*) and its qualities is identity-in-difference. Qualities reside in substances which do not possess qualities. Similarly, a substance possesses *paryāya* (mode), which has been defined by Hemacandra as *anukrama* and *krama* (*paryāyo' nukramaḥ kramaḥ*) by which is meant its existence, its production, its being what it is, its development, its course to the end: for example, the lump of clay, the jar etc. Therefore, *dravya* has been defined as 'that which attains its quality and mode' (*dravati prāpnoti svakīya guṇa-paryāyād iti dravyaṃ*).

Paryāya denotes those qualities which are in a state of constant flux, while the substance retains its substantiality and permanency. Owing to the inherent nature of the relation between the substance and its qualities, the changing qualities bestow on the substance the nature of a *paryāyin*. Thus origination, modifications, and destruction are the effects of *paryāya* on the qualities, but persistence of the qualities are due to the substance. Permanency is observed from the point of view of the substance, and changeability from the point of view of the qualities. These two points of view are respectively called the *dravya-naya* and the *paryāya-naya*.

There are differences of opinion as to whether *guṇa* and *paryāya* are synonymous terms, or express different aspects of the attributes, or are altogether

different attributes. All the three possible views, namely *bheda* (different), *abheda* (identical), and *bhedābheda* (identity-in-difference) have been advanced by the most prominent Jaina scholars.

It is possible that, at the earliest phase *paryāya* and *guṇa* were held to be synonymous, for Kundakunda combats the *abheda* doctrine. According to his view, *guṇa* and *paryāya* in combination with *dravya* (substance) 'give rise to the triune conception of a real.' Kundakunda himself states: 'The object of knowledge is made up of substances, which are said to be characterised by qualities, and with which, moreover, are (associated) the modification.[1] A substance is constantly and invariably possessed of *guṇa* (qualities) which is *saha-bhāvī* (intrinsic or simultaneous) and *paryāya*, which is *karma-bhāvī* (extrinsic or successive).

Against this *bheda* view, Siddhasena Divākara propounded the *abheda* (identical) view but not on logical grounds. His view was based on Mahāvīra's recorded observation that, there are two points of view, namely, *dravyāstika* and *paryayāstika*. Had *guṇa* been different from *paryāya*, Siddhasena pointed out, Mahāvīra would certainly have mentioned *guṇāstika*. As he did not do so, *guṇa* and *paryāya* must be held to be *synonymous* (*tullārtha*) signifying the principle of change.

The third view is a compromise between the two extremes, It also relies on scriptural authority, but according to its interpretation, *guṇa* and *paryāya* are both identical and different, that is, connected with each other in a *bhedā-bheda* relation.

Of these three views, the *abhedavāda* of Siddhasena Divakāra was supported by a galaxy of medieval Jaina scholars including the great Hemacandra. Hence it seems to be the representative view.

The *abhedavāda* also seems to have the merit of saving Jaina doctrine from a logically indefensible position, which Kundakunda probably did not have to face. If *paryāya* is a changing modification and *guṇa* a permanent quality, then how are they related to the substance? The Jainas do not admit the *samavāya* relation of the Naiyāyikas. But if a difference is maintained between the two attributes, *guṇa* and *paryāya*, their respective relation with the substance would be dangerously analogous to the *saṁyoga* and the *samavāya* relation of the Naiyāikas. The *abheda* view does not have to face this dilemma.

Jīva

The soul as the bearer of life is called *jīva*, and an animate being is also called *jīva*. The souls are infinite in number, and they are substances and eternal. In its pure state, the soul is perfect and is possessed of the *ananta-catuṣṭaya* namely, infinite perception, infinite knowledge, infinite bliss, and infinite power. Generally, however, with the exception of a few released pure souls (*mukta-jīva*), all the other *jīvas* (*saṁsārins*) have their purity and power covered with a thin veil of accumulated karmic matter from the beginningless time by transmigration. Hence the soul originates and decays by the

[1]Quoted by R. Williams, op. cit., p. 34.

paryāyārthika point of view, but not from the *dravyārthika* point of view. The transmigratory existence of the *jīva* as empirical self may be of four kinds: *tiryak* (sub-human), *nara* (human) *nāraka* (hellish), and *deva* (celestial). Besides these four groups, there are groups of infinite number of souls called the *nigodas*. They form very small clusters, have respiration and nutrition in common, and experience extreme pains. The space of the world is as closely packed with them as a box filled with powder. The *nigodas* furnish the supply of souls which have attained *mokṣa*. Thus the world will never be void of living beings, as a small fraction of a single *nigoda* can replace the vacancy caused by the *nirvāṇa* of all the liberated souls.

As for the *jīva*, though there is identity there is also difference between the nature of the empirical and the transcendental self. The empirical self is potentially transcendental, but denied the noumenal state of existence by its limiting attributes.

The *jīva* is the possessor of *prāṇa*, which has four components namely, sense, *bala*, life-limit, and breathing; and the *jīvas* are classified according to the number of components of *prāṇa* which they possess. While life-limit and breathing is common to all the *jīvas*, the lowest class of *jīvas* is the plants which possess one sense (the sense of touch) and one *bala* (body). The next higher class is the worms which possess two senses (touch and taste), two *balas* (body and speech). The next higher class is ants etc., which possess touch, taste and smell. The next higher one, namely bees, possess all these senses, and in addition, vision. The vertebrates possess all the five senses (touch, taste, smell, vision and hearing), three *balas* (mind, body and speech), besides life-limit and breathing, which, as stated above are common to all the *jīvas*. They are known as *dvīndriyas*, *trīndriyas*, *caturindriyas* and *pancendriyas* respectively.

It has been stated above that, the one sensed *jīvas* are the plants. They are called *sūkṣma ekendriya jīvas* and are classified as: *pṛthvī-kāyika* (earth-bodied), *vāyu-kayika* (air-bodied), and *tejas-kayika* (fire-bodied). The Jainas explain that the *prāṇa* of these one-sensed souls are as unmanifest as the *prāṇa* of an embryo or that of an unconscious man.

The senses are directed towards nourishment, fear, sex, splendour, anger, pride, deceit, greed, worldliness, and all carnal desires. Of the first four, nourishment is the main concern of the plants, fear shows up acutely with the denizens of hell, sex with human beings, and splendour with gods. The denizens of hell and the gods as well as men possess an inner sense organ called the *saṁjñā*, by virtue of which they are called rational beings (*saṁjñin*), while the lower animals who do not possess *manas* are called *asaṁjñin*.

As has been stated above, souls are substances. They are infinite in number, and are eternal. They occupy innumerable space-points in our mundane world (*lokākāśa*), and are neither all-pervasive (*vibhu*) nor atomic, but have a medium (i.e. limited) size (*madhyama-parimāṇa*). A *jīva* assumes the size and shape of the body in which it finds itself. Just as a lamp illuminates the entire room irrespective of the room's size, so does the *jīva* pervade the entire

body irrespective of the size of the body.

The *jīva* is an active agent and is the operative cause of its own *karmans*, and enjoys the fruits of such *karmans*. Hence it is the knower (*jñātṛ*) the doer (*kartṛ*), and the enjoyer (*bhoktṛ*). Thus the *jīva* is itself active, and what it enjoys or suffers as *bhoktṛ* is merely the fruit of its own action which it performs as *kartṛ*.

The four main groups of *jīvas*, namely, the *devas*, the *naras* the *nārakas*, and the *tiryaks* are the four *gatis* (states of existence) and constitute the *saṁsāra*, which is the result of karmic bondage. A *jīva* may be born in any of the *gatis* till he attains salvation (*mokṣa*), and escapes from the cycle of births and deaths. The *jīva* who attains *mokṣa* is pure *jīva* or *ātman*, and is known as *siddha-jīva*.

There are two bodies, the gross and the subtle. The gross or the physical body subject to birth, development, disease, and death is known as the *audārika-śarīra*. Besides this, there is the *kārmaṇa-sarira*, which is built of subtle karmic material aggregates (*karma-prayoga-pudgala*). The *kārmaṇa-śarīra* is built of good and bad actions and desires associated with every *jīva* till it attains *mokṣa*, which is a pure *cetanā dravya*. However, the *jīva* is capable of destroying the karmic body by developing its own inherent potential power, so that the samsaric bondage need not necessarily be eternal or coeval with the *jīva*.

The soul is called *jīva* (alive), by which is meant that it contains spiritual life, and sustains the biological and the psychological life within the frame of the physical body. The soul is also called the *ātman*, because it can realise itself and become *paramātman*, but the two terms are not used in the sense they have in the Upaniṣads. According to the Jaina philosophy, every soul is potentially divine; they can realize the state of divinity by their own unaided effort, and the state of realization is called *paramātman*-hood. The *paramātman* enjoys the *anantacatuṣṭaya*.

There are infinite number of souls, but there is no universal soul. Metaphysically the souls are of the same nature, and basically equal to each other. The perceptible inequalities of status between the souls are extrinsic to their essence, and are due to *karman*.

Kāla

As stated above, the Jainas consider *kāla* (time) as a substance, but observe a difference between conceptual time or time-in-reality (*niścaya-paramārtha-kāla*) and empirical time or time-in-use (*vyavahāra-kāla*). The former or *kāla* proper consists of innumerable particles (*kālāṇu*) which never mix with one another but which are a necessary aid to the atoms for their modification or accession of new qualities in things. But just as *dharma* and *adharma* are requisite elements for motion and rest, and the *ākāśa* for interpenetration, so also *kāla* helps the atoms in their action of transformation of new qualities. The unit of *kāla*, a *kālāṇu* or *samaya*, is the time taken by an atom to traverse a unit of space by slow motion. The *kālāṇus* constitute a time series

having only the relation of past and future; there can be no simultaneous movement in the time series.

The *vyavahārika* time is our conventional time, which is measured by the movements of the sun and the moon. This 'time' can range from the shortest *nimiṣa* to the longest *yuga*.

Karman

In its essential nature, the *jīvas* or the souls are free. Their wanderings through the cycles of lives as gods, men, animals, or denizens of hell are due to their accumulated merits or demerits brought about by their being charged with *karman*. The cause of the embodiment of the soul in the body is due to *karma* matter. But how did the free *jīva* originally come into contact with *karman*? Like the Sāṁkhya-Yoga, the Vedānta, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, and the Buddhist systems, Jainism regards the association of the soul with *karman* as beginningless on the ground that, the knowledge of the first cause is beyond human power. But the soul has a natural tendency towards purity, hence it is capable of totally uprooting such defects as ignorance, passion, and hatred, and free itself from the shackles of *karman*. For, though the present state of a *jīva* is in accordance with its past *karman*, it is at the same time free to determine its future by performing or not performing a good or bad act. As the Jainas do not believe in any divinity or divine help, their doctrine of the ability of the self to determine its future is likely to have made them more self-reliant than those who believed in *daiva*.

The action of the mind, speech, and the body continually produces certain karmic matter, which is called *bhāva-karma*. This *bhāva-karma* transforms itself into *dravya-karma* or *kārmaṇa-śarīra*, and pours itself into the soul and remains there by coming into contact with the passions (*kaṣāya*) of the soul. The *kaṣāyas* act like viscous substances in retaining the *karma*-matter, which acts in eight different ways. These ways are:

1. *Jñānāvaraṇīya-karma*: the *karman* which obscures the five types of different knowledge, namely, *mati*, *śruta*, *avadhi*, *manaḥ-paryāya*, and *kevala*.

2. *Darśanāvaraṇīya-karma*: this *karman*, which obscures the bliss nature of the soul, is of four kinds of vision (*cakṣu*, *acakṣu*, *avadhi*, and *kevala*) and plunges the spirit into five kinds of sleep. These are known as *darśana-moha*, or perverted attitude analogous to *avidyā*.

3. *Vedanīya-karma:* this *karman* produces pleasure and pain.

4. *Mohanīya-karma*: this *karman* obscures the right attitude of the soul towards faith and right conduct, and prevents the 'proper view' and moral conduct. Misguided vision (due to *mohanīya-karma*) leads to error, which may result in emotional instability which may be with or without such passions as, *krodha* (anger), *māna* (delusion), and *lobha* (greed). These passions are the causes of both servitude of the soul, and its conquest by *karman*. Thus proceeds the enslavement of the soul in the cycle of indefinite transmigration.

5. *Ayuḥ-* or the *āyuṣka-karma*: this *karman* determines the span of life and certain types of lives.

6. *Nāma-karma*: this *karman* determines everything that is associated with personality, kind of body with its general and special qualities, and facilities by which it can be classified into one of the four *gatis* (*deva, nara, nāraka, tiryak*).

7. *Gotra-karma*: this *karman* determines the social status, including nationality, caste, family, socia istanding, etc.

8. *Antarāya-karma*: this *karman* prevents the performance of good acts, as well as the circumstances conducive to their consequences. Generosity, the exercise of personal vigour, the aptitude or the occasion of gain, the enjoyment or deprivation of well-being are interfered with or stopped by the *antarāyakarma*.

The *dravya-karma* or the *kārmaṇa-śarīra*, mentioned above, follows the self in the succeeding births and forms the ground for the formation of new body.

Leśyā

Besides effecting the identity of the soul, the *karman* colours it with a conditional quality reflecting the moral level and as such is known as the *leśyā*, which has been defined as 'activity coloured by passion'. There are six types of *leśyās* corresponding to the six degrees of the intensity of passion : 1. *kṛṣṇa* (black, most intense), 2. *nīla* (blue, very intense) 3. *kapota* (grey, intense), 4. *pīta* or *tejas* (golden, mild), 5. *padma* (lotus-pink, milder), and 6. *śukla* (white, mildest). Of these the first three are inauspicious, and the last three are auspicious. The *kṛṣṇa-leśyā* is possessed by a man who is revengeful, wrathful, pugnacious, villainous, and merciless. The *nīla-leśyā* is possessed by a man who is sluggish, conceited, deceitful, indolent, secretive, covetous, expert in swindling, extremely sleepy, without commonsense and sagacity, and extremely eager for enjoyment of sense-objects. The *kapota-leśyā* is possessed by a man who is moved with anger, sorrow, fear and envy, who is slanderous, criticizes others and is pleased with flatterers on whom he bestows gifts, who is oblivious of his profit and loss, who extols himself and does not trust others, and is unable to discriminate between duty and non-duty. These three *leśyās* are the causes of demerit (*pāpa*) and bring about sub-human births. The other three *leśyās* produce merit (*puṇya*) and promote virtues such as *maitrī* (friendship towards all creatures), *pramoda* (appreciation of the merits of others), *karuṇā* (compassion and sympathy), and *madhyastha* (indifference to the unruly) which are also the mental pre-conditions of *dhyāna* (meditation).[1]

[1]It is interesting to note that according to the *Mbh.* (Cr. ed. 12.181.5), the caste distinction was based originally on colour, the *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, and the *śūdras* having the respective complexions of white, red, yellow, and black. The red colour was due to anger, the yellow was associated with agriculture, while the black denoted *himsā* (*Mbh.* 12, 181, 11-13). The *brāhmaṇas* being free from these passions were white. According to this version, originally all men were *brāhmaṇas*, and caste distinction arose later due to their having developed passion.

Tattvas

Up to now, we have been giving an account of the *astikāya* and *dravyas* which are metaphysical categories. The Jaina religion and philosophy rest on the assumption that living and non-living matters coming into contact with each other produce certain effects which bring about the series of lives and deaths and various experiences. The purpose of the Jaina doctrine is to terminate this cycle. For the purpose of the salvation of the soul *samyag-darśana* (correct vision or attitude) is essential, and *samyag-darśana* can only be obtained through a proper understanding of the *tattvas*.

There are seven *tattvas* : 1. *jīva*, 2. *ajīva*, 3. *āsrava*, 4. *bandha*, 5. *samvara*, 6. *nirjarā* and 7. *mokṣa*. These seven *tattvas* stand for the seven propositions : 1. there is a living entity, 2. there is a non-living entity, 3. their contact produce certain results (*āsrava*), 4. this leads to bondage, 5. and 6. this chain of bondage can be torn asunder (by *samvara* and *nirjarā*), 7. the result is *summum bonum* (*mokṣa*).

1. The *jīva-tattva* means the empirical self which has been mentioned above.

2. There is a difference between *ajīva-dravya* and *ajīva-tattva*. The *ajīva-dravya* includes *dharma*, *adharma*, *pudgala*, *ākāśa*, and *kāla* but the *ajīva-tattva* means only the *pudgala*, the other four *dravyas* having no malignant influence on the soul. As *pudgala* has already been dealt with, it is not necessary to describe it again.

3. *Āsrava* (influx) : *Āsrava* means the pouring of *Karma*-matter into *jīva*. The natural impulse of the soul to act is caused by the actions of the mind, body and speech, which is technically known as '*yoga*', particularly in reference to *āsrava*. '*Āsrava* is described as the movement of the soul called *yoga*, through its participation in the movement of its various bodies . . . . . As a door opening into water is called *āsrava*, because it causes the stream to descend through it, so this *yoga* is called *āsrava*, because by it, as by a pipe, actions and their consequences flow in upon the soul. Or, as a wet garment collects the dust brought to it from every side by the wind, so the soul, wet with previous sins, collects, by its manifold points of contact with the body, the actions which are brought to it by *yoga*. Or, as when water is thrown on a heated lump of iron, the iron absorbs the water altogether, so the *jīva*, heated by previous sins, receives from every side the actions which are brought by *yoga*.'[1]

Āsrava may be good or evil : 'abstaining from doing injury is a good *yoga* of the body; speaking what is true, measured, and profitable is a good *yoga* of the speech.'[2]

There are two kinds of *āsravas*, namely, *bhāvāsrava* and *dravyāsrava*. *Bhāvāsrava* means that kind of change in the soul by which the *karmans*

[1]*The Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* by Mādhvācārya tr. by E.B. Cowell and A. Gough, London, 1914, p. 53.

[2]ibid.

enter it, while the *karmāsrava* means the actual entrance of the *karma*-matter into the soul. The *bhāvāsrava* is of five kinds : 1. *mithyātva* (falsehood or delusion); 2. *avirati* (want of control); 3. *pramāda* (inadvertence); 4. *yoga* (the activity of body, mind, and speech) ; and 5. *kaṣāya* (passions, so-called because it 'hurts' [*kaṣ*] the soul by leading it into evil states; *kaṣāya* comprises of anger, pride, delusion, and lust).

The *dravyāsravas* correspond to the eight *āvaraṇīyas* namely, *jñāna*, *darśana*, *vedanā*, *mohanīya*, *āyu*, *nāma*, *gotra*, and *antarāya*, which have been explained above. The states of thought which condition the coming in of the *karmans* is called the *bhāva-bandha*, and the actual bondage of the soul by the impure connections of the *karmans* is called the *dravya-bandha*. The *dravya-bandha*, which follows the *bhāva-bandha*, is dependent on it.

4. *Bandha* means 'bondage'. It is of four kinds: i. *prakṛti*; ii. *sthiti*; iii. *anubhāga*; and iv. *pradeśa*.

i. *Prakṛti* means the 'natural qualities," as bitterness in *bimba* plant or sweetness in molasses. This may be subdivided into eight *mūlā-prakṛtis* : 1. *jñāṅāvaraṇīya*; 2. *darśanāvaraṇīya*; 3. *vadanāvaraṇīya*; 4. *mohanāvaraṇīya*; 5. *āyusāvaraṇīya*; 6. *nāmāvaraṇīya*; 7. *gotrāvaraṇīya*; and 8. *antarāyāvaraṇīya*, all of which have been explained above.

ii. *Sthiti* means the duration of the bondage.

iii. *Anubhāga* means intensity. As in the milks of different animals, there exist, due to their rich and poor nature, difference in their special capacity for producing their several effects, so in the different material bodies produced by our actions, there exist special capacities called *anubhāga* for producing their respective effects.

iv. *Pradeśa* is the entering into the different parts of the soul by the masses, made up of an endless number of parts of various bodies which are developed by the consequences of action.

5. *Samvara* is the stopping of *āsrava*—that by which the influence of the past *karmans* is stopped from entering the soul. The word has been etymologically analysed as 'that which closes' (*sam-vṛṇoti*) the door of the stream of *āsrava*. It has been said that, '*āsrava* is the cause of mundane existence, *samvara* is the cause of liberation; this is the Arhat (Jaina) doctrine in a handful; all else is only the amplification of this.' *Samvara* is of five kinds, namely, *īryā-samiti*, *bhāṣā-samiti*, *eṣaṇā-samiti*, *adāna-nikṣepaṇa-samiti*, and *utsarga-samiti*. These five *samitis* have been explained below in connection with the *ācarā* of the *munis*.

6. *Nirjarā* means the erosion or destruction of the karmic matter absorbed previously. *Nirjarā* may be of two kinds, namely *bhāva-nirjarā* and *dravya-nirjarā*. *Bhāva-nirjarā* means that change in the soul by which the *karma*-particles are destroyed. *Dravya-nirjarā* means the actual destruction of these *karma*-particles, either by the reaping of their effects (*savipāka*), or by penances before their time of fruition (*avipāka*).

7. *Mokṣa* means the absolute release from all actions (*karman*) by the decay (*nirjarā*) of the causes of bondage and of existence.

'As the gourd, encased with clay, sinks in the water, but rises to the surface when freed from its encumbrance, so the soul, delivered from works, rises upward by its isolation (lit. by the absence of *saṅga*), from the bursting of its bonds like the elastic seed of the castor-oil plant, or by its own native tendency like the flame.'

The four noble truths promulgated by Buddha are: suffering, its cause, its removal, and the way to remove it. It has been suggested that 'out of the seven *tattvas* of Jainism, the five *tattvas* which are designated as *āsrava, bandha, samvara nirjarā*, and *mokṣa* may be compared with these four noble truths proclaimed by Buddha. *Bandha-tattva* corresponds to suffering; *āsrava* to its origin; *mokṣa* answers to its removal, and *samvara* and *nirjarā* the way to remove suffering.'[1]

Naya-Vāda

Akalaṅka has defined *naya* as, *naya jñātur abhiprāyaḥ*, that is 'the mode of ascertainment of an object by a cognizing agent', all real objects being cognizable. But the sum total of reality includes a multitude of objects which may be either simultaneous or successive, for the objects are in a state of perpetual evolution; and the respective situation between an object and its viewers being variable, there is a variation in their cognizance of the same object. Moreover, the capacity and intensity of the vision of the *jīva* are limited by the cognizing agents which it must use so long as it is attached to a body. Hence it is apparent that, so far as mediate knowledge is concerned, a plurality of complimentary assertions is valid with respect to each object. The different standpoints from which things—though possessed of infinite determinations—can be spoken of as possessing this or that quality or as appearing in relation to this or that, are called *naya*. In other words, a *naya* is a particular point of view about an object or event among many other viewpoints which do neither impinge upon nor contradict the particular viewpoint.

There are seven *nayas*: i. *naigama*; ii. *saṁgraha*; iii. *vyavahāra*; iv. *rjusūtra*; v. *śabda*; vi. *samabhirūḍha*; and vii. *evambhūta*. Of these the first three are known as the *dravyārthika-nayas* because they relate to the durable aspect of concrete reality. As the remaining four *nayas* analyse the fleeting aspect of concrete reality, they are called the *paryāyārthika-nayas*.

i. *Naigama-naya* is a co-ordinated view of concrete things without distinction between the universal or the generic (*sāmānya*) and the particular or the specific (*viśeṣa*), or the qualities of the thing.

ii. *Saṁgraha-naya* is that point of view which synthesizes the generic qualities or class characteristics of a thing.

iii. *Vyavahāra-naya* is the pragmatic or particular point of view, in which only the individual traits, or the specific qualities of a thing are considered in the background of its general characteristics.

[1]K.C. Sogani, op. cit., p. 250.

Thus from the *naigama* viewpoint the word mango denotes not only a particular kind of fruit with specific properties, but the other properties or qualities which mango possesses in common with other fruits. According to the *saṁgraha* viewpoint, mango denotes a particular class of fruit without any reference to the characteristics of fruits in general. The *vyavahāra* point of view takes into consideration only the qualities of a particular mango.

iv. *Ṛjusūtra-naya* is the point of view of the present moment or present conditions, and relates to the momentary nature of a thing. That is, it looks at a particular thing at a particular moment.

v. *Śabda-naya* represents the linguistic point of view, but is concerned only with the synonyms. In this terminological standpoint a thing is cognized by its name or names whatever may be its or their etymological significance.

vi. *Samabhirūḍha-naya* represents the point of view derived from the etymological meaning of a word ignoring its derivative sense.

vii. *Evambhūta-naya* is the viewpoint in which each word is used in its original derivative sense and significance. This *naya* insists upon a different designation for each of the different attitudes or forms which the same object may assume under different conditions.

For example, Śakra, Purandara, and Indra represent the same individual according to the *śabda-naya*. But according to the *samabhirūdha-naya*, Purandara stands for 'destroyer of (enemies') cities,' Śakra for 'the all powerful', and Indra for 'the all prosperous'. According to the *evambhūta-naya* ('such-like', point of view), the word Purandara should be used only when Indra is actually destroying a city, and the word Śakra only when he is manifesting his powers. According to the *evambhūta-naya*, Purandara is as different from Śakra as a cow is from a jar, because the designations of Purandara and Śakra are derived from two different functions.

The Jainas hold that of these seven nayas, the *naigama* represents the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, the *saṁgraha* the Vedānta, the *vyavahāra* the Sāṁkhya, and the *ṛju-sūtra* the Buddhist point of view. Each of these schools interprets and systematizes experience from only one—which is their—point of view to the exclusion of all other views. This absolute view is their error (*nayābhāsa*), for each standpoint represents only one of the many points of view from which a thing can be perceived. Affirmation from a particular point of view can only be true in a limited sense and under specific conditions, and infinite number of affirmations may be made from infinite number of views. As contrary affirmations regarding the same thing may be held to be true from different points of view, no affirmation from a particular point of view can be absolute, but only conditional. But each affirmation being probable from a particular point of view, it may be said that it is relatively true. Hence the *syādvāda* doctrine, which holds that the most contrary characteristics of infinite variety may be associated with a thing, so that affirmation made from a particular standpoint (*naya*) cannot be regarded as absolute. Therefore, the Jaina philosophers maintain that in order to apprehend a thing, seven forms of alternate

predications are possible. These are known as the *saptabhaṅgī-vāda*, or more usually as *syād-vādā*.

Syādvāda or *Saptabhaṅgī Vāda*

Prof. A.N. Upadhye has said, 'Syādvāda is a corollary of Nayavāda : the latter is analytical and primarily conceptual and the former is synthetical and mainly verbal. Syādvāda will certainly look lame in the absence of Naya doctrine. Naya doctrine without Syādvāda has no practical value. Syādvāda in course of the process of assertion curbs down and harmonises the absolute views of individual Nayas.'[1] As Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has remarked : 'The relation of the *naya* doctrine with the *syādvāda* doctrine is therefore this, that for any judgment according to any and every *naya* there are as many alternatives as are indicated by *syādvāda*.'[2]

Before dealing with the *syādvāda*, it is necessary to explain briefly the basis of the Jaina logical doctrine of four-fold factors known as the *sva-dravyādi-catuṣṭaya* and the *para-dravyādi-catuṣṭaya*. The main feature of this doctrine, also known as the *asti nāsti* doctrine, is that it postulates a positive as well as a negative predication about the same thing at the same time. According to this system of logic, any predication regarding an object depends upon four conditions, namely, *dravya* (material), *kṣetra* (place), *kāla* (time), and *bhāva* (state or mode). An affirmative predication about an object would assert four conditions : *sva-dravya* (its own substance) *sva-kṣetra* (its own locality), *sva-kāla* (its own time or duration), and *sva-bhāva* (its own nature or modification). These predications would lead to four concomitant negative predications regarding the same object, namely, *para-dravya* (other substance), *para-kṣetra* (other locality), *para-kāla* (other time), and *para-bhāva*, (other state or mode).

Thus when it is said: 'This is a *ghaṭa* (jug)', the necessary implication is that 'it is not a *paṭa* (linen)'. When it is said that 'Rāvaṇa was the king of Laṅkā,' it follows as a negative concomitant that he was not the king of any other country such as Ayodhyā etc. Again, the statement 'the first battle of Panipat was fought in AD 1526' means that it was not fought in any other year. Also 'Bhagat Singh died on the gallows' means that he did not die in bed or by drowning etc.

The word *syāt* of *syād-vāda* is in the form of a verb, but from its being connected with the sense, it denotes indeterminateness in sentences, and has a qualifying effect on the implied meaning, like 'may be', or 'somehow' (*kathañcit*) or 'from a certain point of view', or 'in a certain sense.'

According to the Syādvāda doctrine, only seven assertions can be made about a thing, which are apparently contradictory but perfectly logical. They are :

i. *Syād-asti*='may be it is', that is all affirmations are true in some sense. Examples : 'This cup of tea is perhaps too hot for Hari'.

[1]A.N. Upadhye, ed., *Pravaçaṇasāra*, introduction, p. lxxxv.

[2]*HIP*, I, p. 181.

ii. *Syān-nāsti*='may be it is not', that is, all affirmations are false in some sense. Example : 'This cup of tea is perhaps not too hot for Nani'.

iii. *Syād-asti syān-nāsti*=it may be and it may not be', that is, all affirmations are true and false in some sense. Example : 'This cup of tea is perhaps too hot for Hari, but not too hot for Nani', or, 'This cup of tea is too hot for Hari now, but it will not be too hot for him later'.

iv. *Syād-avaktavyam*='it may not be describable', that is all affirmations are indefinite. Example : 'If the cup of tea is neither too hot nor too cold for Hari, it is indescribable in respect of Hari'.

v. *Syād-asti ca avaktavyaṁ ca*='it may be and is not perhaps describable', that is, all affirmations are true and indefinite. Example : Jadu is the father of Hari, and not related to Nani ; then it may be affirmed that while Jadu is the father of Hari his relation with Nani is indescribable.

vi. *Syān-nāsti ca avaktavyaṁ ca*='it may not be and is perhaps not describable', that is, all affirmations are false and indefinite. Example : Jadu is not the father of Nani and their relation is indescribable.

vii. *Syād-asti syān-nāsti syād avaktavyaṁ ca*='it may be, it may not be, and it may not be describable, that is, all affirmations are true and false and indefinite in some sense. Example : Jadu is the father of Hari and Jadu is not the father of Nani. Hence 'Jadu is the father', and at the same time 'Jadu is not the father'. However, the two contradictory propositions namely, 'is father', and 'is not father' render the relationship of Jadu, Hari, and Nani indefinite and indescribable, for one cannot affirm both being and non-being of the same thing, and yet such is the nature of things that one cannot but do so.

Therefore, the Jainas hold that no affirmation, or judgement, is absolute in its own nature, each being true in its limited sense only, and for each one of them any one of these seven alternatives (*bhaṅgī*=periphrasis) holds good. All reality is partly permanent and partly variable, that is, permanence and change are relative, so all affirmations regarding truth are also relatively valid and invalid. Being, non-being, and indefinite, the three categories of logic, are all equally valid in some sense or other in all their permutations for any and every kind of judgement. There is no absolute affirmation or negation, and all judgements are only conditionally valid.

In dialectic, when one wants to establish a thing, the proper course is to say '*syād-asti*,' and in case of denial '*syān-nāsti*.' When one desires to establish each in turn, one should say, '*syād-asti-nāsti*'. But when both the propositions have to be established at once, *avaktavya* has to be added from the impossibility of describing it. The fifth *bhaṅgī* is enjoined when one wishes to establish the first as well as its indescribableness, while the sixth *bhaṅgi* serves the purpose when the necessity for the second and the indescribableness arises. The seventh *bhaṅgī* is required when all the three categories (being, non-being, and indefinite) are to be employed simultaneously.

Critique of Jaina Philosophy

Jaina philosophy, particularly the doctrine of Syādvāda has been criticized by other schools, and very sharply by Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, Śaṅkara, while commenting on *Br. S*, II. 2.33 (*n=aikasminn=asambhavāt*) points out that, 'the ascertainment (or conclusion, *nirdhāraṇa*) that, all things are by nature *anekānta* (=nothing can be proved absolutely), is itself something, and as such falls under the alternate predications 'may be it is', and 'may be it is not', and so ceases to be a definite conclusion. The same happens to the persons arriving at the conclusion and to the result of the conclusion ; partly they are and partly they are not. Thus the means of knowledge, the object of knowledge, the knowing subject, and the act of knowledge all alike become indefinite.'[1] On this ground Śaṅkara rejected the Jaina doctrine.

The second point of criticism is directed against the theory of soul (*Br. S*, II, 2.34-36), which, according to the Jainas, is of the size of the body which it occupies. Logically it involves a contradiction, namely, 'the different bodies of the soul must have one and the same size [the soul being eternal], and that the soul cannot enter into bigger and smaller bodies [child, boy, and man]. Or else, if the final size of the soul is permanent, it follows that its size in the previous conditions is also permanent. Hence, the soul must be considered as being always of the same size—whether minute or infinite—and not of the varying size of its bodies. For this reason also the doctrine of the Arhat has to be set aside as not in any way more rational than the doctrine of Buddha.'[2] (Śaṅkara on *Br.S*, II.2.36).

It is not necessary for our present purpose to enter into this controversy. However, it may be recalled that Śaṅkara himself has admitted three gradations or stages of reality, namely *paramārthika* (absolute), *prātibhāṣika;* (dream) and *vyavahārika* (everyday reality). And, though he may not have used the phrase, his followers have defined, or rather described, *māyā* as, *sad-asad-anirvacanīya*, which is another way of saying, '*syād-asti syān-nāsti syād-avaktavyaṁ ca.*'

Jainism is a doctrine of 'relative plurality,' and asserts the reality of change. The basis of the doctrine is that 'a thing essentially exists, or is a being' (*sad-bhāvo hi svabhāvaḥ...dravyasya, Pravacanasāra*, II, 4) and 'existence or being is the definition of a thing' (*sad dravya-laksaṇam, Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, V.29). Though these affirmations are very important, these do not imply the negation of 'becoming'. On the contrary, from the point of view of the *paryāyārthika-naya*, 'becoming' is complimentary to the point of view of the 'being' of a substance (*dravyarthika-naya*). The word *dravya* is derived from the root *dru*, which means 'to flow', 'to run' etc. The Jainas have taken the etymological meaning of the word into account, and have introduced the element of flux in their conception of *dravya* or substance. The Vedāntic doctrine of *vivartavāda*, in which all change is illusory, is alien

[1]Tr. by G. Thibaut.
[2]Ibid.

to Jainism. For, the spirit of Jainism is the eternal existence of being and becoming in all things, in which production and destruction are regarded as changes effected by time. The change is real, and it affects really the thing. It is *pariṇāma* (transformation), and Jainism is *pariṇāma-vāda*. There is permanence at the core of the substantial reality, and even in a state of continuous becoming the root of being is maintained uninterruptedly. The evolution of a thing means the appearance and the disappearance of its modes or qualities after a longer or shorter duration.

The Jaina conception of infinite number of monadic *jīvās* and their denial of the existence of God are analogous to the Sāṁkhya system. And, like the Vaiśeṣikas, the Jainas admit the atomic structure of matter. However, the Jaina philosophy is a half-way house between the Buddhist tendency to deny soul altogether and the Upaniṣadic conception of a universal soul.

Finally, in view of the nature of the present work, it may be added that, Syādvāda would provide a valuable analytical tool for the students of history and of other social sciences.

Jaina Theories of Knowledge

The earliest work on Jaina epistemology is the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*. Its author Umāsvāti or Umāsvāmin (*c.* AD 135 to 219) is said to have been a disciple of Kundakunda (*c.* 1st century AD), the great Digambara teacher, though according to Schubring, Umāsvāti was a Śvetāmbara. The *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* is perhaps the only Jaina work in the form of *sūtra*, undoubtedly in imitation of the Brahminical texts of this nature which it was intended to refute. The work contains in ten sections a clear and precise epitome of Jainism explaining the true faith, the souls, *dravya*, the world, *karman* and *mokṣa*. It has been recognized as authoritative by both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, though the Śvetāmbara version contains 344 *sūtras* as against the 367 *sūtras* of the Digambara version. Most of the commentaries on the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* are by the Digambaras who, however, do not recognize the commentary attributed to Umāsvāti himself, undoubtedly because it contains anti-Digambara views.

The *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* is the earliest *prakaraṇa* text containing systematic exposition of the Jaina doctrine, which was later developed by the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras. Among the latter, the greatest was Siddhasena Divākara, who wrote a commentary on the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, and the more famous *Nyāyāvatāra*, a condensed manual on logic, which is sometimes supposed to have inspired the Buddhist logician, Dharmakīrti. The *Nyāyāvatāra* inspired the vast literature of Jaina logic and epistemology, the most important writers being Samantabhadra (Digambara, 8th century), Akalaṅka (9th century, Digambara ?), Devasūri (Śvetāmbara, 11th to 12th century AD), and Mallisena (Śvetāmbara, 13th century AD). But the most famous work among these was Hemacandra's *Pramāṇamīmāṁsā*.

Umāsvāti begins with the dictum that, emancipation can be attained only

after the acquisition of *samyag-darśana*, *samyag-jñāna*, and *samyag-caritra*. Of these, *samyag-caritra* and *samyag-darśana* have been explained above. We have now to deal with *samyag-jñāna* or 'right knowledge'.

According to the Jainas, the soul is characterized essentially by *cetanā* or consciousness which is of three kinds:

1. *Jñāna-cetanā:* consciousness of perfect knowledge. It begins with spiritual development, but is perfectly developed only in a *kevalin.*

2. *Karma-cetanā*: consciousness of action.

3. *Karma-phala-cetanā*: consciousness of the results of action.

From the *jñāna-cetanā* arises *darśana* (vision), and *jñāna* (Knowledge). *Darśana* is *sāmānya-grāhin*, that is, it apprehends objects generally, while *jñāna* is specific apprehension (*viśeṣa-grāhin*). In other words, *darśana* is undifferentiated knowledge, of the subjects, while *jñāna* is analytical concept. These two *grāhins*, or modes of cognizance lead respectively to *darśana-upayoga*, and *jñāna-upayoga*, *upayoga* meaning 'any act contributing to the fulfilment of a desired object'.

When *darśana* and *jñāna* arise in a soul tied to the body, they are exposed to aberration and obscurantism due to the effects of *karman*. When the soul frees itself from the effects of *karman*, *darśana* and *jñāna* becomes *samyag-dṛṣṭi* and *samyag-jñāna* (right vision and right knowledge). Of these *samyag-darśana* has been explained above.

Samyag-jñāna is of five kinds which are also known as *pramāṇas* or 'means of obtaining knowledge'. The *pramāṇas* are of two kinds, namely *parokṣa* (indirect or mediate), and *pratyakṣa* (direct or immediate). The *parokṣa pramāṇas* are:

1. *Mati-jñāna* arises from the ordinary process of sense perception, and the inferential knowledge based on them. It is sub-divided into:

i. *avagraha*: an indistinct (*avyakta*) sensual apprehension of objects as they appear;

ii. *īhā*: inquiry or the desire to know more definitely about the objects after the first view or *avagraha* apprehension;

iii. *avāya*: critical appraisal of the nature of an object;

iv. *dhāranā*: cognition and retention in memory.

2. *Śruta-jñāna* is scriptural knowledge, and may be communicated by some reliable authority.

The pratyakṣa-pramāṇas are:

3. *Avadhi-jñāna*: clairvoyance or extra-sensory perception, latent in everyone, but developed by few.

4. *Manaḥ-paryāya-jñāna*: the knowledge of others thoughts and is the result of *tapas* or *yoga.*

5. *Kevala-jñāna*, which has for its object the world and the non-world, is perfect, complete, unique, absolute, pure, all comprehensive, and infinite knowledge, and is possessed only by the *kevalins.*

Jaina Logic

Siddhasena Divākara has defined *pramāṇa* as that valid knowledge which reveals itself and is also knowable, like a lamp which reveals itself and also reveals objects within its ambit. This definition contradicts the Buddhist view that, there being nothing internal, knowledge only reveals itself. It also refutes the Naiyāikas and the Mīmāṁsakas who holds that knowledge does not reveal itself but reveals external relations.

By its very definition, a *pramāṇa* is free from error while illusion represents things in relations in which they do not exist. In a condition of partial darkness, a rope may appear as a snake. Though both snakes and ropes have real existence, (i.e., neither a rope nor a snake is fictitious as the 'horns of a hare'), the error in the present case is a mis-relationing of existents (*sat-khyāti*), that is, a snake is perceived where only the rope exists. Hence the cognition of snake was later contradicted, and was therefore false, because it misrepresented objective facts in experience. All uncontradicted knowledge is true knowledge. As it is not proved that the phenomenal world is matter of error, it is evident that it is real.

It has been stated above on the authority of Umāsvāti that, sense perceptions are *parokṣa*, while extra-sensory perceptions are *pratyakṣa*. But according to Siddhasena Divākara, *pratyakṣa*, is direct knowledge, while *parokṣa* is indirect knowledge based partly on evidence and partly on ratiocination and hearsay, that is, an inference. Other forms of knowledge admitted by Siddhasena Divākara are verbal testimony and scriptural testimony.

Inference has been defined as the knowledge of the major term (*sādhya*) by means of the middle term (*liṅga* or *sādhanā*) According to the Jaina logicians, the Naiyāyika syllogism of five propositions is unnecessary, and it is possible to arrive at a conclusion by (a) affirming the antecedent, or (b) by denying the consequent in the minor premiss, because the reason is inseparably connected with the major premiss (*sādhya*) either as co-existence (*saha-bhāva*) or as invariable antecedents (*krama-bhāva*), and there is no necessity of an example. Hence the syllogisms can be:

(i) If there is smoke, there is fire;
There is smoke;
There is fire.

or (ii) If there is smoke, there is fire;
There is no fire;
There is no smoke.

Anekāntavāda

The word *aneka* means 'many', and *anekānta* is rendered as 'manifold'. Hence *anekāntavāda* is the 'doctrine of manifoldness' or as Dr. Dasgupta has rendered it 'the doctrine of relative pluralism'. The basis of this doctrine is that reality is complex and manifold. As Dr. Radhakrishnan has said, *anekāntavāda* is 'the doctrine of the manyness of reality. Since reality is "multiform" and ever changing, nothing can be considered to be existing

everywhere and at all times and in all ways and places, and it is impossible to pledge ourselves to an inflexible creed'. The flexibility of *anekāntavāda* distinguishes it from the Vedāntic 'absolutism', and the Buddhist 'pluralism'.

The Vedānta philosophy is based on the postulate that there is a permanent substance, but its modifications (into various forms and states) is merely a verbal distinction, a name (*vāc=ārambhaṇaṁ vikāro, Chān.* 6.1.5), though the nature of the modifications cannot be rationally explained or demonstrated. The unchanging substance (clay) alone is true, and the changing forms (jugs etc.) are mere nomenclatures or illusions of senses.

The Buddhists hold the diametrically opposite view, namely, the changing qualities alone can be perceived and that there is no unchanging substance behind them. Some specific quality is perceived as clay, some other specific quality as a jug. As no qualityless substance apart from the qualities are ever perceived, the Buddhists hold the permanent and the unchangeable substance of Vedānta as a mere fiction of ignorance. Further, there being no permanent substance, the qualities cannot adhere to it, and all the objects are the momentary passing collocation of qualities, and each change of quality is a new existence.

The positive idealism of Vedānta leads to the absolute Brahman, while the Buddhist negation of any permanance leads them to the negative absolute or void. Mahāvīra was a contemporary of Buddha, and he must have known the fundamental doctrines of the Upaniṣads. It is, therefore, not surprising that, he preached a creed which avoided the two extreme views, and conceived the positive and negative elements of the real to be related as mutually integral.

It is related that Indrabhūti once asked Mahāvīra : '*kiṁ tattam*'? (What is the nature of reality ?). Mahāvīra replied : '*upanneī vā* (origination)'. Indrabhūti repeated the same question twice more, and Mahāvīra replied : '*vigamaei vā* (loss or destruction) and '*dhuvei va*' (permanence or persistence).[1]

This basic principle was presented in a Sanskrit aphorism in the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* (v. 20) where Umāsvāti has defined real as : *utpada-vyāya dhrauvya-yuktam sat*. That is, the notion of being involves permanence (*dhruva*), accession of some new qualities (*utpada*) and loss of some old qualities (*vyāya*). Thus when a jug is made, the clay becomes lost in some form, generates itself in another, but still remains permanent entity or substance, in some other form. Therefore there is always a permanent entity which, in spite of modifications or changes, retains certain permanent qualities, and may be called a substance. As Dr. Dasgupta has remarked : 'The solution of Jainism is thus a reconciliation of the two extremes of Vedāntism and Buddhism on grounds of common-sense experience.'[2] Thus the problem of relation between the substance and its attributes or qualities is solved, both being accepted as real, though they are not related in the *samavāya* relation postulated by the Vaiśeṣikas.

[1]Quoted by A.R. Kapadia, *The Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, Bombay, 1941, p. 3.
[2]*HIP*, I, p. 175.

The Vedāntins also deny the existence of any *samavāya* or *saṁyoga* relation except as names. The Buddhists also dismiss the existence of a separate relation as a conceptual fiction without having any objective reality. According to them, relation is not merely inferable, but also perceptual, and the relational element is a constituent factor of synthesis. To this the Jainas point out that if the atoms or monads were independent unconnected entities, as the Buddhists maintain, how could they form a jug? Nor can relation be an unreal and a subjective fancy, or a bamboo would not bend if its tip was pulled.

The Jainas also differ from the Naiyāyikas on this point. The Naiyāyikas maintain that not merely the relatas are absolutely different from each other, but even the relation combining them is also different from either of the relatas. The Jainas point out that, two absolutely different relata cannot be related by a relation without a further relation relating the relatas to the initial relation. The second relation would necessitate a third, and the third in turn a fourth and so on leading to an infinite regress. Hence the Jainas regard a real as a synthesis of identity-in-difference, and each such synthesis is called as '*jātyantara*'.

The Jaina conception of identity-in-difference is, however, different from the *bhedābheda* doctrine of the Vedānta schools in which the differences are subordinate to the identity which is the primary principle. In Jainism there is no priority of the absolute over the relative, primarily because the Jainas do not believe in God as an ultimate principle or reality.

An inquiry into the nature of reality may concern itself either with the thinking self, or the objects of thought. Jainism seeks to relate the thinking self with the objects of thought, neither in an idealistic nor in a realistic or absolutist sense, and never rejects the everyday experience as unreal. The Jaina approach to metaphysics may be called pragmatic, at least more so than other schools of Indian philosophy.

ETHICAL DOCTRINE

Basis of Ethical Conduct

Jainism is a doctrine of reality. Reality cannot be denied ontologically, but the self should not be enticed by it. The Jainas do not renounce the world as such, but they avoid all forms of violence. Any act of violence, physical, verbal, or mental committed in this life, will have its repercussions and produce results in the next life, thus forging another link in the chain of *karma*, which fastens a man to the cycle of life and death.

Real happiness is the state of *mukti* or *mokṣa*, release from the bondage of *karma*. It is difficult to gain that state, but not impossible. Man is *ananta-vīrya*. He has in him infinite capacity and power to subdue and conquer the effects and influence of *karma*, and gain liberation.

The Jainas recognize three kinds of self. The first is the *bahirātman*, the

external or the empirical self. This is the ego which is attached to the worldly objects. Second is the *antarātman* or the inner-self, which withdraws itself from the outer world and acquires the right to *mokṣa*. Third is the *paramātman* or the true self, a state which is obtained by the *antarātman* after long years of spiritual quest. The *bahirātman* accepts everything; the *antarātman* rejects everything; the *paramātman* neither accepts nor rejects. In the perfection of *paramātmā*-hood all volition is absent.

The *paramātman* is the highest state of the soul, and represents the *summum bonum* envisaged by Jainism. If the self as *paramātman* retains the body, he is called *arhat* (adorable) or a *arahanta* (arhanta=deserving), while a disembodied *paramatman* is called a *siddha*.[1] The word 'god' in Jaina terminology means *arhats* and *siddhas*. All the *tīrthaṅkaras* are *arhats*, but all *arhats* are not *tīrthaṅkaras*. Some *arhats* propagate religious doctrines in order to guide man to reach his goal of salvation. They are the *tīrthaṅkaras*, and when a Jaina uses the word *arhat*, he usually refers to a *tīrthaṅkara*. Though all *arhats* and *siddhas* are 'gods', the Jainas usually worship the *tīrthaṅkaras*, though obeisance is made to all *arhats* and *siddhas*.

The outstanding feature in Jaina conception of god is that he (i.e., a *arhat* or a *siddha*) neither creates, nor supports, nor destroys the world. The worshippers receive no boon or favours, neither are they cursed if they display disrespect towards the god. The worshippers venerate and worship the god 'as an example, as a model, as an ideal that they too might reach the same condition'.[2]

Jainism shows the way to salvation, that is, it leads a soul to the stage of an *arhat* or a *siddha*, which can be attained only by mystic realization. To proceed on the mystic path, it is obligatory to follow certain *ācāras* or 'fixed rules of conduct'. These ethical doctrines are based on the dogma of *ahiṁsā*. To get rid completely of *hiṁsā* from action, speech, and mind, perfect detachment from the world is necessary. This is only possible for monks. The householders cannot give up their worldly life, but they too need salvation. Therefore, two sets of *ācāras* have been prescribed: one for the householder, and the other for the monks. The householders by performing the less rigorous vows, prepare themselves for monastic life either in this or in a future life. As the Jainas do not admit god's grace as an element of *mokṣa*, strict performance of the *ācāras* is necessary. Hence the supreme importance of *ācāras* in Jainism, and in the daily life of the Jainas.

Ahiṁsā is the fundamental ethical concept and the central doctrine of Jainism. In Jaina terminology, the word *ahiṁsā* has a much wider connotation than its literal meaning. The entire Jaina *ācarā* is based on the principle of *ahiṁsā*, and not only the monks but the householders also must avoid *hiṁsā* to the greatest possible extent. All sins are caused by *hiṁsā*; indeed any passion is *hiṁsā*. *Ahiṁsā* is not only the quintessence of wisdom, it is the pure and eternal wisdom, and complete cessation of *hiṁsā* is equivalent to

[1]The *arhats* and the *siddhas* are analogous to the *jīvanmuktas* and the *videha-muktas*.
[2]A.N. Upadhye quoted by Sogani, op. cit., p. 71.

nirvāṇa. *Ahiṁsā* also has a positive aspect; it is based on *dayā* or kindness, which is expressed in the form of *karuṇā-dāna* or *abhaya-dāna* to all creatures. As Hemacandra says, *ahiṁsā* 'is the beneficient mother of all beings'; it is the 'elixir for those who wander through the ocean of reincarnation.'[1]

In Jaina terminology, the words *ācāra* and *yoga* are synonymous. Hemachandra's famous book on *ācāra* is known as the *Yoga-śāstra*, where the word *yoga* stands for a complete course of moral discipline which leads to the purification of mind, and is quite different from the traditional *yoga*. However, Jaina *yoga* is based on the observation of five fundamental vows which are also prescribed by Patañjali (2.30). These five vows are collectively known as *mahā-vratas* for the monks, and their partial accomplishment, known as the *aṇu-vratas*, are recommended for the householders. Transgression of the vows may be of the following nature: (1) *atikrama*, mental transgression; (2) *vyatikrama*, making arrangements for such transgression; (3) *aticāra*, casual transgression; (4) *anācāra* or *bhaṅga*, habitual transgression.

Śrāvakācāra

The five *anu vratas*, mentioned above, are, *ahiṁsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya* and *aparigraha*. The householders are enjoined to practise these vows in the manner described below.

Ahims-āṇu-vrata

Hiṁsā may be either intentional or unintentional. The forms of unintentional *hiṁsā* are *udyamī* (arising out of one's profession), *ārambhī* (arising out of one's domestic duties), and *virodhī* (defensive). Of these three, the most interesting in the last, which permits a Jaina householder to defend himself, his property, his neighbour, and his country by violent means. Actually, as has been shown above, Jaina kings and soldiers were not averse to waging an offensive war. They may have consoled the pious Jaina *munis* that, their aggressive activities were really meant to protect their kingdom, but there is little doubt that the clause was intended to accommodate the Jaina kings, high officials, and rich merchants.

The *ahims-āṇu-vrata* forbids a householder to drink any king of spirituous liquor, eat any non-vegetarian food, honey, and five kinds of *udumbara* (fig) fruits. Honey is prohibited because it is collected by injuring the bees, while the figs are banned because they are the breeding grounds for various living organisms.

The transgressions are:

i. *Bandha*: keeping in captivity men or animals wantonly. It is, however, permitted to tie up an unruly child or a slave, or a servant for corrective purposes. Domestic animals such as cattle, horses, and elephants may also be tied up.

ii. *Vadha*: merciless flogging of a man or an animal, but mild whipping and thrashing are permissible should the occasion demand it.

[1]Quoted by R. Williams, op. cit., p. 71.

iii. *Chavi-cheda*: mutilation. Even the cutting of the nose, the ears, or the thumbs of a criminal are condemned. But surgical operations such as the opening of the swollen leg of a person suffering from elephantisis (*pāda-valmīka*) is permitted by Hemachandra.[1]

iv. *Ati-bhār-āropana*: overloading a man or an animal with excessively heavy goods.

v. *Bhakta-pāna-vyavaccheda*: unreasonably withholding food or drink. But no transgression is committed when food and drink are refused to a child for his moral benefit or to a patient suffering from fever.

Saty-āṇu-vrata

Satya, like *ahiṁsā*, has a wider connotation in Jaina terminology than its literal meaning. Vasunandin (*c.* AD 1100) defined it as 'the abstention from untruth spoken out of passion or hate, and from truth too, if it provokes the destruction of a living being.'

The examples of untruthful statements are saying that, (1) a girl is virgin or not, (2) a cow gives much milk or little milk, (3) the piece of land belongs to oneself or to another, (4) falsely denying that gold or other valuables have been entrusted to one, or (5) bearing false witness. Of these examples the first three are typical of a rural society and the last two of a mercantile community. However, these examples, particularly the first three were treated as symbolical, and were intended to cover all false statements concerning human relations. There were more sophisticated categories of *satya*.

The transgressions of *saty-āṇu-vrata* are, (1) false accusation, (2) divulging to others what has been said by wife in confidence (*sva-dārā-mantra-bheda*), (3) false preaching or giving false instructions which may cause sufferings to others, (4) forgery (*kūṭa-lekha-karaṇa*) including counterfeiting of another man's stamp or seal, (5) retention of the deposited articles of a man if the latter has forgotten them, and (6) causing conflict by disclosing secrets.

Astey-āṇu-vrata

Steya or theft is defined as appropriating things not given by its owner (*adatta*), hence this *aṇu-vrata* is also known as *adatta-dāna*. The transgressions are, (1) adulteration of food etc., (2) abetment of theft, (3) receiving stolen property, (4) transgressing into the frontiers of a hostile state (*viruddha-rājy-ātikrama*), i.e., violating the duties of a citizen, and (5) using false weights and measures. The *viruddha-rājy-ātikrama* has been explained as 'the acquisition of property in a country which is engaged in hostilities with one's own country, since even grass or wood acquired under such circumstances must be regarded as stolen'. Similarly, if a vassal assists the enemy of the king to whom he owes allegiance, he too is guilty of *viruddha-rājy-ātikrama*.[2] Here

[1] *Yoga-śāstra* of Hemacandra quoted by R. Williams, op.. cit., p. 68. This interesting provision shows the use of surgery in the 11th-12th century AD.

[2] For details and references see R. Williams, op. cit., pp. 81-2 and Sogani, op. cit., p. 84.

we get an interesting rule on the duties of the citizens of a belligerent state.

Brahmacary-āṇu-vrata

The purport of this *aṇu-vrata* is that a householder should be content with his wife, and that sexual activities even with her should be reduced to a minimum. The transgressions are, (1) taking interest in arranging marriage except that of one's own children, which probably seeks to interdict the profession of match-making, (2) sexual relation with married or unmarried women, (3) unnatural methods of sexual enjoyment by men or women, and (4) libidinousness and its expression in any form.

Aparigrh-āṇu-vrata

Aparigraha literally means 'non-acceptance', 'rejection', or 'renunciation.' In Jaina terminology, this word is here used in a limited sense to mean 'non-accumulation of wealth', where wealth includes land, horses, silver and gold (coined or uncoined), diverse commodities, livestock, grains, servants, maid-servants, furniture, clothes, and beds. It is interesting to note that, in this connection land is graded into three types : *setu-kṣetra* (land irrigated artificially by *araghaṭṭa* or norias),[1] *ketu-kṣetra* (dry farming land depending on rain), and *miśra* (irrigated land which also receives rain). And, among the *sthāvara* (immovable) property are land, houses, and orchard land (*tarugaṇa*), explained as 'groves of coconut and similar trees'. Horses are classified as *aśva* or *jātya* (i.e., thoroughbred) and *ghoṭaka* or *ajātya* (i.e., ordinary horses).

A householder was expected to set a limit to the acquisition of any form of wealth mentioned above, and exceeding the limit was considered to be a transgression. It is apparent that few Jainas, if any, took this vow seriously.

Arātri-bhojana

It is usual to consider the number of *aṇu-vratas* as five but another *aṇu-vrata* is sometimes prescribed. This is *arātri-bhojana* or 'avoidance of taking food by night'. The importance of this vow is that many Jainas refrain from taking food at night even today.

Other Vratas

After the *aṇu-vratas* come the *guṇa-vratas* and the *śikṣā-vratas*, which the Digambaras collectively call the *śīlas*. The lists of the *vratas* given in the Śvetāmbara texts also differ in several respects, but it is usual to include the *digvrata*, the *anartha-daṇḍa-vrata* and the *bhog-opabhoga-vrata* under *guṇa-vrata*, and the *sāmāyika*, *poṣadh-opavāsa*, *dāna*, and the *sallekhanā* as *śikṣā-vratas*.

[1]R. Williams, op. cit., p. 94 has translated *araghaṭṭa* as 'norias.' The dictionary meaning of the word 'noria' is 'a water raising apparatus in Spain, Syria and elsewhere, by means of a large paddle-wheel having fixed to its rim a series of buckets.' But usually an *araghaṭṭa* had one bucket attached to it.

Guṇa-vratas

i. *Dig-vrata:* This *vrata* consists in fixing the territorial limits of one's movements in all the ten directions, and corresponds to the *deś-āvakāśikā* prescribed by some authorities. There is conflict of opinions as to the duration of this *vrata*. Some authorities maintain that this *vrata* should be observed for the four rainy months, other prescribe one year as the limit, while others would impose this *vrata* on the householder for his whole life.

ii. *Anartha-daṇḍa-vrata*: This *vrata* enjoins one to refrain from *apadhyāna* (evil brooding), *pāpopadeśa* (evil counsel), *pramād-ācarita* (committing purposeless mischief), *hiṁsā-pradāna* (being an accessory to acts of destruction), *duḥśruti* (listening to or teaching books which excite passion).

iii. *Bhog-opabhoga-parimāṇa-vrata*: This *vrata* enjoins the limited use of *bhoga* (things that can be used once only like food, betels, articles of toilet etc.) and *upabhoga* (things which can be used repeatedly, such as, ornaments, clothes, vehicles etc.). This *vrata* leads to abstinence, and ultimately to the renunciation of luxury.

Śikṣā-vratas

i. *Sāmāyika* practically means meditation with a view to attaining mental equilibrium. It is a substitute for Patañjali's *niyama*, except that instead of meditating on Īśvara as recommended by Patañjali (2.32), meditation on *ātman* is recommended by the Jaina texts.

ii. *Poṣadh-opavāsa-vrata* consists in fasting partially or, if possible, completely, and refrain partially or entirely from all secular activities on the eighth and the fourteenth lunar days of each fortnight.

iii. *Dāna-vrata* means the making of a gift of any kind, and includes the entertainment of guests, without expecting any return. Gifts should be made only to proper persons and with faith, devotion, joy etc.[1] The approved gifts are food, medicine, religious accessories, and shelter particularly to monks by raising monasteries etc. The list of undesirable gifts include cows, presumably because the brahmanical Hindus considered this gift to be highly meritorious. Gifts to *brāhmaṇas* on the occasion of a *śrāddha* is condemned, undoubtedly for the same reason.

iv. *Sallekhanā-vrata* consists in voluntarily embracing death when a person has become decrepit and is beyond recovery. The *sallekhanā* is considered to be a highly meritorious *vrata*. The person performing the *sallekhanā* must confess all his sins and transgressions, and seek forgiveness of all his friends and relatives. Then he should embrace death with a pure heart free from any passion or desire. The *sallekhanā-vrata* is a kind of euthanasia (for which there is a growing volume of support) with added moral and spiritual content.

The Pratimās

It is probably not expected that a householder will be able to perform the *vratas* as a matter of course. Hence eleven stages have been marked out as

[1]Compare with *Gītā*, 17.20.

rungs in the ladder of spiritual progress, at the end of which a householder becomes fit to enter the monastic life. These stages in the progress of a pious householder's life are known as *pratimās*, which literally means 'statues.'

The Digambara and the Śvetāmbara lists of *pratimās* slightly vary on non-essential details. Following is a list of the eleven Digambara *pratimās* in progressive order:

i. *darśana*: right faith, and the giving up of the seven *vyasanas* (gambling, meat, wine, hunting, whores adultery, and stealing), devotion to Jina and *gurus* and purity of moral life. (See Manu, 7.47-8)

ii. *vrata*: performance of the five *aṇu-*, three *guṇa*-and four *śiksā-vratas*.

iii. *sāmāyika*: explained above.

iv. *poṣadh-opavāsa*: explained above.[1]

v. *sacitta-tyāga*: avoidance of practically all those types of food which are forbidden to a monk.

vi. *rātribhojana-tyāga*: explained above.

vii. *brahmacarya*: complete continence.

viii. *ārambha-tyāga*: abandonment of occupation and of household affairs.

ix. *parigraha-tyāga* or *preṣya-tyāga* (Śvetāmbara): giving up claims to properties and of all acquisitions except clothes.

x. *anumati-tyāga*: forbearing from giving advice on mundane affairs.

xi. *uddiṣṭa-tyāga* or *śramaṇa-bhūta* (Śvetāmbara); refraining from taking food specially cooked for oneself, and adopting some customs of a monk like shaving the head, carrying the broom etc.

Ācāra of the Muni

The *munis* or the monks are expected to perform twenty-eight *mūla-guṇas* which are: five *mahā-vratas*, five *samitis*, control of the five senses, pulling out the hairs, *āvaśyaka-karmas*, nudity, not taking bath, sleeping on the ground not cleansing the teeth, taking meals in a standing posture, and taking only one meal a day.

Five Mahā-vratas

The *aṇu-vratas* of the householder are the *mahā-vratas* of the monk. Thus the monks have to perform the *mahā-vratas* of *ahiṁsā*, *satya*, *āsteya*, *brahmacarya*, and *aparigraha*. The householder, as we have seen, is allowed certain latitude in regard to the performance of these vows. For example, a man can enjoy sex with his wife, and yet maintain *brahmacarya*, but in the *brahmacarya-mahā-vrata* the abstinence must be complete. In the *aparigraha-mahā-vrata*, a Digambara monk may possess only a book, a peacock-feather broom, and a water-pot, while a Śvetāmbara monk can keep minimum clothes, alms bowl, a blanket, a broom, and two pieces of cloth, one to cover

[1]It is difficult to account for the repetition of *sāmāyika* and *poṣadha*. See Sogani, op. cit., pp. 112-13. Apparently the *vratas* were expected to be performed in stages or *pratimās*.

his mouth and the other to clean his alms-bowl. Similarly, in the other three-*mahā-vratas*, the monk has to maintain the vows very strictly.

Five Samitis or rules of 'Careful Conduct'

i. *Īryā samiti*: precautions which a monk must take when moving about, with a view not to injure any living being.

ii. *Bhāṣā-samiti*: a monk must speak either the truth or neither truth nor untruth, but never untruth nor truth mixed with untruth.

iii. *Eṣaṇā-samiti*: a monk must adopt correct behaviour when eating.

iv. *Ādānā-nikṣepaṇa-samiti*: a monk must observe the correct procedure when lifting, seizing, or getting hold of a thing, and putting it down, so that no living being is hurt.

v. *Pratisthāpanā or Utsarga-samiti*: a monk must be careful in the act of excretion, so that no living creature is hurt.

Six Āvaśyaka-karmas or Obligatory Duties

The six obligatory duties are: (1) *sāmāyika*, which has been explained above, *stuti*, meditation on twenty-four *tarthaṅkaras*, (3) *vandanā*, salutations to the *arhats*, the *siddhas*, and the *gurus*, (4) *pratikramana* confession of sins and their renouncement (5) *pratyākhyāna*, determination to avoid unrighteous conduct, and (6) *kāyotsarga*, non-attachment to one's body, and complete physical immobility for a limited period.

The other *mūla-gunas* do not need any explanation, except that the only meal a monk is permitted daily must be taken between three *ghaṭikās* (72 minutes) after sunrise and three *ghaṭikās* before sunset. The Digambara monks eat meals from the palm of their hands and sleep on the bare ground, while the Śvetāmbara monks sleep on a plank, and take food from a pot.

Nudity

The Digambaras take nudity as a *mūla-guṇa*, so that the number becomes twenty-eight. Here, as stated above, the Śvetāmbaras differ from the Digambaras. The *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*[1] (I.8.4.1) allows a monk three pieces of cloth or dress, namely an under-garment, an upper-garment, and a woollen garment for use during the winter. It is, however, stated in the same passage that, on the advent of summer, the monk should discard the woollen garment, and either keep two pieces or one piece of dress, or discard dress altogether. The *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* (1.8.7.1) further states that, if a monk is unable to shed modesty, he may wear a *kaupīna*, but that nudity is preferable. Thus it seems that the vow of nudity is left to the discretion of the monk, but, as stated above, the Digambaras do not recognize the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* as an authoritative text.

The *sallekhanā* vow is also prescribed for the Jaina monks. Three other modes of embracing death are recommended for the monks which are variations of the *sallekhanā*.

[1] *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, Bengali translation by Sri Hirakumari, Calcutta, Samvat 2009 (AD 1952).

Jainism in Retrospect

All the religions which developed in India after the Vedic age have many common elements, and their differences lie in emphasis. In Jainism the emphasis is on *ahiṁsā*, though Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism include *ahiṁsā* as part of their essential creed. Hemacandra in his *Yoga-śāstra* (2.35) has stigmatized the *Manu-smṛti* as a *hiṁsā-śāstra*, but *Manu* (3.68) says:

pañca sūnā gṛhasthasya cullī peṣaṇy-upaskaraḥ
kaṇḍanī c=odakumbhaś=ca vadhyate yās=tu vāhayan

This verse is practically repeated in Prabhacandra's commentary on the *Ratna-karaṇḍa*:

khaṇḍanī peṣaṇī cullī uda-kumbhaḥ pramārjanī
pañca sūnā gṛhasthasya tena mokṣaṁ na gacchati[1]

Even in the *Mahābhārata* the virtue of *ahiṁsā* is extolled several times, for the idea is as old as the *Chāndogyo Upaniṣad* (3.17.4) but, as stated above, *ahiṁsā* forms the central core of Jaina religion, and even today it is its most characteristic feature.

However, Jainism has not remained static during its long history, though the changes have not been as abrupt or as sharply defined as in Buddhism or in the brahmanical faiths. It has been noted earlier that, when Candragupta Maurya embraced Jainism, he abdicated his throne and turned a monk. But his grandson, after his conversion to Buddhism, reconciled his duties as a king with his obligations to his religious call. Khāravela followed the same principle, but has been ignored by the Jaina writers. Possibly Khāravela's attitude was unacceptable to the contemporary Jaina teachers, who declined to recognize him as a true Jaina.

Later, however, Jainas, as we have seen, not only claimed reigning kings among its faithfuls, but also renowned soldiers. It is difficult to say how and when this flexible attitude replaced the rigidity of the early days, but Jinasena's *Ādi-purāṇa*, completed in AD 897, may serve as a pointer. Jinasena adorned the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarṣa (*c.* AD 814-880). His *Ādi-purāṇa* gives the lives of the *tīrthaṅkaras* after Ṛṣabha, but it was really intended to replace the *Mahābhārata*. The *kriyās* or the ceremonies listed in the *Ādi-purāṇa* are the expression of a religion adopted to a *kṣatriya* concept of society. Prominence is also given to the *upanayana*, which is described as a second birth, though this and other brahmanical rites are adopted under a thin covering of Jaina symbolism. The *Ādi-purāṇa* also makes provision for a man belonging to a caste which bears arms to retain them if essential for his livelihood, thus admitting mercenary soldiers into the Jaina fold.

The last great work of the *Ādi-purāṇa* type was the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra. Hemacandra (AD 1088-1172) was the court-poet of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (*c.* AD 1093-1143) and Kumarapala (*c.* AD 1143-1172)

[1]Quoted by R. Williams, op. cit., p. 122.

of Gujarat. He eulogized his patrons' victories on the battlefield with the zeal of a chauvinistic *brāhamaṇa praśasti* writer. Apparently by this time the Jainas had fully accepted the *kṣatriya* view of life as an essential part of society. Some time after Hemacandra, we find the Jaina writers ecstatically describing the martial exploits of Vastupāla, the famous Jaina minister of Gujarat.

Gujarat was the last political stronghold of the Jainas, and with its conquest by the Turks in 1305, their *kṣatriya* spirit began to wane. Later they served as ministers to many states of Rajasthan, but there they owed their position mainly due to their wealth and their knack for the management of finance which the *kṣatriyas* sadly lacked. Generally, however, the ministers of Indian states were expected to take part in battles if necessary. The result of this long exposure to the political atmosphere dominated by the *kṣatriyas* and *brāhmaṇas* was a perceptible change in the socio-religious pattern of life among the Jainas.

Another contributory factor leading to this change was the Sanskritization of the Jaina literature. As stated above, the earliest Jaina canons were written in Ardhamāgadhī, which was later replaced by Mahārāṣṭri Prakrit. The Jainas developed the south Indian languages, and though the southern Digambaras wrote in Prakrit from time to time, they took to writing increasingly in Sanskrit. In north India Prakrit retained its hold on the Śvetāmbaras for a much longer period; Hemacandra wrote a Prakrit grammar and an historical *kāvya* to illustrate its rules, just as he had written a Sanskrit grammar and a *mahākāvya* as its illustration. He had also composed a dictionary of *deśī* words.

As a speech Prakrit had been replaced by Apabhraṁśa by about AD 750, and the latter was replaced by the New-Indo-Aryan speeches by about AD 1000. So when Hemacandra wrote his Prakrit grammar, it had been a dead language for about four centuries, and was as unintelligible to the masses as was Sanskrit, which, however, had the merit of being an all-India language of culture.

There was another reason for the use of Sanskrit by the Jaina scholars. The Jainas made very important contribution to mediaeval Indian logic, and all these works had to be written in Sanskrit. Thus Jaina literature, both canonical and non-canonical, progressively adopted Sanskrit as their medium of expression roughly from the eleventh century onward. This Sanskritization of Jaina literature had an important bearing on the Hinduization of the Jaina society.

Another factor was the Jaina reliance on *deśācāra*. The Jaina *śrāvakācāra*, or code of conduct for the lay devotees which Hemacandra called *Yoga*, laid down the essential religious duties of a householder, but did not frame any rules for some essential social rites such as marriage. Therefore the traditional Jaina literature admitted the validity of *deśācāra* (local custom) wherever there was a lacuna in the *śrāvakācara* rules, provided the *deśācāra* did not conflict with the basic Jaina tenets, particularly *ahiṁsā*. As Hemacandra

admits in his *Yoga-śāstra* (2.49) that, where the religious law is silent, the *deśācāra* should prevail. The validity of *deśācāra* was admitted by the Dharmaśāstras also, but in the case of Jainism its recognition meant the adoption of typical non-Jaina practices of the locality, and one more step toward Hinduization. Thus were introduced the elaborate marriage rites including the taking of oath in front of a fire, the *upanayana* ceremony, and, last of all, the *śrāddha* ceremony, which had been condemned in the earlier texts. Along with these social customs came the *pūjā*, *dāna*, and the *tīrtha-yātrā*, of which the last two are highly praised in the *Mahābhārata* as acts producing great religious merit.

Thus the gap between the Jainas and the brahmanical Hindus continually narrowed, till the Jainas appeared outwardly as different from a brahmanical sect like the Vaiṣṇavas as the latter were from the Śāktas.

Jainism began as a philosophy of life. About thousand years after its birth, it gradually began to take the shape, and face the destiny of a religious creed. As it went on proselytizing, it was itself profoundly influenced by the practices of its converts. Royal patronage helps a religion to spread quickly, but in the end seems to prove harmful to the cause. For, the kings have a habit of imposing their will on everyone around them, including the monks. Secondly, the Jainas have been extremely successful as a business community. It was incumbent on a Jaina householder to provide for the needs of the Jaina monks. As days went by, the rich Jaina merchants vied with each other to provide comfortable accommodation for the monks. The result was a decay in monastic life. This was a serious loss, since it was the duty of the monks to instruct the lay worshippers in the true faith. Hence the emphasis was shifted from the discussion of the metaphysical doctrine to ritualistic *pūjā*.

CHAPTER IX

Buddhism

LIFE OF BUDDHA

Buddha and Buddhism

Buddha did not intend that his followers should worship him. Ultimately, however, Buddha worship became the most distinguishing feature of the Buddhist religion. Buddha's life has attracted men throughout the ages, and the popularity of Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* in the nineteenth century England shows that, if properly presented, Buddha's life can inspire even modern men.

Whatever Buddha's intentions, his life became the focal point of his religion, and provided the unifying factor when Buddhism became divided into various antagonistic sects. Unfortunately, the Pali canon does not contain the life of the Master. Some canonical texts, however, give important details of Buddha's life, as for example, the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, which gives a detailed account of the last phase of Buddha's life, his last speeches and sayings, and his death and funeral ceremony.

For Buddha's biography, we have to depend mostly on early Sanskrit texts like the *Lalitavistara*, and Aśvaghoṣa's *Sundarānanda* and *Buddhacarita*. The *Lalitavistara*, or 'the detailed narration of the sport (of Buddha)' deals with his life and work as 'the sport' (*lalita*) of a supernatural being. The *Sundarānanda* gives an account of the conversion by Buddha of his cousin Nanda (who was infatuated with his beautiful wife Sundarī), while the *Buddhacarita*, which is a *mahākāvya*, narrates the life of Buddha. But both the *Lalitavistara* and the *Buddha-carita* end with the sermon at Vārāṇasī. Actually there is no connected account of Buddha's life after the attainment of *bodhi*. The account of Buddha's peregrinations are compiled from the Nikāya texts, the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, and the introductory parts of the Jātakas. The names of the places where Buddha spent his *vassas* or rainy seasons are furnished by the commentaries.

The defective nature of the biographical material is so obvious that it need not be discussed here. Actually at one time some western scholars had built up a theory that. Buddha was not a person but represented the personified allegory of the Sāṁkhya system of philosophy. Other explanations of the legends and myths that have grown up around Buddha's life have been given by eminent scholars, such as Kern. Other scholars have attempted to separate the real life of Buddha from the legendary accretions. Actually in the Pali texts, Buddha appears as a great teacher, travelling to and fro, surround-

ed by disciples whose names are given, receiving visitors whose names are also given, preaching to them as the occasion demands, sometimes his doctrine, sometimes laying down rules to be followed, and at others prohibiting certain acts. Here Buddha is depicted as living the life of a human being, only trying to show others the way of salvation which he had discovered. One is struck by his humane personality.

The Pali texts also contain legendary matters, So attempts have been made to base Buddha's biography entirely on the non-legendary episodes supplied by the Pali texts, retaining only the human characteristics, and rejecting everything else. Such a biography will certainly attract the modern mind, but the exclusion of all the legends has one great drawback. The episodes which we dismiss are 'legends' only from our standpoint, but the Buddhists regard them as actual events related by the Buddha himself, and to them the legends are perfectly authenticated incidents from the life of the Master. The Buddhist art also depends to a very large extent on these legends. Actually these legends form an essential part of Buddhism. Scholars may dispute as to who introduced these legends and when, but it is not possible to discard them altogether even in a brief life sketch.

Birth of Buddha

Śuddhodana, the chief of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, had married two sisters, Māyā and Mahāprajāpati Gautamī. A son was born to Māyā, who was named Siddhārtha. As Śuddhodana's family name was Gautama (Pali, Gotama), the child was also known as Gautama. Māyā died seven days after the birth of her son, who was then brought up by Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī.

Legends claim that during his long series of births, Bodhisattva had accumulated such merit, that he had to be born only once more to become Buddha. He was now in Tuṣita heaven, but his time for sojourn among gods was nearly over. So he, who knew both the past and the future, calmly deliberated, and at last decided to be born as the son of Śuddhodana and Māyā in the Śākya clan. So, on the full-moon day of Āsāḍha. Bodhisattva took the form of a white elephant with six tusks, and entered Māyā's womb by the right side. During her pregnancy, Māyā could see her child as if through a transparent stone.

As the time for her confinement drew near, Māyā expressed a desire to visit her family in Devadaha. On the way from Kapilavastu to Devadaha, there was a pleasure-grove at Lumbinī. Here on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, Māyā desired to rest, and as she stood under a large tree, she caught one of its branches and was delivered. Four angels received the child in a golden net, and showed it to the mother, saying: 'Rejoice, O Lady! a great son is born to thee.' The child stood upright, took seven strides, and proclaimed: 'This is my last birth: henceforth there shall be no more birth for me.'

Lumbinī (modern Rumminidei), where Buddha was born, lies four miles inside the Nepalese border (85° 11′ N and 25° 58′ E) near Padara. Aśoka later erected a pillar at Lumbinī to mark the site where Buddha was born.

Along with Buddha were born the Seven Connatal Ones, namely, the mother of Rāhula, Ānanda the future disciple, Channa the future charioteer, Kaṇṭhaka the horse, Kāludāyi the minister, the great Bodhi tree, and the vases of Treasure.

Childhood of Buddha

Shortly after his birth, the Bodhisattva was carried in pomp to his father's palace at Kapilavastu. On his way, following the Śākya custom, he was taken to the temple of Abhaya, where the images of the deities prostrated before the child.

An ascetic called Asita, who lived in the Himalayas (or the Vindhyas), came to the palace to pay his homage to the new born babe. Asita lamented that he would not live to listen to the child's teachings, but enjoined his disciple Nālaka (or nephew Naradatta later known as Mahākaccāyana) to become a follower of the new teacher.

On the fifth day, the name ceremony was performed, and the name Siddhārtha (Pali, Siddhattha) was conferred on him. On this occasion, seven soothsayers out of assembled eight predicted that the child would become either a *cakravartin* (universal monarch) or a Buddha. But the eighth, named Kondañña, predicted that he would of surety become a Buddha. Kondañña was destined to become one of Buddha's earliest disciples.

Śuddhodana wanted his son to become a *cakravartin* rather than a monk, so he inquired as to the reasons which would lead his son to forsake a comfortable home. 'The four sights', was the answer, 'the sight of a decrepit old man, of a sick man, of a dead body, and of a monk.' So the king took steps that the prince may never see such ugly realities of life, and he built large palaces where the prince might grow up in luxury and imbibe the tastes of all pleasures.

His mother having passed away to the Tuṣita heaven, Mahāprajāpati Gautamī and a band of nurses took care of the baby. Once as a child he sat under the shade of a tree in a yogic posture, and fell into deep meditation. Time passed, but the shadow of the tree did not move. When Śuddhodana beheld this miracle, he bowed to the child, and cried: 'This, dear one, is the second homage paid to thee.'

The early texts do not mention his early training or education. The *Lalitavistara* gives a legendary account of his schooling, and of extraordinary proficiency in archery and other princely attainments. At the age of seven, education began. He was then instructed in all the sixty-four arts in which he easily distinguished himself. When he was taken to learn the art of writing, Siddhārtha overwhelmed his teacher by enumerating sixty-four scripts of which the latter knew but few. Various other miracles took place.

As the prince grew up, Śuddhodana built for him three palaces, one of nine, the second of seven, and the third of five storeys. Here the prince was surrounded by all the available luxuries, and dancing girls were appointed for his services and entertainment.

From early childhood, his cousin Devadatta showed a spirit of hostility, but he gained the affection of another cousin called Ānanda, of his half-brother Nanda, and of Udāyin, his playmate.

Marriage

At the age of sixteen, Siddhārtha married Bhaddakaccānā (Yaśodharā), daughter of the Śākya Suprabuddha. According, to the *Lalitavistara*, her name was Gopā, and she was the daughter of the Śākya Daṇḍapāṇi. A son, named Rāhula, was born of this marriage.

The early texts like the *Sutta Nipāta* or the *Ariyapariesana sutta* simply state that, Siddhārtha realized the hindrances and the impurities of home life in contrast to the free and open life of a recluse. So he decided to retire from the world, and refrain from committing wrong in thought, word, or deed. At the age of twenty-nine, Siddhārtha left the palace secretly at night on his horse Kaṇṭhaka, discarded his princely robes, and adopted the life of an ascetic.

Later texts relate that, Śuddhodana had reasons to believe that his son had fallen in love with Yaśodharā, so he proposed their marriage. But Suprabuddha replied that, daughters of his family were married only to those who excelled in various arts and martial exercises. So a contest was held, in which all the Śākya youths came. Here Siddhārtha proved himself superior to all the competitors in the arts of literature and numbers, in wrestling and archery, and in all the sixty-four arts and sciences. Then Suprabuddha betrothed his daughter to Siddhārtha, and in due course, the marriage was celebrated with due pomp and pageantry.

Thereafter Siddhārtha's life flowed along the usual rounds of physical and intellectual pleasures that could be devised by love or art. But he was a Bodhisattva, so even as he sat and listened to the singing of the dancing girls, the cosmic Buddhas made audible to him the message; 'Recollect thy vow,—to save all living things; the time is at hand; this alone is the purpose of thy life.'

Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa: The Great Retirement

Besides the three palaces, Śuddhodana had made four pleasure-gardens for his son. One day Siddhārtha went out to visit one of them. Śuddhodana had taken precautions to clear the streets of any of the four melancholy sights which the astrologers had predicted would lead to his son's renunciation. But a god assumed the form of a decrepit old man and stood across the road. 'What kind of man is this?' the prince asked his charioteer, and when he heard the answer, he exclaimed: 'Shame on birth, since to everyone that is born old age must come.' And agitated at heart, he thereupon returned to his palace.

The matter being reported to Śuddhodana, he increased the number of guards, and made arrangements for more pleasure. But he could not prevent his son from seeing gods disguised as diseased men, and a dead body. At last one day he saw a monk, and in answer to his question, the charioteer said: 'Sir, this is the one who has retired from the world,' and inspired by

the gods, he proceeded to sing the praises of retirement from the world. The thought of retiring from the world was pleasing to the future Buddha, and this day he went on till he came to the park, unlike the three previous occasions, when he had retired to his palace.

While about to start for his return home, Siddhārtha received news that his wife had given birth to a son. And he exclaimed: 'An impediment (*rāhula*) has been born; a fetter has been born.' Śuddhodana heard this and named his grandson 'Rāhula'.

The same evening as Siddhārtha lay on his couch, richly dressed women, skilled in all manners of dance and song, and beautiful as celestial nymphs, gathered around him with all kinds of musical instruments, and endeavoured to please him with dances, songs, and music. But they failed to attract him, and the Prince fell into a slumber. The indifferent attitude of the Prince greatly annoyed the women. They put down their instruments and lay down. When Siddhartha awoke, he saw these women lying asleep in various disgusting poses. Their altered appearance increased his aversion to sensual pleasure, and he decided to go forth on his Great Retirement.

So he ordered his charioteer Channa, who was sleeping on the threshold, to bring his horse Kaṇṭhaka. As Channa left, Siddhārtha went to his wife's chamber to have a look at his new born son. He found his wife in deep slumber, with one of her hands covering the head of her son. If he raised her hand to see the face of the infant, she might awake, and prevent his departure. So he decided to become a Buddha, and then return and see his son.

Then he descended, and, on that full moon day of Āṣāḍha, at the age of twenty-nine, Siddhārtha mounted his horse for the last time. The gods came to his aid and opened the gates, and muffled the sound of the horse's hoofs. The steed bore him speedily to the river Anoma. Crossing the river, Siddhārtha revealed to Channa his intention of renouncing the world, and handed over to him all his ornaments. There he sheared his long locks and cast them into the river along with his jewelled crest. Then he discarded his fine dress made of exquisite Vārāṇasī fabric, and there appeared a divine messenger in the guise of a hunter clad in the russet robes of a forest sage. He, receiving the Prince's dress, rendered to him the dark red robes in return and disappeared.

Then Prince Siddhārtha consoled his favourite horse. The thought that henceforth he would see his Master no more was too much for the noble animal, and he died of a broken heart to be reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-three (*trayastriṁśa-svarga*). Channa wanted to follow his Master, but was induced to return. He came back to Kapilavastu weeping, and informed Śuddhodana the news of the great tragedy.

The Great Attainment

Now began the life of a wandering monk in search of a teacher, till he reached the outskirts of Vaiśālī, where lived the famous Sāṁkhya teacher

Ārāḍa Kālāma (Pali, Āḷāra Kālāma). It is likely that, hailing from the city which bore the name of the founder of the doctrine, Siddhārtha had some knowledge of the Sāṁkhya doctrine, so that he sought out Ārāḍa Kālāma to become his disciple. He stayed with Ārāḍa Kālāma for some time, and realized the seventh stage of meditation (*ākiñcanyāyatana*=sphere of desire-lessness or nothingness). But he was not satisfied, and left Ārāḍa Kālāma's hermitage to become the disciple of Rudraka Rāmaputra (Pali, Uddaka Rāmaputta), who lived on the outskirts of Rājagṛha, then the capital of Magadha.

On his way to Rājagṛha, while he was staying at the Pāṇḍava hill, King Bimbisāra came to meet him. Charmed by the young monk, Bimbisāra offered him half his kingdom, but the Future Buddha refused and wended his way to Rudraka's hermitage. He became Rudraka's disciple, and found that the stage reached by this teacher was that of the highest meditation, but did not lead to final liberation. He left Rudraka.

He was now joined by five *brāhmaṇas*, namely Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya, Bhadrika, Vāṣpa, Aśvajit, and Mahānāman, who are collectively known as the *bhadravargīyas* (the happy group), or the *pañca-vargīkas* (the group of five). He led them towards Gaya, and settled down at Uruvilvā (Pali, Uruvela) near the river Nairañjanā (Pali, Neranjara, modern Lilanj).

Here, for nearly six years Gautama practised the most severe austerities, and came to be known as the Śākyamuni. At last he stopped all nourishment, and became emaciated almost like a skeleton. Then he perceived that mortification could not lead to enlightenment and liberation. He resolved to change his mode of asceticism, and to recover his physical strength.

As he raised his feeble body, his decayed vestments dropped from his shrunken frame. So he begged some robes from a *brāhmaṇa* and went out in search for food. He begged in the neighbouring villages, and lived on ordinary food. And his thirty-two physical characteristics as a great being reappeared, and the colour of his body became like unto gold. The five *brāhmaṇas*, however, felt disillusioned, and they left him, thinking that the Śākyamuni, who had given up his austerities, could be of as little use to them as a dew drop was to a man who wanted a bath.

At this time, there lived nearby a pious woman named Sujātā ('well born', lit. Eugènie). She had vowed to offer milk-rice to the god of the tree Ajāpāla in return for the boon of a worthy husband and a gifted son. Her prayer having been granted, Sujātā now had to fulfil her vow.

So on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, Sujātā resolved to make her offering, and, having prepared her milk-rice, she sent maid Pūrṇā (Pali, Puṇṇā) to make everything ready at the foot of the tree.

The previous night the Śākyamuni had four great dreams, and on considering their meanings reached the conclusion: 'Without doubt I shall become a Buddha this very day.' And early in the morning he came to that tree to await the hour to go begging.

Thither came Pūrṇā and saw the radiance from his body lighting up the whole tree with a golden colour. She ran back to her mistress who came there

with her pious offering in a golden bowl. This he accepted.[1] Then he took his bath in the Nairañjanā, in a spot called Supratiṣṭhita (Pali, Supatiṭṭhita), and divided Sujātā's offerings into forty-nine parts, one for each day of the next seven weeks. As he ate the first day's portion, his beauty returned.

After spending the noon under a *śāla* tree, he rose before evening, and went towards an *aśvattha* tree, which was to become famous as the *bodhi-druma* or the *bodhi-vṛkṣa* (Pali, *bodhi-rukkha*). On his way he met a *śrotriya* (Pali, *sotthiya*), who was carrying grass, and he gave the Future Buddha eight handfuls of grass. He then went round the Bo-tree, and sat on the side of the tree facing the east. As he sat down on the seat of the *kuśa* grass he resolved:

ih=āsane śuṣyatu me śarīram
tvag=asthi māṁsaṁ pralayaṁ ca yātu
aprāpya bodhiṁ bahu-janma durlabhaṁ
n=aiv=āsanāt pādam ekam gamiṣyāmi[2]

'Let my skin, my nerves, and my bones waste away, and let my life-blood dry, but never from this seat shall I stir until I have attained the supreme Enlightenment'.

This stern resolve disturbed Māra, the presiding deity of the phenomenal world. He saw his empire menaced by the 'enlightenment' which would free man from the bondage of the cycles of life and death. So Māra sent his army of demons to attack the Śākyamuni, but nothing could touch him. He remained immovable, protected as he was by the merits gained in his past life and by his *maitrī*. Then Māra challenged the Śākyamuni to prove his superiority over him. As witness to his merits, Māra called his host. The Śākyamuni, who was alone, called the Earth to be his witness. And drawing forth his right hand from under his priestly robe he stretched it out towards the mighty Earth and said: 'Are you witness or are you not to my having given a great seven-hundred-fold donation in my Vessantara existence?' And the mighty Earth thundered: 'I bear you witness!' with a hundred, a thousand, a hundred thousand roars as if to overwhelm the army of Māra.

Then a mighty elephant fell upon his knees before the Great Being, and the followers of Māra fled in all directions.

Thus defeated for the second time, Māra sent him his three daughters: Tṛṣṇā (Pali, Tanha=thirst), Arati or Prīti ('discontent' or 'gaiety'), and Rāga or Rati ('desire' or 'voluptuousness'). They could not disturb the Bodhisat-

[1]In the autobiographical *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, p. 164 ff.) there is no reference to Sujātā's offering or Siddhārtha's experiments in ascetism, though the latter is mentioned in other *suttas* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. The *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* states that, after leaving Rudraka, Siddhārtha went to Uruvilvā where he found a charming spot with river water almost overflowing the banks, and within easy reach of the village. Seated at this spot, after intense exertion, he became Buddha.

[2]This verse was inscribed by Narendranath on the wall of the room in which he meditated. Later as Swami Vivekananda he once meditated in Bodh-Gaya with some of his brother disciples. He seems to have been greatly influenced by Buddha.

tva's tranquillity. Abashed and filled with shame, they departed praying for the fruition of his labour, so that he might deliver all man.

Even while the sun was above the horizon, the Bodhisattva sank into progressively deeper meditation. Soon after the full moon rose on that Vaiśākha evening. During the first watch of the night, he crossed the four stages of meditation which freed his soul from the operation of the objective conditions on his mind.[1] During the second watch, he discovered with the 'divine eye' his former existence as well as those of others. Thus he ascertained the inexorable return to the misery of their existence. In the third watch, he grasped the perfect understanding of the doctrine of *pratītya-samutpāda* (dependent origination). Gradually he found out the means of destroying the results of past action and arresting the course of action in this life, and became possessed of the 'four noble truths'. Then at the break of the day, he became Buddha ('the awakened', usually translated as 'the perfectly enlightened').[2] Then broke from his lips the song of attainment:

Through births' and rebirths' endless round
I sought in vain the builder of the edifice
What misery!—birth incessantly!
O builder, I have found thee
This fabric thou shalt ne'er rebuild;
Broken are all thy beams
And pointed-roof shattered
My mind has passed into the stillness of *nirvāṇa*
It has attained the end of all desires.

The First Seven Weeks

Buddha remained seated on the same seat for one week. During the next week, he contemplated with a steadfast gaze in memory of which a sanctuary was built there called the *animiṣa-locana-caitya*. During the third week, he

[1]There are four stages of *dhyāna* or meditation. The first stage leads to the expulsion of desires and bad thoughts which are replaced by joy (*prīti*) and happiness (*sukha*) being the results of the acts of discrimination and discernment (*viveka* and *vitarka* and *vicāra*). The second stage leads to complete suppression (*upaśama*) of intellectual activities and attainment of complete serenity (*adhyātma samprasāda*) and polarized mentation (*cetaso ekotibhāva*) which is followed by *samādhi*, cheerfulness, and bliss. In the third stage, there is suppression of passion (*virāga*). The person then becomes imperturbable (*upekṣaka*) retaining the presence of the mind (*smṛta*), fully cognizant (*samprajñāna*), experiencing bliss in his own body. He is then in a condition of beatitude without discursive thoughts and joyous excitement.

[2]This event is known as the *abhisambodhi* (supreme and complete awakening) or *samyak-sambodhi* (Pali, *sammasambodhi* perfect and complete awakening). The root *budh* from which the word *buddha* is derived means both 'to know' and 'to wake up' or 'awake'; hence the word *buddha* can mean either 'awakened' or 'enlightened'. It should be noted that the word '*buddhi*', which means 'intellect', 'understanding', or 'intelligence', is also derived from the root *budh*. It is practically impossible to translate the word *buddha*. In effect it means that Buddha's intellect is ever awake and watchful so that his mind cannot stray, that is, a part of his psyche is constantly meditating.

walked to and fro on a promenade which Hiuen Tsang saw in the seventh century, and which was later excavated by General Cunningham. For the next seven days, he remained seated near the same place and reviewed in detail all that is taught in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, as well as the whole doctrine of causality. The fifth week Buddha meditated under the tree where Sujātā had offered him food. Next week he spent in meditation near the lake Mucalinda; a torrential rain broke out, but he was protected by the snake Mucalinda. Buddha passed the seventh week under a tree called Rājātana (Rājāyatana, 'abode of kings').

During this period, Māra's daughters again tried to tempt Buddha, and they were transformed into haggard old women, but regained their former beauty due to Buddha's magnanimity. Māra then tried to convince Buddha that, he should immediately enter into *nirvāṇa* without preaching the doctrine which he had just discovered. However, ultimately Buddha decided that, he would not enter into *nirvana* before setting up an organised community of men who understood his teachings.

First Turning of the Wheel of Law

At the end of seven weeks, the merchant brothers, Trapusa (Pali, Tapussa or Tapassu) and Bhallika (Pali, Bhallika or Bhalluka), chanced to come upon Buddha as they were passing with their caravan of five hundred chariots from Orissa to Central India. Respectfully they offered him sweets made of honey and sugarcane, which Buddha received in a stone bowl which appeared miraculously. The two brothers then accepted the new faith.

Buddha was again assailed by doubt. Would it be worth his while to try to expound to the world the deep and subtle truth which he had realized? Then at the intervention of Brahmā, he agreed to preach at least for the benefit of those who were spiritually advanced. At first he thought of his two teachers, Ārāḍa Kālāma, and Rudraka Rāmaputra, but realized that they were dead. He then thought of the five *brāhmaṇas* who had left him, and took the road to Vārāṇasī.

On the way, Buddha met an Ājīvika, who refused to listen to him. Then he came to the Ganges, but the ferryman refused to take him as he could not pay the due. He crossed the river by his supernatural powers and reached Vārāṇasī.

The group of five was then living at an hermitage variously called Mṛgadāva, Mṛgadāya, Ṛṣivadana, or Ṛṣipatana (Pali, Isipatana). They were engaged in the most severe austerities, and seeing the Buddha approach them, they decided not to rise to welcome him, nor to show him any civility. However, as Buddha approached, they got up in spite of themselves. He then announced that, he had become a Tathāgata,[1] and declared that he had found

[1]The word *tathāgata* has been variously interpreted, for the original meaning of the word is not known. Usually the word is translated as 'thus (*tathā*) came (*āgata*) or gone (*gata*).' It seems, however, that the word denotes 'bearer of truth.' Buddha always referred to himself as 'Tathāgata', and his followers did so quite frequently.

the truth which they had been seeking.

That night Buddha explained to them his doctrine of the Middle Path which was the Noble Eightfold Path, namely, 1. Right Views, 2. Right Aspirations, 3. Right Speech, 4. Right Conduct, 5. Right Mode of Livelihood, 6. Right Effort, 7. Right Mindfulness, and 8. Right Rapture. He also taught them the four Noble Truths: 1. There is suffering; 2. there are causes which lead to suffering; 3. there is an end to suffering; 4. there is a way to lead to the end of the suffering. Buddha's mission in life was to reveal that way.

This was the *dharma-cakra-pravartana*, 'the turning of the wheel of the law.'

Organization of the Saṅgha

Within a few days, Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya, and following him, Vāṣpa, Bhadrika, Mahānāman and Aśvajit realized the truth and became *arhat*. This group of saints formed the nucleus of the *saṅgha*. Then came Yaśas or Yaśoda, the son of a Vārāṇasī banker. He went to Buddha and entered the *saṅgha* by repeating for the first time the famous formula:

Buddhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi
Dharmaṁ śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi
Saṅghaṁ śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi.

Nine other members of the same family joined the *saṅgha*, and it gradually expanded till the number rose to sixty.

At the end of the rainy season, which was spent at Ṛṣipatana, Buddha dispersed his followers. They were to go out singly, and preach his doctrine. He himself returned to Uruvilvā, and on his way converted a group of five men who had been cheated by a harlot whom they were trying to find out. Buddha advised them to seek themselves rather than the woman. These five disciples are also known as *bhadra-vargīya*.

At Uruvilvā and at Gaya, Buddha converted the three Kāśyapa brothers famous for their Vedic learning and proficiency in Vedic sacrifices. With them came to the fold their one thousand disciples. Addressing them Buddha delivered at Gayasirsa (Gaya scarp) his famous fire sermon:

'All things, O monks, are on fire. And what O monks, are all these things which are on fire?

'The eye, O monks, is on fire; forms are on fire; eye-consciousness is on fire; and whatever sensation, pleasant, unpleasant, or indifferent, originates in dependence on impressions received by the eye, that also is on fire . . . .'

'And with what are these on fire?

'With the fire of passion, say I, with the fire of hatred, with the fire of infatuation; with birth, old age, death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief, and despair are they on fire.

'The ear is on fire; sounds are on fire; . . . . the nose is on fire; odours are on fire; . . . . the tongue is on fire; tastes are on fire; . . . . the body is on fire; things tangible are on fire; . . . . mind is on fire; ideas are on fire; . . . . mind

consciousness is on fire; impressions received by the mind are on fire; and whatever sensation, pleasant, unpleasant, or indifferent, originates in dependence on impressions received by the mind is also on fire.

'And with what are these on fire ?

'With the fire of passion, say I, with the fire of hatred, with the fire of infatuation; with birth, old age, death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief, and despair are they on fire.'[1]

All those who heard this sermon became *arhats.*

Buddha had promised to Bimbisāra that he would communicate to him the truth after he had realized it. So he now left for Magadha along with all his disciples, and arrived at Rājagṛha, where he settled at the Yaṣṭivana (Pali, Laṭṭhi or Yaṭṭhivana), also known as the Veṇuvana (Pali, Veḷuvana). Here Bimbisāra heard Buddha's doctrine, and became his disciple. He donated the Veṇuvana to Buddha and the *saṅgha.*

At this time, there lived in Rājagṛha a famous religious teacher named Sañjaya or Sañjayin. His two principal disciples were Upatiṣya Śāriputra (Pali, Upatissa, 'son of Tissa and Śāri') and Kalita Mudgalāyana (Pali, Mogallana; 'of Mudgala *gotra*'). One day Śāriputra met Aśvajit, and inquired about the doctrine which Buddha was preaching. Aśvajit's reply in a single verse may be called the 'epitome of Buddhism,' and is the most widely inscribed tenet of the faith. He said :

Pali : *ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesāṁ hetuṁ tathāgato āha*
tesāñ ca yo nirodho evaṁ vādi mahā-samaṇo
Sanskrit : *ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā hetuṁ teṣāṁ tathagato hy=avadat*
teṣāṁ ca yo nirodho evaṁ vādi mahā-śramaṇaḥ
'Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause
The cause has been told by Tathāgata
And their cessation (suppression) likewise
The Great Śramaṇa has revealed.'

Śāriputra was converted on the spot, and he hastened to Maudgalāyana, and when the latter heard this verse, he too became a devotee of Buddha. They then joined the fraternity, and became two of the most famous among Buddha's disciples.

Also at this time Buddha converted Mahākāśyapa (Pali, Mahākassapa). Buddha had Mahākāśyapa share his seat, presaging the latter's role after his death.

During this period, Śuddhodana eager to see his son, had sent him many messengers. At last he sent Buddha's playmate Udāyin to induce him to return to his home. Udāyin himself became a convert, but managed to induce Buddha to go to Kapilavastu. For, it was in accordance with the rule that, the 'brethren' should travel from place to place. Of the eight months that had passed since his 'awakening,' the first rainy season was spent at Sarnath,

[1]*Mahāvagga*, I, 21, translated by H.C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translation*, Cambridge 1953, p. 351.

the next three months at Uruvelā (Gaya), and two months at Rājagṛha. Now he left Rājagṛha, and after a journey of two months reached Kapilavastu.

The Śākyas accorded him a splendid reception, but since he was younger than most of them, they did not bow to him. Then some miracles happened, and all the Śākyas, including King Śuddhodana, bowed to him, and became his disciple.

Śuddhodana had at first expressed strong disapproval of Buddha's begging for his food.[1] After his conversion, however, he led the Blessed One and his followers to his palace and served them with food. After the meal was over, all the women of the palace, except Rāhula's mother, came and paid homage to Buddha. So, he went to her chamber, and warned his disciples: 'Say not anything, if she touches your Lord, do not forbid her. For her grief is so intense that she may break her heart.' So Buddha, who never called on anyone, want to meet his wife. And she came to him, placed her hands upon his ankles, and laid her face upon his feet. Śuddhodana informed Buddha of the austere life she had been leading since his departure. Buddha approved her conduct, and departed.

One day Rāhula's mother dressed her son in fine clothes, and sent him to Buddha instructing the child: 'Look at that Monk, my son, attended by so many brethren. He is your father, who was the possessor of a great treasure, which we have not seen since he left us. Go now and say: "O father, I am thy son, and I have need of the treasure—give me the treasure, for a son is heir to the father's property." The boy went to Buddha and said as his mother had taught him: 'O Monk, give to me my inheritance.' Then Buddha asked Śāriputra to ordain Rāhula into the order.

Śuddhodana was deeply grieved, and on his remonstrance, Buddha promised that henceforth no son would be received into the order without the permission of his father and mother.

After spending some time at Kapilavastu, Buddha returned to Rājagṛha. On his way, at a place called Anupiya, he initiated several persons including his cousins Ānanda and Devadatta.

At Rajāgṛha, the fabulously rich merchant Anāthapiṇḍika became his disciple. At his request Buddha agreed to go to Anāthapiṇḍika's home town, Śrāvastī (Pali, Sāvatthi). Anāthapiṇḍika purchased a famous grove from Prince Jeta for as many pieces of gold as would cover the whole ground. Prince Jeta allowed the merchant to get the Jeta-vana, and returned him the price, so his name continued to be associated with the famous *vihāra*. In Jeta-vana, Anāthapiṇḍika built a pleasant chamber for the Master, and separate cells for the eighty elders around it, and many other residences with long halls and open roofs, and terraces to walk by night and day and reservoirs of water.

[1]This was not only a dishonourable conduct for a prince, but under the *varṇāśrama* rules only a *brāhmaṇa* was entitled to beg, that is, receive a gift. For the proper conduct of the *kṣatrlya* princes see A.K. Majumdar, *Economic Background of the Epic Society*, Calcutta, 1977, pp. 94-9.

When the buildings were complete, Anāthapiṇḍika sent a messenger to Rājagṛha and Buddha came to Śrāvastī. Anāthapiṇḍika asked him as to what he should do with the grove. 'Bestow it upon the *saṅgha*'; Buddha said. And Anāthapiṇḍika pouring water from a golden vessel into the Master's hand confirmed the gift. The dedication festival lasted nine months. Another pious lady of a rich merchant's family dedicated to the order the monastery of Pūrvārāma (Pali, Pubbarāma).

Buddha spent the next three rainy seasons at the Veṇuvana monastery. During the fifth rainy season, when he was residing at the Kuṭāgāra Hall of the Great Forest near Vaiśālī, the Śākyas and the Koliyas got[1] involved in a pointless dispute over river water and were about to start hostilities. Buddha convinced them of their folly, and peace was restored. As recompense two hundred and fifty Śākyas and the same number of Koliyas were selected to join the *saṅgha*. They did so after obtaining permission from their parents, but their wives were filled with grief.

About this time, Suddhodana fell mortally ill, and Buddha came to Kapilavastu to see his father. He again preached to the old man, who then attained *nirvāṇa*. Soon after he died.

Then the widowed Mahāprajāpati Gautamī set her mind upon joining the order.[2] So one day, while Buddha was still at Kapilavastu, she approached him, 'and standing respectfully at one side, Mahāprajāpati Gautamī spoke to the Blessed One as follows :

' "Pray, Reverend Sir, let women retire from household life to the houseless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by The Tathāgata." '

' "Enough, O Gautamī." the Tathāgata replied, "do not ask that women retire from household life to the houseless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline of The Tathāgata." '

A second and a third time did the Gautamī repeat her prayer, and received the same answer: Buddha would not permit women to join his order, and the old lady retired weeping.

Buddha then left Kapilavastu and went to Vaiśālī where he spent the fifth *vassa*. Here Ambapālī, the famous courtesan, donated him the mango grove.

The great Śākya matron was not deterred by her foster-son's three refusals. She had her hair cut off, put on yellow garments, and with a number of Śākya women departed towards Vaiśālī. Going from place to place they reached the monastery near Vaiśālī where Buddha was residing. 'And Mahāprajāpati Gautamī with swollen feet, and covered with dust, sorrowful, sad, and tearful, stood weeping outside in the entrance porch.' The plight of the venerable old lady moved Ānanda, and when he heard her errand and previous experience he was overwhelmed with pity for her.

Ānanda hastened to the Master and submitted: 'Reverend Sir, here this Mahāprajāpati Gautamī with swollen feet, and covered with dust, sorrowful, sad, and tearful, stands weeping outside in the entrance porch, and says

[1]For the Koliyas see above I, p. 115.

[2]What follows is from the *Cullavagga* tr. by H.C. Warren, op. cit., pp. 44-47.

that The Blessed One permitteth not that women retire from household life to the houseless one under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by The Tathāgata. Pray, Reverend Sir, let women retire from the household life to the houseless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by The Tathāgata.'

'Enough, Ānanda,' Buddha said, 'do not ask that women retire from household life to the houseless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by The Tathāgata.'

Twice more did Ānanda repeat his submission and received the same answer twice.

Then Ānanda thought of proceeding 'by another route,' and asked whether women were capable of becoming *arhat*. Buddha admitted that they were. Then Ānanda said:

'Since, then, Reverend Sir, women are competent, if they retire from household life to the houseless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by The Tathāgata, to attain to the fruit of conversion, to attain to the fruit of once returning, to attain to the fruit of never returning, to attain to saintship,[1] consider Reverend Sir, how great a benefactress Mahā-Prajāpati Gautamī has been. She is the sister of the mother of The Blessed One, and as foster-mother, nurse, and giver of milk, she suckled The Blessed One on the death of his mother. Pray, Reverend Sir, let women retire from the household life to the houseless one under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by The Tathāgata.'

'If Ānanda, Mahā-Prajāpati Gautamī will accept eight weighty regulations, let it be reckoned to her as her ordination.'

Buddha then laid down the eight rules the first of which enjoined that, a 'nun of even a hundred years' standing shall salute, rise to meet, entreat humbly, and perform all respectful offices for a monk even he be but that day ordained.' The last two rules provided that, nuns were not to revile or abuse a monk, nor to reprove him officially, but a monk could revile or abuse a nun, or reprove her officially.

Then Ānanda went to the waiting Mahā-Prajāpati Gautamī and repeated to her the conditions on which women could enter the order, and asked her if she would accept these conditions and be ordained. She replied:

'Just as, O Ānanda, reverend sir, a woman or a man, youthful, young, and fond of ornament, having bathed his head, and obtained a wreath of blue lotuses, or a wreath of jasmine flowers, or a wreath of *atimukta* flowers, would take it up with both hands, and place it on the head, the noblest part of the body; in exactly the same way do I, O Ānanda, reverend sir, take up these eight weighty regulations, not to be transgressed as long as life shall last.'

Ānanda then went to Buddha and informed him that, the Gautamī had accepted the conditions, and had been ordained. And Buddha remarked:

'If Ānanda, women had not retired from household life to the houseless

[1]In his questions, which we have omitted. Ānanda had precisely asked whether the women could reach these stages, and Buddha had answered in the affirmative.

one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by The Tathāgata, religion, Ānanda, would long endure; a thousand years would the Good Doctrine abide. But since, Ānanda, women have now retired from the household life to the houseless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by The Tathāgata, not long, Ānanda, will religion endure; but five hundred years, Ānanda, will the Good Doctrine abide . . . '

It becomes difficult to follow the remaining period of Buddha's life chronologically. He constantly moved from place to place, preaching his doctrine, and took shelter in a monastery during the rainy season. The places where Buddha spent the *vassā* (the rainy season), and the places he visited included besides those mentioned above Gṛdhrakūṭa (near Rājagṛha), Nālandā (north east of Rājagṛha), and Saketa (six leagues from Śrāvastī). The westernmost country visited by Buddha was Verañjā (near Mathura), where he spent the twelfth *vassā*. Once he was invited by King Pradyota of Avanti, but he declined to go and deputed Mahākātyāyana (Pali, Mahākaccāyana), a native of the place, who made a few converts at Avanti. Buddha did not pass any *vassā* in Aṅga, though he visited Campā, Āpana, Asvapura, and Kajaṅgala.

During his peregrinations, Buddha discomfited several rival religious teachers by the display of his miraculous powers. His rivals then took to mean strategy to slander him, but all such attempts not only proved unsuccessful, their failure added to Buddha's glory.

Troubles also started in the community. Once when Buddha was residing at Kauśāmbī, violent disagreement broke out among his disciples on minor matters of discipline. As they refused to hearken to the Master's terms of reconciliation, he left them for a solitary life near Pārileyyaka. After some time he went to Śrāvastī. In the mean time, the citizens of Kauśāmbī had stopped giving alms to the recalcitrant monks, who then went to Buddha and accepted his decision. The quarrel had been started by a group of monks designated as Ṣaḍvargika (Pali, Chabbaggiya), and their faults as well as Buddha's decisions are given in the *Mahāvibhanga*.[1]

More serious were the attempts made on Buddha's life by his cousin Devadatta. Devadatta instigated Ajātaśatru to murder his father Bimbisāra, and he himself aspired to take the place of Buddha. As Buddha refused to abdicate in his favour, Devadatta attempted to murder Buddha, then aged seventy-two years, with the help of hired assassins. This plot miscarried, as the would-be murderers were converted by the sight of their intended victim. Devadatta then managed to let loose on Buddha a huge elephant named Nalagiri infuriated with drink, but the elephant quietened down at the sight of The Blessed One, and paid homage to him by kneeling down. Then Devadatta created a schism in the order by demanding that the monks should lead a more rigorous life by accepting only discarded clothes, they should refrain from taking fish and meat, and reside in forests. Buddha refused to entertain these demands, and Devadatta left for Vaiśālī accompanied with a

[1]The *Sutta Vibhaṅga* is divided into two parts: 1. Mahāvibhaṅga dealing with the usages of the monks and 2, Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga dealing with the usages for the nuns.

monk called Kokālika and five hundred new monks from Vṛjji (Pali, Vajji). However, Devadatta's schism had little or no effect on the community at large, and soon after he died vainly soliciting for Buddha's pardon.

During the seventh year of Ajātaśatru's reign, King Vīḍūḍabha of Kosala massacred the Śākyas. It was about this time that Ajātaśatru, who had become a convert, destroyed the Vajjis.[1] Before the hostilities began, Ajātaśatru had sent a messenger to Buddha to ask his opinion about Ajātaśatru's chance of success. It was on this occasion that The Blessed One gave a discourse on poity, while explaining to Ānanda his idea as to how a republic should be administered.[2]

In the year twenty (after 'awakening') Rāhula was definitely ordained by Buddha, when they visited Kapilavastu once more. Here his father-in-law Suprabuddha insulted him, and within a week was swallowed by the earth as Buddha had indeed predicted.

Some time later Jīvaka Kumārabhṛtya (Pali, Jivaka Kumarabhacca) became a disciple, and it was Jīvaka who introduced Ajātaśatru to Buddha. Once Jīvaka induced Ajātaśatru to pay a visit to Buddha in the famous Mango-grove donated by Jīvaka, on a full moon night. The unbroken silence of the grove aroused the suspicion of the king who feared an ambush and asked Jīvaka: 'You are playing no tricks, Jīvaka? You are not betraying me to my foes? How can it be that there should be no sound at all, not a sneeze, nor a cough, in so large an assembly, among one thousand two hundred and fifty brethren?' On Jīvaka's assurance, Ajātaśatru arrived at the assembly, calm as a clear lake, and burst out: 'Would that my son Udāyi Bhadda might have such calm as this assembly of the Brethren has.'

Buddha's Daily Life

The extreme points covered by Buddha in his wanderings was Śrāvastī (Sāhet Māhet) in the west except for a casual visit to Veranjā mentioned above, and Rājagṛha in the east. In the immediate neighbourhood of these two towns the *saṅgha* possessed numerous pleasant gardens with accommodation for the monks. The standard description of such a park given in the texts is: 'Not too far from, nor yet too near the town, well provided with entrances and exits, easily accessible to all people who enquire after it, with not too much of bustle of life by day, quiet by night, far from commotion and the crowds of men, a place of retirement, a good place for solitary meditation.'

Buddha rose very early in the morning. After finishing his morning ablutions, such as rinsing his mouth, he retired until it was time to go begging. Then he would put on his tunic, girdle, and robes, and taking his bowl, he would enter the village or the town for alms. Sometimes he went out alone, sometimes surrounded by a number of monks. When there was a previous invitation, he kept his appointment, otherwise, he, like his monks, walked

[1]For details see I, pp. 111, 120.
[2]ibid, p. 119.

with the alms-bowl in hand through the streets. As has been remarked: 'In the days when his reputation stood at its highest point and his name was named throughout India among the foremost names, one might day by day see that the man before whom kings bowed themselves, walking about, alms-bowl in hand, through streets and alleys, from house to house, and without uttering any request, with downcast look, stand silently waiting until a morsel of food was thrown in his bowl.'[1]

After his meal was over, Buddha would give a discourse to his hosts and any other person assembled there. 'Having shown this kindness to the multitude, he would rise from his seat, and return to the monastery.' Here he waited till all the monks had finished eating, and then he would retire to his room for a little rest.

In the afternoon he would come down to meet the monks and to answer their problems regarding meditational exercises. 'The Blessed One would assign them exercises suited to their several characters.' Then the monks left the Master, and retired to their respective abodes.

Buddha would then retire unless the local people gathered to see him. Then he would deliver them a sermon in the lecture-hall. After the sermon was over, and the assembly had left, Buddha had another bath, and retiring to his room sat in meditation. Again he came down and met the monks who had come from outside. 'And some would propound questions, some would ask for exercises in meditation, and some for sermon; and in granting their desires The Blessed One would complete the first watch of the night.'

The second watch of the night was spent in instructing the gods.

The last watch of the night was divided into three parts. During the first part he paced up and down to free himself from the discomfort of long hours of sitting. He lay down during the second part, while during the last part he was in deep meditation.

During the first twenty years after 'awakening', Buddha had no personal attendant permanently attached to him. One or the other monk carried his alms-bowl and cloak by turn. When Buddha was fifty-six, he addressed the monks and said: 'O Bhikkhus, I am now advanced in years, and some Bhikkhus when they have been told "Let us go this way," take another way, and some drop my bowl and cloak on the ground. Do you know of a Bhikkhu to be my permanent body-servant?' First Śāriputta, then Mogallāna, and then every monk present there volunteered to serve The Blessed One. Only Ānanda remained silent, and Buddha said: 'O Bhikkhus, Ānanda is not to be urged by others; if he knows of it himself, he will wait upon me.' Ānanda agreed provided Buddha granted him four boons, namely, 1. Buddha would accept invitations only through Ānanda; 2. he would be easy of access to Ānanda; 3. and to those whom Ānanda might bring; and 4. he should repeat

[1]Summary of Oldenberg's *Buddha*, English translation by W. Hoey, quoted by A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, New Delhi, 1975, p. 56. See also Buddhaghoṣa's *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* commentary (1.45) on the *Dīgha Nikāya* tr. by H.C. Warren, op. cit., pp. 91-5.

to Ānanda such doctrines as he deserved to hear again. All these favours were granted by The Blessed One, and from that day till the end Ānanda remained attached to Buddha as his attendant.

The Last Days

Buddha passed the rainy season of his seventy-ninth year at Rājagṛha, where Ajātaśatru's minister consulted him on the conquest of the Vṛjjis as stated above. He then came to Vaiśālī, where Āmrapāllī donated him her mansion. When the next rainy season approached, he told the monks to stay there, and, accompanied, by Ānanda, went to spend the *vassā* at Veṇugrāma (Pali, Velugāmaka). Then Śāriputra and Maudgalāyana died. Buddha himself was laid down by an attack of dysentery, and only his will power helped him to recover. He did not wish to pass away without taking leave of the order. When he had recovered, Ānanda expressed the wish that 'the Exalted One would not pass away until at least he had left instructions as touching the Order.' Buddha, however, replied that, he had no instructions to leave; neither did he lead the Brotherhood, nor were the Brothers dependent upon him. He had preached the truth, and expected each monk to be a lamp unto himself, and hold fast to the Truth as a lamp and refuge. 'And whosoever, Ānanda; either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the Truth, shall look not for refuge to anyone besides themselves—it is they, Ānanda, among my Bhikkhus who shall reach the very topmost height—but they must be anxious to learn.'

Consoling Ānanda, Buddha said: 'I too, O Ānanda, am now grown old, and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached my sum of days, I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart, Ānanda, can be kept going only with the help of thongs, so, methinks, the body of The Tathāgata can only be kept going by bandaging it up .... Ānanda, have I not declared to you that it is in the nature of all things near and dear unto us, that we must separate ourselves from them? How, then Ānanda, can this be possible—whereas anything which is born, brought into being, contains within itself the seeds of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist.' Buddha then declared that, he would pass away at the end of three months from that day.

Then, accompanied with Ānanda, Buddha went to the Kūṭāgāra Hall in the Great Forest. There the Brethren Assembled, and The Blessed One announced his approaching end.

Mahāparinirvāṇa

From the Kūṭāgāra Hall in the Great Forest, Buddha with Ānanda and a group of monks went to Pāpā (Pali, Pāvā). Here he accepted the invitation of Cuṇḍa the ironsmith, and had his last meal at this ironsmith's house. The meal served included a dish called '*sūkara-maddava*,' which may mean a pre-

paration of pork, preserved pork, or some vegetables of which the pigs are very fond. After taking this meal, Buddha had an acute attack of diarrhoea, but he insisted on going to Kuśinagara (Pali, Kusinārā), the capital of the Mallas. Midway he felt exhausted, and asked Ānanda to give him water for drinking, which Ānanda brought from the neighbouring stream, where he found the water to be running clear though a large caravan had just crossed the ford.

Then Buddha spoke to Putkasa (Pali, Pukkusa), a former disciple of Ārāḍa Kālāma. Putkasa was converted when he found that Buddha was capable of more intense concentration than Ārāḍa Kālāma. Putkasa gave him two robes of the colour of gold, and when The Blessed One wore them, the splendour of the golden cloth was eclipsed by the effulgence radiating from his body which shone as brilliantly on the day of the Parinirvāṇa as it did on the day he attained the 'Awakening.'

A little later, Buddha took bath in the river Kakutstha (Pali, Kakutthā, modern Kasia, fifty kilometres east of Gorakhpur). Then he again set on his painful journey to Kuśinagara, and, after a few halts, arrived at the *śāla* grove of the Mallas near the further bank of the Hiraṇyavatī (Pali, Hirannavati) river.

There, at Buddha's bidding, Ānanda spread a couch with its head to the north between two *śāla* trees. And Buddha, who declared himself weary, lay down on his right side as he was wont to do after the manner of a lion, and placing foot on foot, remained mindful and conscious. And though it was not the flowering season, the two *śāla* trees suddenly burst forth into bloom, and the blossoms scattered themselves over the body of The Tathāgata in silent worship. Also heavenly Erythrina flowers and sandal-wood powder fell from the sky and scattered on the body of The Blessed One in his worship. Music in the sky and heavenly choruses were heard to sing his praise.

The Blessed One pointed these signs of veneration to Ānanda and added: 'But, it is not by this Ānanda, that The Tathāgata is honoured, esteemed, revered, worshipped, or venerated; but the monk, or the nun, or the lay disciple, or the female lay disciple, who shall fulfil all the greater and lesser duties, conducting himself with propriety and in accordance with precepts, by him is The Tathāgata honoured, esteemed, revered, and worshipped with the best of worship. Accordingly, Ānanda, train yourselves and fulfil all the greater and lesser duties and conduct yourselves with propriety and in accordance with the precepts.'

At the bidding of Buddha, Ānanda then went to the nearby monastery and announced weeping the impending Parinirvāṇa (Pali, Parinibbāna). Then the monks gathered round Buddha. He then sent for Ānanda, consoled him again, and then delivered his last sermon to the monks. He then sent Ānanda to the city of Kuśinagara to announce his Parinirvāṇa to the Mallas. The Mallas, men, women, and children, came crying, and they were admitted to The Blessed One, each family in turn, announced by Ānanda, who thus paid their last homage to him.

Now there came a wandering ascetic called Subhadra (Pali, Subhadda) who wanted to have his doubts resolved. But Ānanda barred the way because The Master was weary though the ascetic thrice requested permission to see The Tathāgata. The Blessed One overheard their conversation, and bid Ānanda to let Subhadra approach him. Subhadra's question was whether Purāṇa Kāśyapa, Makhali Gosāla, Ajita Keśakambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhaputta and Nīgaṇṭha Nātaputta had or had not discovered the truth. Buddha refused to answer the question, and instructed him in the 'noble eight-fold path', and declared:

'What time my age was twenty-nine, Subhadda,
I left the world to seek the summum-bonum.
Now fifty years or more have passed, Subhadda,
Since I renounced the world and lived ascetic
Within the Doctrine's pale, that rule of conduct
Outside of which no genuine monk existeth.'[1]

Subhadda then begged The Blessed One for ordination. Buddha told him that a person already ordained into another community had to remain on probation for four months before he could be admitted to the *saṅgha*. Subhadda expressed his willingness to wait not only for four months but for four years. 'Then The Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda: "Well, then, Ānanda, receive Subhadda into the Order.", And Subhadra received ordination.

'The Blessed One addressed the venerable Ānanda:

"It may be that Ānanda that some of you will think, 'The word of the Teacher is a thing of the past, we have now no teacher.' But that Ānanda, is not the correct view. The Doctrine and Discipline which I have taught and enjoined upon you is to be your teacher when I am gone. But whereas, now, Ānanda, all the monks address each other with the title of 'brother', not so must they address each other after I am gone. A senior monk, Ānanda, is to address a junior monk either by his given name, or by his family name, or by the title of 'brother'; a junior monk is to address a senior monk with the title "reverend sir", or 'venerable'. If the Order, Ānanda, wish to do so, after I am gone they may abrogate all the lesser and minor precepts. On Channa,[2] Ānanda, after I am gone, the higher penalty is to be inflicted."

"Reverend Sir, what is the higher penalty?"

"Let Channa, Ānanda, say what he likes, he is not to be spoken to nor admonished nor instructed by the monks."

The Blessed One then turned to the monks and requested the congregation to elucidate from him any doubt or perplexity which they may have had respecting either Buddha, or the Doctrine, or the Order, or the Path, or the course of conduct. 'Ask any question, O monks, and suffer not that afterwards ye feel remorse saying, "Our Teacher was present with us, but we

[1] *Mahaparinibbāna-sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* tr. by H.C. Warren, op. cit., p. 106.
[2] Not to be confused with Prince Siddhārtha's charioteer.

failed to ask him all our questions.'"

Three times did The Blessed One invite the congregation to ask him questions, and they remained silent. Then he permitted each monk to ask him questions individually, but none spoke. The monks remained silent, and Ānanda declared exultantly that not a monk had any doubt. Buddha assured that he knew it and added: 'For of all these five hundred monks, Ānanda, the most backward one has become converted, and is not liable to pass into a lower state of existence, but is destined necessarily to attain supreme wisdom.'

Then The Blessed One addressed the monks:

'And now, O monks, I take my leave of you; all the constituents of being are transitory; work out your salvation with diligence.'

These were the last words of Buddha.

He passed into *nirvāṇa* in the third watch of the full moon night of Kārttika.

Funeral and the Distribution of Relics

Ānanda announced that Buddha was dead, and there was loud lamentation from some monks who were not yet free from the bonds of passion. But those of the Brethren who were free from passions remained calm and composed. One of them named Aniruddha reminded the congregation of Buddha's teaching that everything is impermanent, and calm was restored.

The next morning, Ānanda informed the Mallas of Kuśinagara that The Blessed One had passed away. They were deeply affected. Then they brought perfumes, garlands, and the musicians to the *śāla* grove where Buddha's mortal remains were lying. For six days they paid honour and homage to The Blessed One with dancing, chanting, music, garlands, and perfumes. Then they brought the body to Kuśinagara, and on the seventh day, draped it in a fine cotton fabric, and placed it in an iron vessel filled with oil, and put the vessel on a pyre of perfumed wood. But every time the Mallas tried to light the pyre, the flame went out. Then Mahākāśyapa arrived, and Buddha's feet came out of its covers, so that they could pay proper obeisance. Mahākāśyapa walked thrice round the body, and bowed in reverence at the feet of The Blessed One and the funeral pyre burst into flames.

After the body was burnt, streams of water fell from the sky, and the bones remained. The Mallas collected the bones and intended to keep them. But the neighbouring states sent in their claims to the relics. King Ajātaśatru of Magadha the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, the Śākyas who had escaped the massacre by Vīḍūḍabha, the Bulakas (Pali, Bulis), the Calakalpas (Pali, Allakappas), Krauḍyas of Rāmagrāma (Koliyas of Rāmagāma), the Mallas of Pāpā, and the *brāhmaṇas* of Viṣṇudvīpa (Veṭhadīpa) sent their men to collect a share of the relics. The Mallas of Kuśinagara at first refused to part with the remains, but found themselves in a perilous position against the coalition, headed by so powerful a monarch like Ajātaśatru. Happily the *brāhmaṇa* Dhūmrasagotra (or Droṇa, Pali, Doṇa) reminded the parties of Buddha's teaching of forbearance, and induced them to give away a part of the relics. So the bones were divided into eight parts, the *brāhmaṇa* received the urn, and the

Moriyas of Pipphalivana, who arrived late collected the ashes. Ten *stūpas* were raised over the relics, eight covering the bones, one the urn, and another the ashes of Buddha's body.

BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Buddhism gave birth to a vast literature both in Indian and non-Indian languages, such as Chinese, Tibetan, and Japanese. Of these only a brief outline of the Indian Buddhist works can be given here.

In India, the Buddhist literature was written in Pali, mixed Sanskrit, and pure Sanskrit. The texts of the Hinayāna schools are in Pali and mixed Sanskrit, while those of the Mahāyāna schools are in mixed and pure Sanskrit. Several Sanskrit texts have been found in Gilgit, but it is remarkable that in the rest of India only one Sanskrit Buddhist text has been found, namely the *Mañjusrīmūlakalpa*.

The Buddhist texts are classified into two groups: canonical, and non-canonical. The former are said to be *Buddha-vacana*, or the 'words of Buddha,' the latter being *Buddha-śāsana*, or the 'precepts of Buddha.'

PALI LITERATURE

Canonical Literature

According to tradition, immediately after the last rites of Buddha were performed, his disciples gathered in a Council at Rājagṛha to recapitulate and fix his teachings in order to prepare a collection, or Canon. This was followed by other Councils as has been described below.

Fragments of Sanskrit canonical texts have been discovered, but the extant texts are in Pali. The origin of the word 'Pali', as well as of the language itself are obscure, but most probably Pali was not the language of Magadha. Therefore it is not very likely for Buddha to have spoken in Pali, though the Pali texts may contain the renderings of his sayings from a sister dialect.

The *Vinaya-piṭaka* (II.139) has recorded Buddha as saying: *anujānāmi . . . sakāya niruttiyā Buddha-vacanaṁ pariyāpuṇituṁ*. This has been taken by Oldenberg, Winternitz, Lin etc., to mean: 'I prescribe everyone to learn the words of Buddha in his own language.' But according to Buddhaghosa, followed by Childers, Geiger and others, *nirutti* should mean 'in Buddha's own dialect', while according to Filliozat the sentence should be rendered as: 'I prescribe that the words of Buddha should be taught according to his own interpretation.' Arguments may be advanced in favour of each of these views, but it is extremely difficult to say as to which is the correct one.

Whatever may be the interpretation of this sentence, it should be remem-

bered that Buddha himself preached within a comparatively small area. Several dialects were spoken within that area, and Buddha probably preached in more than one dialect. His disciples who travelled further, had to preach in the local languages or dialects which could have been quite different from that adopted by Buddha. Hence there arose differences among his followers soon after Buddha's death.

It is also impossible to say as to the language or dialect in which the Buddhist Canon was first written. According to the *Mahāvaṁśa* and other Ceylonese traditions, Aśoka sent his son (or brother) Mahendra to propagate Buddhism in Ceylon. He was followed by his sister, Saṅghamitrā. Up to the reign of the Ceylonese king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi the sacred scriptures of Buddhism, as originally recited by Mahendra, were committed to memory and recited. But during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, whose date is variously given as 101-77 BC, 86-46 BC, and 29-17 BC, a Council was held in Ceylon. It was feared that Buddhist religion was threatened by the general decline in morals, war, and famine, therefore the *mahātheras* assembled at this Council decided to commit to writing the entire Canon and their commentaries. This was done and after revision and recasting, the texts and the commentaries were arranged subjectwise. At the end of the Council the texts along with the *Aṭṭha-kathās* ('explanations of the meaning' or 'commentaries') were inscribed on palm-leaves, and the texts were checked over a hundred times. The following description of the Pali Canon is of these texts and commentaries, which went from Ceylon to Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Laos.

If the Ceylonese tradition is taken as generally historical, then it would appear that when Mahendra went to Ceylon, the written texts were not available to him, and the scriptures had to be committed to memory. This should not cause surprise when it is remembered that the Vedas were put in writing only in recent times. But there was a significant difference between the Vedas and the Pali Canon. The pronunciation of Vedic Sanskrit was fixed and was unalterable, hence the Vedic texts could be handed down from generation to generation in a pure form. The Pali texts on the contrary could easily become corrupt and, as the Ceylonese tradition maintains, it was precisely for this reason that a Council was held which decided to write down the Canon and give the texts an unalterable form.

Thus according to the Buddhist tradition, the Pali Canon, which consist of three *piṭakas*, were compiled shortly after the death of Buddha, and written down during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi of Ceylon. This gives two limiting dates for the composition of the *piṭakas*. But while the lower date is acceptable, the upper date is doubtful, though it is evident that by the third century BC a corpus of sacred texts called the *piṭakas* had taken shape. The generally accepted theory is that, the *Vinaya-piṭaka* was formed by adding new rules to the *Pātimokkha* most of which go back to Buddha's time. But the *Pātimokkha* is not a part of the Canon, and could only have been a collection of disciplinary rules and not their basis or nucleus. The principal parts of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, in any case, could have been compiled in a

Council after Buddha's death. The model of discipline having been fixed, detailed rules could be developed later, which would be based on the ideas preached by Buddha. However, the *Parivāra* portion of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* is undoubtedly a late text.

Similarly, for the *Sutta-piṭaka* there is no reason to believe that its earliest redaction was later than the *Vinaya's*, the presentation of the teachings of Buddha being no less important than the preservation of the disciplinary code. It does not follow, however, that all the *Sutta* texts were composed at the same time as a single Canon. From their internal evidence the truth seems to be just the reverse.

The *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* appears to be the latest of the three *piṭakas*. It not only comprises texts like the *Kathāvatthu* which even tradition ascribes to a period much later than Buddha's, but in contrast to the other two *piṭakas* it has a scholastic aspect which can hardly be attributed to Buddha. Moreover, the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* is not universally regarded as authentic. Its authority is disputed by the Sautrāntikas, and the Sarvāstivādins have an *Abhidhamma* in Sanskrit also consisting of seven texts but different from the Pali *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* texts.

Tripiṭaka (*Pali*, *Tipiṭaka*)

As indicated above, the Pali Canon consist of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Sutta-piṭaka*, and the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, and the Canon is known as the *Tripiṭaka*. The word '*piṭaka*' means a 'basket,' and the term *Tripiṭaka* is quite appropriate, for each *piṭaka* or 'basket' is a corpus of several texts.

There was an older classification of the Canon which classified the texts into nine *aṅgas* (limbs), namely:

1. *Sutta*: Prose texts always beginning with the introductory words: '*Evam me sutaṁ; ekaṁ samayaṁ bhagavā*. . .(name of the place). . . .*viharati* (Thus I have heard. Once the Lord was sojourning in. . . . ') and ending with the words: *idam avoca bhagavā, attamanā te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitam abhinandun ti* ('Thus said the Lord [which] satisfied the monks who were delighted by the discourse of the Lord).'
2. *Geyya*: passages in prose and verse.
3. *Veyyākaraṇa*: explanations and commentaries.
4. *Gāthā*: stanzas.
5. *Udāna*: pithy sayings, usually in verse.
6. *Itivuttaka*: short speeches in prose and verse beginning with the phrase *itivuttaka*' ('Thus it has been said', or 'Thus spake the Buddha).'
7. *Jātaka:* stories of former births of Buddha.
8. *Adbhuta-dhamma*: reports of miracles.
9. *Vedalla*: teachings in the form of questions and answers. This classification really pertains to the texts, and not to the Canon. Among these *aṅgas* only 1, 5, 6 and 7 are now in use. Therefore we have to refer to the three *piṭakas* as the Buddhist Canon.

Vinaya-piṭaka

The Buddhists place the *Vinaya-piṭaka* at the head of the Canon. It contains the rules of monastic discipline and the circumstances under which each rule was promulgated. The *Vinaya-piṭaka* consists of the following texts :

i. *Sutta-vibhaṅga* consisting of

a. *Mahā-vibhaṅga* (great division) or *Bhikkhu-vibhaṅga* (division concerning the monks), and

b. *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga* (division concerning the nuns).

ii. *Khandhakās* (sections) consisting of

a. *Mahāvagga* (the great group or the great section), and

b. *Cullavagga* (the small group or the small section).

iii. *Parivāra* or *Parivarapatha*

i. The words '*Sutta-vibhaṅga*' means the 'explanation of the *suttas*,' which in the present case means the *Pātimokkha*. In other words the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* is a commentary on the *Pātīmokkha*. As stated above, the *Pātimokkha* is not a part of the Canon, but it is the fundamental text of Buddhist discipline. It contains a list of transgressions against the rules of discipline together with the corresponding atonement. Probably the original text contained only 152 rules, but later they were extended to 227 when the present *Vinaya-piṭaka* was composed, for it comments on 227 rules. The *Mahā-vibhaṅga* consists of eight chapters corresponding to the eight classes or breaches of discipline. A similar but shorter *Patimokkha* was later compiled for the nuns; its commentary is known as the *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga*.

a. The *Mahā-vibhaṅga* comments on 227 *Pātimokkha* rules. Each clause or article is explained word for word, with an introduction relating where and on what occasion Buddha prescribed the rule under consideration. The occasions were caused by some faults committed by a monk. The guilty ones were often a group of six (bad) monks called *chabbaggīya* (*ṣaḍvargika*).

There were six categories of offences:

1. *Pārājikā*: This concerned the worst offences such as (a) lack of continence, (b) theft, (c) murder or abetment of murder, (d) exaggeration of one's power to perform miracles etc. Such transgressions were punishable with expulsion.

2. *Saṅghādisesa* (*Saṅghāvaśeṣa*) : Thirteen offences under this category arose out of relation with a woman, construction of a hermitage, false accusation, dissensions in the *saṅgha*, and obstinacy. The guilty monk was expelled from the order, but could be re-admitted if found admissible by a chapter of at least twenty monks.

3. *Aniyata*: The word means 'uncertain,' and refers to two cases which required circumstantial evidence to ascertain the offence.

4. *Nissaggiya*: This deals with 26 offences arising out of appropriation by monks of certain non-permissible articles. The offending monks would be absolved if they gave up the offending articles and confessed their guilt.

5. *Pācittiya*: This enumerates 92 offences relating to careless acts, lack of respect for Buddha's teachings and disciplinary code, and the use of prohibited

types of beds, seats, robes etc. Penitence absolved the offender.

6. *Pāṭidesaniya*: Offence under this head was committed when a monk took food which was not offered to him.

Besides these there are two sections which may be described as recommendatory. These are:

7. *Sekhiya* (*Śaikṣa*) : This gives 75 instructions to be observed by a monk in his daily life, comprising for example of 'how to enter a city or a village,' 'how to take food,' 'how to enter a sick room,' etc.

8. *Adhikaraṇa-samatha*: This deals with the means of settling disputes among monks.

b. The counterpart of the *Mahā-vibhaṅga* or the *Bhikkhu-vibhaṅga* is the *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga* for the nuns, which is a commentary on the *Bhikkhunī-pātimokkha*. This consists of six groups of offences like the *Pārājikā* etc., mentioned above, and the recommendatory sections like the *Sekhiya* and the *Adhikaraṇa-samatha*. *The Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga* contains some additional rules such as that a nun must avoid involvement in a legal dispute. The nuns were also forbidden to move about alone, or to ask for costly silken or woollen robes. The nuns were also forbidden to eat *ghī*, oil, honey, molasses, fish, meat, condensed milk, and curds.

The *Sekhiya* and the *Adhikaraṇa-samatha* are common for both monks and nuns.

ii. The *Khandhakās* or the 'Sections' are divided into two parts (*vagga*) the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*, and are concerned with the history of the community.

1. The *Mahāvagga* is divided into ten chapters. It begins with an account of Buddha's life from the attainment of *bodhi* up to the conversion of Yasa and his fifty-four friends, who were sent to different directions to preach the new religion. However, these young untrained missionaries did not have adequate knowledge or understanding of monastic rules and regulations which might enable them to decide on the type of persons fit to be admitted to the *saṅgha*. Hence, for their guidance Buddha laid down rules relating to the admission of new monks whenever the occasion arose.

These rules include, besides special precepts for admission into the order, rules for the *uposatha* celebration, for conduct of life during the rainy season, the rules for the wearing of shoes, and for such facilities as seats and vehicles, medicine and clothing, and finally lays down rules for regarding the condition and procedure within the *saṅgha*, specially in cases of schisms.

2. The *Cullavagga* consists of twelve chapters. The first nine chapters deal with discipline concerning minor matters such as various atonements and penances, the adjustments of disputes, the daily life of the monks, their dwellings and furniture, their duties towards each other, and exclusion from the *Pātimokkha* ceremony. Chapter ten contains the story of the formation of the order of the nuns at the instance of Mahāprajāpati Gautamī and the intercession of Ānanda. It also relates the code of discipline for the nuns as ordained by Buddha. There are detailed instructions to check the frivolities

of the nuns regarding dress, toilet, beds, seats etc.

The last two chapters of the *Cullavagga* relate the story of the first two councils held at Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī, and are probably later additions. But these two chapters also deal with monastic discipline.

Some of the incidents described in these texts are extremely valuable for the biography of Buddha. The *Mahāvagga* also notices many incidents which are valuable for the social history of the period since they give an unadorned picture of the everyday life in ancient India. Particularly interesting are the sections dealing with the crimes, including sexual offences, which present the view of a particular section of the society not available elsewhere.

iii. The *Parivāra* consists of nineteen chapters containing catechisms, indices, appendices, lists etc., which are presented in the form of questions and answers. According to Winternitz it is an 'insignificant and much later production,' probably being the work of a Ceylonese monk, and is similar to the *Anukramaṇīs* and the *Pariśiṣṭas* on the Veda and the Vedāṅga texts.[1]

Sutta-piṭaka

The *Sutta-piṭaka* consists of texts which are the most reliable sources for the *dhamma* or Buddhist religion. A *sutta* or *suttanta* (lit. thread) means a story containing a discourse by Buddha or by one of his early disciples, and their collection form the *Sutta-piṭaka* or the 'basket of texts'. The characteristic of a *sutta* is that each is a complete story, and are totally unlike the brahmanical *sūtras* or aphorisms in which the import of many sentences or passages is contained in a short sentence usually without a verb. The Pali *suttas* are usually in prose interspersed with *gāthā* verses, but in the *Saṁyutta-nikāya* except for the prose introduction, the text is in verse. Most of the *suttas* are in the form of a dialogue, where an introductory passage relates the occasion (*nidāna*): a person comes to visit Buddha, or Buddha comes across a person. Then begins a dialogue followed by a discourse by Buddha or, in some cases, by one of his disciples.

The *Sutta-piṭaka* is divided into five *nikāyas* or 'collection' of *suttas*, namely, i. *Dīgha-nikaya*, ii. *Majjhima-nikāya*, iii. *Saṁyutta-nikāya*, iv. *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, and v. *Khuddaka-nikāya*. The grouping of the *suttas* into the five *nikāyas* has not been done on a very rational basis. For example, in the *Dīgha* there are some long *suttas*, but most of them are short, and some even shorter than the *suttas* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

i. *Dīgha-nikaya*: The *Dīgha-nikāya* or the '*long nikāya*' consists of 34 *suttas* of which the first 13 are called the *Sīlakkhandavagga* (section containing the matters of *sīla* or virtuous conduct). The next ten *suttas* (nos. 14-23) are called the *Mahāvagga* or 'the great section' because they begin with the word *mahā*, while the remaining *suttas* (nos. 24-34) are known as the *Pātikavagga*, because this section begins with the *Pātika-sutta*.

The most important and well-known *suttas* are the first two, namely, the *Brahmajāla-sutta*, and the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, and *sutta* no. 16, the *Mahā-*

[1]M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, reprint, New Delhi, 1977, p. 33.

parinibbāna-sutta. The *Brahmajāla* has two parts: the first enumerates the superstitious beliefs, and the popular games and entertainments, while the second gives the summary of the various doctrines of the contemporary schools of philosophy. The first part of the *Sāmaññaphala* gives the doctrines of the six heretical teachers who were Buddha's contemporaries, while the second part describes the benefits derived by a Buddhist monk. The *Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta* contains a vivid description of Buddha's last journey, his death, an account of the cremation of his mortal remains, and the division of the relics, which have been described above in his biographical sketch. Several fragmentary (Sanskrit) Mahāyāna version of this *sutta* have been discovered in Central Asia.[1]

Among other important *suttas* are the *Kevaṭṭa* (no. 11) which demonstrates that Buddha is superior to the brahmanical deities headed by Brahmā, since he was able to answer a question which the gods failed to answer. The *Tevijja* (no. 13) relates that Brahmaloka can be attained not through the Vedic rituals, but by the practice of the four *brahma-vihāras*, namely, love, compassion, joy at the success of others, and equanimity.

The *Sampasādanīya* and the *Pāsādika* (nos. 28 and 29) contain the gist of Buddha's teachings and moral instructions, while the *Singālovāda-suttanta* (no. 31) contains the only recorded comprehensive discourse delivered by Buddha for the edification of his lay devotees. Some scholars regard this *suttanta* as the source of Asoka's *dhamma*, in which case it has to be regarded as one of utmost importance.

ii. *Majjhima-nikāya*: The *Majjhima-nikāya* (collection of the middle-sized *suttas*) consists of 152 speeches and dialogues, resembling in a shorter form the suttas of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

The *Majjhima-nikāya* contains discourses on almost all points of Buddhist religion, namely the four noble truths, *karman*, vanity of desires, undesirability of belief in permanents oul, *nirvāṇa*, various kinds of meditation and so on. The *Majjhima-nikāya* also contains interesting accounts of the contemporary life, not only of the monks (nos. 5, 21 and 22 etc) but of other classes of people as well. The *Kandara-sutta* (no. 51) gives a good survey of the brahmanical system of sacrifice with valuable hints on the relation between the bloody sacrifices and the ruling and the priestly classes. Description of popular ascetic practices are given in two *suttas* (nos. 12 and 14), while other *suttas* (nos. 40, 45, 51 and 60) describe the queer saints of various sects. There were 'dog-ascetics,' and 'ox-ascetics,' so-called because of their practice of living like dogs and oxen which constituted their asceticism. In reply to a querry as to their future life, Buddha replied that at best they might be born as dogs or oxen, but that it was just as likely that they would find themselves in hell. The *Upāli-*, *Kukkuravatika-*, *Sandaka-*, *Devadaha-*, and the *Sāmagāma-suttas* (nos. 56, 57, 76, 101 and 104) throw interesting light on the relation of Buddha to the other contemporary doctrines, specially to the

[1]G.M. Bongard-Levin and E.N. Tyomkin, New Buddhist Texts from Central Asia, *JAS*, Calcutta, XI, 1971, pp. 66-7.

free-thinkers and the sophists. Other *suttas* contain references to social and legal conditions. Thus the *Mahādukkha-kkhandha-sutta* (no. 13) gives a list of cruel punishments, while the *Mahā-taṇhā-saṅkhaya-sutta* (no. 38) records strange ideas on birth and the education of children. The *Mah-āṭṭhipadopama* (no. 28) and the *Cūla-taṇhā-saṅkhaya* (no. 37) show the relationship between the daughter-in-law and the father-in-law. In the *Cūḷa-māluṅkya-sutta* (no. 63) Buddha rebuffs an inquiry into subtle metaphysical questions by pointing out that, answering these problems would leave no time for finding the way to salvation.

Besides the dialogues and sermons, some *suttas* are pure narration of events like the *Aṅgulimāla-sutta* (no. 86).

Regarding the dialogues in the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Majjhima-nikāya*, Rhys Davids has observed: 'In depth of philosophic insight, in the method of Socratic questioning often adopted, in the earnest and elevated tone of the whole, in the evidence they afford of the most cultured thought of the day, these dialogues constantly remind the reader of the dialogues of Plato. But not in style. They have indeed a style of their own; always dignified and occasionally rising into eloquence.'[1]

iii. *Saṁyutta-nikāya*: The *Saṁyutta-nikāya* or 'the corpus of grouped discussions,' also rendered as 'the collection of kindred sayings,' consists of a group (*saṁyutta*) of 56 discourses subdivided into the following four subgroups (*vaggas*), namely, a. *Sagātha-vagga*, b. *Nidāna-vagga*, c. *Khandha-vagga*, and iv. *Saḷāyatana-vagga*. Of these, the first group contains, as the name indicates, discourses in prose and verse (*gāthā*), while the rest derive their names from the first discourse of their respective *vagga*. The total number of *suttas*, which are much shorter than those of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Majjhima-nikāyā*, is 2889.

The bulk is due to the treatment of a subject from all possible aspects with continuous repetition of the same phrase till, as M. Winternitz, by no means an unkindly critic, observes, 'the subject, and the reader too, are completely exhausted.' But he also observes that 'however tedious we may find this multiplication of *suttas*, there are sure to have been sound practical reasons for it in the use of the *suttas* for religious exercises.' He also admits the possibility of Mrs. Rhys Davids' suggestion that the multiplication of the *suttas* were due to the fact that they were collected from different sources, from different *vihāras*, or even from laymen.[2]

The *suttas* of the *Saṁyutta-nikāya* are usually concerned with (1) one of the chief points or principal branches of the Buddhist doctrine, (2) of some classes of gods, demons, or men, or (3) of some prominent personality as hero or speaker. They deal mainly with psycho-ethical or metapnysical problems.

iv. *Aṅguttara-nikāya*: The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (lit. 'the yet-another-limb collection') or 'the collection of sermons arranged in ascending numerical order,' has about 2308 *suttas* arranged in eleven sections (*nipāta*) of which

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, p. 746a.

[2] Winternitz, op. cit., pp. 56-7.

the *Ekonipāta* (section I) treats of things of which only one exists (e.g. the relationship between husband and wife), the *Dukanipāta* (section II) of things of which two exist and so on. Thus in the *Dukanipāta* (2.4.1-2) Buddha says: '. . . . What, O monks, constitute a bad man? A bad man, O monks, is ungrateful, he knows no gratitude. That is what is found in bad men: ingratitude, unthankfulness . . . . But a good man is grateful, he knows gratitude . . . . The sum total of all that constitutes a good man is gratitude, thankfulness.

'I shall name two beings to you, O monks, whose goodness one cannot repay. Which two? Father and mother . . . .'

In the section of three or *Tikanipāta* (III, 129) Buddha says: 'Three things, O monks, act secretly and not openly. Which three? Womenfolk, O monks, act in secret and not openly. The incantations of the *brāhmaṇas* act in secret and not openly. False doctrine acts in secret and not openly . . . .

'Three things, O monks, shine openly and not secretly. The disc of the moon, O monks, shines openly and not in secret. The disc of the sun shines openly and not in secret. The religion and discipline of the Order proclaimed by Buddha shine openly and not in secret . . . .'

In the section of four or *Catukkanipāta* (IV, 80), Ānanda, the ancient advocate for women's right, asks: 'What is the reason Lord, what is the cause for which women have no seat in the public assembly, pursue no business and do not earn their livelihood by some (independent) profession?'

Buddha replied: 'Choleric Ānanda, is womankind; jealous Ānanda, is womankind; stupid Ānanda, is womankind. That, Ānanda, is the reason, that is the cause why women have no seat in the public assembly, pursue no business, and do not earn their livelihood by some (independent) profession.'

In the section of eight or *Aṭṭhakanipāta* (VIII. 27), Buddha says: 'There are here, O monks, eight powers! Which are they? Crying is the power of a child, scolding is the power of women, weapons are the power of robbers, sovereignty is the power of kings, pride is the power of fools, humility the power of sages, reflection the power of scholars, meekness the power of ascetics and *brāhmaṇas*.'

v. *Khuddakanikāya: Khuddaka-nikāya* literally means the 'collection of the smaller pieces,' but the text is really a collection of miscellanies. It possibly derives its name from its first section called *Khuddaka-pāṭha* or 'small lessons.' The *Khuddaka-nikāya* consists of the following texts:

1. *Khuddaka-pāṭha: The Khuddaka-pāṭha* is a small tract with nine lessons for the novice including the famous *Ratna-sutta*: *Buddaṁ śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi* . . .

2. *Dhammapada*: *Dhammapada*, which means 'religious sayings,' is probably the most famous Buddhist text. It consists of 423 verses arranged according to topics into 26 *vaggas* or chapters. It is said that the *Dhammapada* contains the quintessence of Buddhism, and is committed to memory by Buddhist monks even now. The high praise bestowed on the *Dhammapada* is fully merited, but we can quote here only one example. Verse 141:

Not nakedness, nor matted hair, nor filth,

Nor fasting long, nor lying on the ground,
Not dust and dirt, nor squatting on the heels,
Can cleanse the mortal that is full of doubt.
But one that lives a calm and tranquil life
Though gaily decked,—if tamed, restrained he live,
Walking the holy path in righteousness,
Laying aside all harm to living things,
True mendicant, ascetic, *brāhmin* he.

3. *Udāna*: The *Udāna*, or the 'ecstatic or pithy sayings' of Buddha contains verses and narratives divided into 8 chapters or *vaggas* of ten *suttas* each. A *sutta*, as stated above, is a short narrative relating an event in Buddha's life, and here ending with a pithy utterance which Buddha is said to have 'breathed out' (=*udāna*) on the occasion. For example, regarding the 'wheel' of recurring rebirths, Buddha says:

The wheel is broken, since he has become desireless;
The river is dried up and flows no more,
No longer does the broken wheel roll on:
The end of sorrow is attained.

4. *Itivuttaka*: The *Itivuttaka*, or 'Thus spake Buddha,' is a book of quotations of Buddha's sayings in prose and verse. It consists of 112 sections or short pieces divided into 8 *vaggas*. Each section begins with the words: '*Vuttaṁ hetaṁ Bhagavatā vuttam-arahatā ti me sutam*' (Thus was it said by the Blessed One, the Exalted One—thus have I heard), and ends with: '*Ayam-pi attho vutto bhagavatā iti me sutan-ti* (This meaning was told by the Blessed One—thus have I heard.) The language of the *Itivuttaka* is simple, natural and free from verbosity, while occasional similes and some charming metaphors render the style attractive.

5. *Sutta-nipāta*: The *Sutta-nipāta*, or the 'section on discourses,' contains some of the earliest Buddhist poetry. It is a collection of 5 *vaggas* or sections, namely, i. *Uraga-vagga* (12 *suttas*), ii. *Cūla-vagga* (14 *suttas*), iii. *Mahāvagga* (12 *suttas*), iv. *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* (8 stanzas), and v. *Pārāyana-vagga*, a long poem consisting of 16 sections in which Buddha replies to the questions of 16 *brāhmaṇa* ascetics called the 16 *pārāyanas*.

The *Sutta-nipāta* is a poetic work of great merit, and, next to the *Dhammapada*, is probably the most quoted Buddhist text. It contains both didactic dialogues and *ākhāyanas* or ballads in mixed prose and verse reminiscent of epic poetry. It also gives valuable information regarding the social, economic, and religious condition in India during the 'Buddhist age.'

In several pieces, the degeneration of the brahmanical Hinduism is compared to the pure and lofty ideals of Buddhism. Thus the *Brāhmaṇa-dhammika-sutta* ('*sutta* of the pious among the brahmanas,' II. 7) states that the ancient *ṛṣis* lived an ideal abstemious life and were true *brāhmaṇas*. Later,al lured by the wealth and luxury of kings, they aspired for similar enjoyments, and were presented with beautiful women and wealth by King Ikṣvāku, which led to the bloody animal sacrifices at which even the innocent cow was killed. All

this resulted in intermingling of castes and deterioration of morals. Buddhism was a return to the true brahmanism of ancient days. In the *Sela-sutta* (III.7) which relates the conversion of the *brāhmaṇa* Sela, there are passages which are in accord with the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (IX.18; X.30) and the *Aṇu-gītā* (28.2; 29.1). The *Mahābhārata* idea that true brahmanhood does not consist in birth, but in good conduct, is beautifully elaborated in the 63 verses of the *Vaseṭṭha-sutta* (III.9) each of which end with the refrain: 'Him do I call a true *brāhmaṇa*.' The pervasive idea is that, the monk, who has given up the worldly life and has freed himself from worldly ties, is truly happy, which reminds one of Saṁkarācārya, particularly the refrain *kaupīnavantaḥ khalu bhāgyavantaḥ* in his *Kaupīna-pañcakam*.

6. *Vimānavatthu* : The *Vimānavatthu* is the description of the 'divine palaces' enjoyed by the celestial beings as a result of their meritorious deeds on earth.

7. *Petavatthu*: The *Petavatthu* or the 'ghost stories' describes the sufferings of spirits after death due to their evil deeds on earth.

These two '*vatthus*' are said to belong to the latest stratum of the Pali canonical literature, which is made obvious by the clumsy presentation of the doctrine of *karman* so beautifully presented in both brahmanical and Buddhist texts.

8 and 9. *Theragāthā and Therīgāthā*: The *Theragāthā* (Song of the Elders) and the *Therīgātha* (Song of the Lady Elders) are the works of the elderly monks and nuns. According to Winternitz, these two works contain 'religious poems which, in force and beauty, are fit to rank with the best productions of Indian lyric poetry, from the hymns of the Ṛgveda to the lyrical poems of Kālidāsa and Amaru.'[1]

The difference between the two *gāthās* is that, the Theras delight in description of nature, while the Therīs strike a personal note in their songs. This was probably due to the *theras*' wandering in forests, and the *therīs*' being confined in nunneries. As a result, the *Therīgāthā* records the position of women in contemporary society, and also many social customs and manners.

It is difficult to determine the age of the two *gāthās*, but it is certain that the poems were composed at different periods, though some of the songs, according to Winternitz[2] were possibly composed by 'the very first disciples of Buddha.'

10. *Jātaka*: The *Jātaka* meaning 'a collection of births,' contains, the stories of the former lives of Buddha (then Bodhisattva), and of the persons who came across him in those lives. These stories show by numerous examples how, during the course of innumerable births, by repeated good actions, and by sublime self-sacrifices, the Blessed One gradually attained Buddhahood. The memory of his past lives attributed to Buddha enables him to describe the actions of thousands of men and animals, of good and bad kings, and the conclusion is always that the future Buddha was the best

[1]ibid, p. 100.
[2]ibid, p. 112.

among them, while his celebrated rival Devadatta was the worst. The principal disciples also figure in the past lives of Buddha, and appear in these stories, and play the roles befitting them.

The *Jātaka* contains 547 stories divided into 22 *nipātas*. The grouping is based according to the number of verses in each story, thus *Ekanipāta, Dukanipāta* etc , but the present arrangement shows exception to this rule. However, the original *Jātaka* is lost, and now only a commentary is available, of which each story consists of the following parts: i. *paccupannavatthu* or 'the story of the present,' relating the occasion of Buddha's recital of the story; ii. *atīta-vatthu* or 'the story of the past;' iii. *gāthās* or 'verses,' generally relating the past story, but sometimes the present story; iv. *veyyākaraṇa* or 'short commentary,' which explains the *gāthās* word for word; and v. *samodhāna* or 'connection,' in which Buddha generally identifies the persons mentioned in the stories of the past and present. The *gāthās* are considered to be the oldest parts, and the prose parts as later additions. This huge narrative work in the form of a commentary called the *Jātakaṭṭha-vaṇṇanā* (elucidation of the meaning of the *Jātakas*) is the work of an unknown Ceylonese monk, who got his materials from an earlier commentary called the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*.

The *gāthās* may be the oldest part of the *Jātakas*, but some of them are evidently late additions. Similarly, though the prose sections are generally late compositions, the contents of some of them must be as old as the 2nd or the 3rd century BC, as is proved by the reliefs on the stone walls of Bharhut and Sanchi. These reliefs not only depict scenes from the prose sections of the *Jātaka* stories but in Bharhut the titles of the stories are also inscribed. However, according to Winternitz 'for the great mass of the verses, however, no greater antiquity than the 3rd century BC can conscientiously be urged, and much of the prose assuredly belongs to the Christian era.'[1]

The *Jātaka* stories are heterogeneous in nature. There are fables, fairy tales, short anecdotes, humorous tales and jokes with nothing Buddhist about them, novels and even long romances, moral narratives, sayings, and pious legends. Possibly half of these stories, besides the commentary, is of non-Buddhistic origin. But they have endowed the *Jātaka* with a universal character, and renders its study of the 'utmost importance not only for the history of Indian literature but also for the history of the literature of the world.'[2] Winternitz also remarks that, though the *Jātaka* stories 'cannot serve as documents for the social conditions at the time of Buddha, but at the most for the period of the 3rd century BC, and for the greater part, especially in their prose, only for the fifth or sixth century AD, yet so much has remained unchanged in India throughout the centuries, that the picture of civilisation in the Jatakas may nevertheless be considered as very "ancient." In any case the narratives of the *Jātaka* book afford us a glimpse into the

[1]ibid, pp. 121-22.
[2]ibid, p. 123.

life of classes of the Indian people, of which other books of Indian literature only rarely give us any information.'[1]

11. *Niddesa*: The *Niddesa* or explanation is a commentary on the fourth and the fifth *vaggas* of the *Suttanipāta*. (*Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana*), as well as on the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* of the same text. The *Niddesa* is divided into two parts: the *Mahā-niddesa* or the 'great commentary,' and the *Culla-niddesa* or the 'small commentary.' The *Mahā-niddesa* explains the 16 *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* in ten chapters, while the *Culla-niddesa* explains the rest. In order to explain a word, a long list of synonyms is repeated every time the word occurs. This was probably done to facilitate their commitment to memory, and may have formed the basis of later lexicons.

12. *Paṭisaṁbhidāmagga*: The *Paṭisaṁbhidāmagga* or the 'path to analysis,' is divided into three sections, namely, *Mahā-vagga* or the 'great group,' *Yuganandha-vagga* or the 'group of harmonies,' and the *Paññā-vagga*, or the 'group of intellect.' All the three sections contain discourses on important aspects of Buddhist doctrine. The *Mahā-vagga* deals with 73 kinds of knowledge, pernicious opinions, regulation of breath as an aid to memory (*sati*) and *karman*. The *Yuganandha-vagga* deals with the four noble truths, love towards all creatures, and 68 kinds of powers etc. The *Paññā-vagga* deals with the miraculous powers of the saints and so on. These discourses, which are in the form of questions and answers, should have been included in the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, but is included in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, because the form is that of the *suttas*, and some sections begin with the words '*evaṁ me sutam*' (thus have I heard), and also contain the address '*bhikkhave*' (O monks).

13. *Apadāna*: The *Apadāna* (Sk. *avadāna*=exploits, glorious or heroic deeds) is an anthology like the *Jātaka*, giving illustrations of edifying actions performed by saints in their past or present lives. The first two *apadānas*, however, are devoted to the glorious deeds of Buddha, and the Paccekabuddhas, the latter being compared to lonely rhinoceros in following their solitary way, and the entire *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* (*Sutta-nipāta*, 1.3) is reproduced. The main part of the work, however, is the *Therāpadāna* or 'glorious deeds of the Elders,' which consists of 550 biographies of saints in 55 *vaggas* or chapters of 10 *apadānas* each. This is followed by a shorter *Therī-apadāna* giving 40 biographies of Lady Elders divided into 4 *vaggas* of 10 *apadānas* each. The glorious deeds are always recited in verse by the saint who is the subject of the story, which describes acts of self-sacrifice and piety.

14. *Buddhavaṁsa*: The *Buddhavaṁsa* is a comparatively short poetical text containing the legendary stories of twenty-four Buddhas who preceded Gautama in the last twelve *kalpas*, and recited by the latter. The early Buddhist texts speak of only six predecessors of Gautama Buddha, hence it is apparent that the *Buddhavaṁsa* is a very late work, and its inclusion in the Pali canon may not be entirely justified.

15. *Cariyā-piṭaka*: The *Cariyā-piṭaka* or the 'collection of conduct,' consists of 35 edifying stories in verse, of which 34 are abridged *Jātaka* stories, while

[1]ibid, p. 156.

the last, which relates the story of Govinda the royal priest, is based on a story of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (no. 19). The stories dwell mainly on the *pāramitas* or 'highest perfection,' which is the technical term for the six or ten 'perfections' which a Bodhisattva possesses.[1] Each story is related by Buddha, and is an example of one of the perfections.

The original *Cariyā-piṭaka* has not come down to us, and the present text is evidently a late recension.

Abhidhamma-piṭaka

The word *abhidhamma* means 'higher religion,' or the 'higher subtleties of religion,' and is sometimes rendered as 'metaphysics.' Therefore, *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* may be rendered as the 'basket of metaphysics,' or the 'basket of transcendental religion.' The *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, however, has nothing to do with metaphysics, but treats *dhamma* as in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, though in a more pronouncedly scholastic manner. The strong point of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* is definition, which really means a series of synonyms, and classification. Buddhaghoṣa in his introduction to the *Atthaśālinī*, the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, says that the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* is so called (*abhi* and *dhamma*) because it describes the same *dhammas* as are related in the *suttas* in a more intensified (*dhammātireka*) and specialized manner (*dhamma-visesatthena*). In distinguishing the special features of the *suttas* from the *abhidhammas*, Buddhaghoṣa says that the acquirement of the former leads one to attain meditation (*samādhi*), whereas the latter leads one to attain wisdom (*paññā-sampadam*). Buddhaghoṣa probably means that the *suttas* appeal to the emotion and raises the mental activity to a spiritual sphere, while the *abhidhammas* with their technicalities form aids to better intellectual grasp of the doctrine.

The *Sutta-piṭaka* (*Majjhima-nikāya* 137 and 140 and many *suttas* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*) contain *mātikās* or lists of the philosophical and ethical conceptions which are already mentioned in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. It has been held that the text of the *Abhidhamma* is probably the mere extensions of those *mātikās*.[2]

The *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* consists of the following seven texts:

i. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*: *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* means 'compendium of the *dhammas*,' but Mrs. Rhys Davids translated the work into English under the title *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*.

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* is an enumeration of the Buddhist doctrine according to which there is no object exterior to the man, but an object is the represen-

[1]The *pāramitās* are counted as either six or ten. The six *pāramitās* are 1. charity (*dāna*); 2. moral conduct (*śīla*); 3. forbearance & perseverance (*kṣānti*) 4. energy (*vīrya*); 5. mental concentration through meditation (*dhyāna*) and 6. wisdom (*prajñā*). The highest *pāramitā* (perfection) is *prajñā* (wisdom) which comes as a result of practising the first five. The ten *pāramitās* are: 1. generosity; 2. virtue (i.e. obedience to commandments); 3. renunciation of the world; 4. wisdom; 5. energy; 6. patience; 7. truthfulness; 8. determination; 9. friendliness towards all creatures; and 10. equanimity.

[2]Winternitz, op. cit., p. 166.

tation produced by the psychical elements imposed on external elements. The work is a detailed inventory of the constituents and the contents of the self, and not a description of the world which is represented by the elements perceptible to the senses. Hence it leaves aside the question as to whether the phenomenal world is based on reality or not. The conclusion is that everything is a 'compound' and therefore impermanent (*anicca*), with the only exception of *nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is a 'non-compound' (*asaṅkhata*). It is the ultimate goal towards the achievement of which one must endeavour. The object of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, as well as of the other texts of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, is not to know the 'self,' but to demonstrate by the evidence of nomenclature and classification the composite nature of everything which must be forsaken for the sake of attaining *nibbāna*.

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* is divided into the following parts: i. *Cittuppādakaṇḍa*, or the 'section on the production of thoughts,' which may be good (*kusala*), bad (*akusala*), or indeterminate (*avyakta*); ii. *Rūpakaṇḍa*, or the 'section on appearance,' that is, on sense perception; iii. *Nikkhepakaṇḍa*, or the 'section on deposits,' or the 'repository,' because it treats diverse subjects. The *Nikkhepakaṇḍa* has an appendix attributed to Sāriputta; it is called the *Atthuddhāra*, and Buddhaghoṣa has commented on it.

ii. *Vibhaṅga*: The *Vibhaṅga*, or 'classification,' is a continuation of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. It is divided into 18 parts, and each part is sub-divided into 3 sections.

iii. *Dhātukathā*: The *Dhātukathā*, or the 'discourses on element,' is a short text of 14 chapters on the elements of psychical phenomena and their mutual relations. Written in the form of questions and answers, it is a dry catalogue of matters already dealt with in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and the *Vibhaṅga*.

iv. *Puggalapaññatti*: The *Puggalapaññatti*, or the 'description of individual persons,' classifies men according to their state of moral behaviour. For example (V.3), five kinds of monks, in their relationship to women, are compared to five kinds of warriors. A part of this text is a reproduction of the *Saṅgītisutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, and other parts (sections 3-5) contain reproduction from the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.

v. *Kathāvatthu:* The *Kathāvatthu* or 'the subjects of discourses,' is the most important text of the *Abhidhamma* from the point of view of the history of Buddhism. It is the only text in the Canon which is ascribed to a definite author, namely, Tissa Moggaliputta, the President of the Third Council, held during the reign of Aśoka. Tissa Moggaliputta may indeed have been the author, but in view of the nature of the work, it appears to be quite likely that his work was augmented later to combat new heresies. In the 5th century AD, Buddhaghoṣa wrote a commentary on the present text.

The *Kathāvatthu* consists of 23 sections, and each section, is made up of 8 to 12 questions and answers. The answers are always in the negative, for the questions are put by heretics and the answers are designed to silence them. The questions are of the most diverse kinds as will be apparent from the following samples:

'Is there anything as a person (an individual soul) which can be regarded as real or absolute substance?' 'Does everything exist?' 'Are there two kinds of cessation (of suffering)?' 'Do the pupils of Buddha share in his superhuman powers?' 'Can a householder be an *arhat*?' 'Can an *arhat* lose his *arhat*-hood as a result of *karman*?' 'Were the excrements and urine of the sublime Buddha more fragrant than all other fragrant things?' 'Can animals be reborn among the gods?'

vi. *Yamaka*: The *Yamaka*, or the 'book of double questions,' derives its name from its peculiar form in which all questions are asked and answered in two different ways. It is possibly the most difficult text of the *Abhidhamma*. It is divided into ten sections.

vii. *Paṭṭhāna-pakaraṇa*: The *Paṭṭhāna-pakaraṇa*, or the 'book of the causal relation,' also known as the *Mahā-pakaraṇa*, or 'the great book,' is the last and the largest *Abhidhamma* text. The 24 sections of this work explain the causal relation by virtue of which one thing follows another and is activated. Everything other than the *nirvāṇa*, which is absolute, is in some sense related to something else in one of the 24 ways enumerated in the 24 sections.

NON-CANONICAL PALI LITERATURE

I. *Texts*

Milindapañha

The bulk of the non-canonical Pali literature are the works of Ceylonese monks, the most important exception being the *Milindapañha*, or the 'Questions of Milinda,' the Indo-Greek King Menandros or Menander of the 2nd century BC.[1] The *Milindapañha* is a dialogue between the king and the Buddhist monk Nāgasena, which may have been an historical event. The king asks a host of questions to which the monk gives suitable replies. However, the king is not easily satisfied, and the dialogue becomes quite animated at places. The work has been compared to the Upaniṣads, but while in the Upaniṣads the princes are carried away by the discussions, King Milinda does not concede defeat, though he admits Nāgasena's adroitness and the value of his doctrine to which he is most probably converted.

The work seems to be based on a much smaller text used as a Buddhist manual among the Indo-Greeks to which considerable additions were made later. The present *Milindapañha* has 7 books or sections, of which the 2nd, 3rd, and a small part of the last appear to belong to the original text. This is proved by the fact that the last chapter of Book III ends with a fitting conclusion, and Book IV opens with a new introduction. The conclusive proof of the spuriousness of Books IV-VII is that these Books are not found in the Chinese translation which is supposed to have been made between AD 317 to 420. However, it became a classic among the Buddhist texts meant for the instruction of the doctrine in all Buddhist countries either in Pali or

[1]For the history of Menander, see above I, p. 166.

in Chinese, which was not translated from Pali but from Sanskrit.

Netti-pakaraṇa

The *Netti-pakaraṇa*, or the 'book of guidance (to the true religion),' is ascribed to Mahākaccāna. He was one of Buddha's most famous disciples, and the *Majjhima-nikāya* declares him to be the best expounder of the words of Buddha.

The *Netti-pakaraṇa* is a work in the form of textual and exegetical methodology, and is the earliest book to give a systematic treatment to whole of Buddha's teachings. It is to the Pali Canon, what Yāska's *Nirukta* is to the Vedas.

The *Netti-pakaraṇa* is probably earlier than the last two books of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*. A commentary on it was written by Dhammapāla probably in the 5th century AD.

Peṭakapodesa

The *Peṭakapodesa*, or 'instruction to the students of the *pitakas*, is also ascribed to Mahākaccāna. It is a continuation of the *Netti-pakaraṇa*, and throws light on the subjects which were left obscure in the *Netti*. The *Peṭakapodesa* lays strees upon the four *ariya* truths as the essence of Buddhism, which was emphasized in the Sarvāstivādin literature.

Suttasaṅgaha

The *Suttasaṅgaha* is simply an anthology of *suttas*. It was composed at Anuradhapura (Ceylon) by a monk whose name is now lost.

II. *Exegetical Literature*

The major part of the non-canonical Pali literature consists of commentaries written in India and Ceylon, though there are a few commentaries in the Canon itself. According to the Ceylonese tradition, these commentaries or *aṭṭhakathās* (explanations of meanings) as they are called, were completed along with the *Tipiṭaka*. Later, they were translated into Sinhalese by Mahendra, written down during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmani, and translated into Pali by Buddhaghoṣa.

This neat history may not be credible, yet it is apparent that commentaries began to be written in Pali shortly after the composition of the texts. The old commentaries are lost, but those were evidently utilized by later commentators as *porāṇā* or the 'ancient ones.' As the Theravāda school was superseded in India by other schools, Ceylon became the permanent home of the Theravāda texts, and all the available Pali commentaries were translated into Sinhalese. However, some of the greatest commentators who worked in Ceylon, like Buddhadatta, Buddhaghoṣa, and Dhammapāla, were Indians.

Most of the commentaries are in prose, while some are in verse. The prose commentaries follow the texts very closely, explaining the technical terms and grammatical rules and illustrating the theme by various historical narra-

tives and legendary stories. Many of the commentaries were written with the aim of giving a new interpretation which was then current among the monks in Ceylon or Indo-China. Biographical details of some principal commentators are also available.

Nidānakathā

The *Nidānakathā*, or the 'narrative of the beginning,' is an essential part of the Jātaka commentary. It represents an earlier phase in the development of the biographical literature on Buddha than the *Lalitavistara* and other Sanskrit works.

The *Nidānakathā* consists of three sections, namely, *dūre-nidāna* (beginnings in the remote past), *avidūre-nidāna* (beginnings in not very remote past), and *santike-nidāna* (beginnings in the present). The three parts together relate the story of Gautama Buddha from the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha, to whom the future Buddha as Sumedha pays homage, up to the grant to the *saṅgha* of the Jetavana by the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika. The *dūre-nidāna* gives an account of the previous lives of Buddha in prose interspersed with verses from the *Buddhavaṁsa* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. The *avidūre-nidāna* takes up the story from the point when the Tusita gods entreat the future Buddha to be born again on earth, and carries the legend of the Bodhisattva from his conception to the attainment of *bodhi*. The *santike-nidāna* deals mainly with the first conversions, and brings down the story to Anāthapiṇḍika's gift as mentioned above.

Buddhaghoṣa

The *Mahāvaṁsa* (XXXVII) relates that Buddhaghoṣa was born in a *brāhmaṇa* family near Bodh-Gaya, and became a good Vedic scholar at an early age. A disputation caused him to go to monk Revata, who converted him to Buddhism. At Revata's bidding, Buddhaghoṣa went to Ceylon to study the commentaries which were then not available in India. He went to Ceylon during the reign of King Mahānāman (AD 409-431), and learnt the Singhalese commentaries and the Theravāda tradition in the Mahāvihāra at Anuradhapura (Ceylon). There he wrote the *Visuddhimagga* (the path to complete purification or *nirvāṇa*), one of the most famous texts in Buddhist literature, and came to be acclaimed as a Maitreya Bodhisattva.

Buddhaghoṣa was not only a great writer, but a voluminous writer as well. Many texts are ascribed to him of which the following are indubitably his, since he mentions them in his introductory verses: *Visuddhimagga*, *Samantapāsādikā* (commentary on the *Vinaya-piṭaka*), *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya*), *Papañcasūdanī* (commentary on the *Majjhima-nikāya*), *Sāratthappakāsinī* (commentary on the *Saṁyutta-nikāya*), and the *Manorathapūraṇī* (commentary on the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*). The *Gandhavaṁsa*, a Burmese Pali work of the 17th century, ascribes to him *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (commentary on the *Pātimokkha*), *Paramatthaṭṭha-kathā* (commentary on the seven *Abhidhamma* texts), as well as commentaries on the *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, *Sutta-*

nipāta, *Jātaka*, and *Apadāna*. A commentary on the *Dhammapada* is also ascribed to Buddhaghoṣa's authorship.

Scholars have disputed the authority of the *Gandhavaṁsa*, but Winternitz is inclined to believe that Buddhaghoṣa wrote all the commentaries mentioned above except those on the *Jātaka* and the *Dhammapada*. Dr. B.C. Law, however, ascribes the authorship of the *Kaṅkhāvitariṇī* and the *Samantapāsādikā* to another Buddhaghoṣa, but not on very convincing grounds. He, however, believes that the commentary on the *Dhammapada* was written by Buddhaghoṣa as stated in the colophon.[1]

Buddhaghoṣa's commentaries on the canonical texts contain variety of information on society (including sports and pastimes), economy, geography, religion, and philosophy. His critical acumen is shown by his consultation of the manuscripts of different schools, and recording of the variants. He has left valuable notes on rare words, and preserved the ancient tradition. His works show him to have been a man of remarkable erudition, and of extensive reading. European scholars, and following them Indian scholars also, have accused Buddhaghoṣa for having made no original contribution to Buddhist philosophy. But possibly that was not his intention. His modest aim was to explain to his contemporaries the teachings of Buddha on the basis of the tradition handed down to the 5th century AD. In discharging this task, he was highly successful.

Buddhadatta

Buddhadatta was born in Uragapura (Ureiyur, modern Trichinopoly), the Coḷa capital on the Kaveri in Tamilnadu, at the end of the 4th century AD. He became a monk and took up his residence at the Kailāsavihāra near Uragapura, from where he went to the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon for further study. He is said to have met Buddhaghoṣa miraculously during his return journey. He wrote his commentaries in Tamilnadu on the basis of the Sinhalese commentaries and the works of Buddhaghoṣa.

Buddhadatta is the author of the *Vinaya-viniccaya* (commentary on the *Vinaya-piṭaka*), and the *Uttara-viniccaya* (the ultimate conclusions), which in their turn were commented upon by Vācissara Mahāsāmi. Besides these, he is also reputed to be the author of the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the *Rūparūpavibhāga*. These four books are mostly versified summaries of Buddhaghoṣa's commentaries, while the *Madhuratthavilāsinī* is a commentary on the *Buddhavaṁsa*. There are differences of opinion among scholars as to the authorship of the *Jinalaṅkāra*, which is a brilliant poem of 250 stanzas containing stories from the life of Buddha.

Dhammapāla

Dhammapāla, who was possibly not much later than Buddhaghoṣa, also

[1]Winternitz, op. cit., pp. 191-92; B.C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, II, London, 1933, p. 450.

came from south India. He is reputed to have written fourteen commentaries, of which the *Paramattha-dīpanī* (elucidation of true meaning) is the commentary on the seven texts of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, which Buddhaghoṣa had not explained. Dhammapāla's other seven commentaries include one on the *Netti-pakaraṇa* with a *ṭīkā* on it, the *Paramattha-mañjūṣā* on the *Visuddhi-magga*, four commentaries on Buddhaghoṣa's commentaries on the four *nikāyas* called the *Līnattha-vaṇṇanā* or the *Līnattha-ppakāsinī ṭīkā*, and another commentary also called the *Līnattha-ppakāsinī* on the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*.

Much of Dhammapāla's work is a recast in scholastic Pali of earlier works in Tamil and Sinhalese. It is probable that the works mentioned above were by more than one Dhammapāla.

Other Commentaries

Besides the commentaries mentioned above, many sub-commentaries were written in Ceylon and Indo-China. Many of these were later elaborated by a Council held during the reign of Parākramabāhu I (AD 1153-1186) by a school of commentators headed by Sāriputta under the guidance of Thera Mahākassapa.

Apart from these sub-commentaries, many commentaries were also written. Upasena wrote the *Saddhammappajotikā* (which illuminates the good religion) on the *Niddesa*. *Thera* Mahānāman wrote the *Saddhammappakāsinī* (which renders the good law luminous) on the *Patisambhidāmagga*, while an unknown author wrote the *Visuddha-jana-vilāsinī* (amusement for the pure man) on the *Apadāna*.

III. *Religious Texts*

Many religious poems were composed in Pali. On Vinaya rules, Dhammasiri wrote the *Khuddasikkhā* (minor instructions) and Mahasami the *Mūlasikkhā* (the fundamental instructions). The dates of these two authors are uncertain. Other poetical works include the *Sāra-saṅgaha* (compendium of essentials) by Siddhattha, and *Dhamma* or *Saddhamma-saṅgha* (compendium of good law) by Dhammakitti. Both these works are manuals on doctrine and may be placed between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

A large number of poetical works on Buddha legend were written of which the most well-known is the *Anāgata-vaṁsa*, or 'the history of those who have not arrived,' that is of the future Metteyya Buddhas. This idea is found in the *Dīgha-nikāya* (Sutta 26). The *Gandha-vaṁsa* ascribes the *Anāgata-vaṁsa* to Kassapa, and its commentary to Upatissa. But since there were several Kassapas and Upatissas who lived at different periods, it has not been possible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion about the date of the work or of its commentary, but it is probably later than the *Buddhvaṁsa* of which it is a sequel.

IV. *Pali Chronicles*

There are two Pali chronicles, the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Both

were written in Ceylon and were based on the *aṭṭhakathā* of the *Mahāvihāra* which is now lost.

The *Dīpavaṁsa*, or the 'History of the Island,' that is, Ceylon, is by an anonymous author, and the work ends with the history of King Mahāsena's reign (*c.* AD 334-362). Even as a chronicle the *Dīpavaṁsa* is a poor performance, and so is its language. It is apparent that the author's knowledge of Pali was inadequate for his task. However, Buddhaghoṣa has quoted copiously from it in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*.

The *Mahāvaṁsa*, or the 'Great History,' written at the end of the 5th century AD by Mahānāma, is a more elaborate and better piece of literature than the *Dīpavaṁsa*. The *Mahāvaṁsa* deals in 37 chapters with the same period as the *Dīpavaṁsa*, and ends abruptly with the reign of King Mahāsena. The *Mahāvaṁsa* places the death of Buddha to a date corresponding to 543 BC, and the consecration of Aśoka 218 years later in 325 BC. These dates are not accepted by scholars, but they are not very wide of the mark. Actually, the chronology of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, which can be verified to a certain extent, seems to be fairly accurate.

The *Cūlavaṁsa* by Dhammakitti is a supplement to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, and brings down the history of Ceylon to the reign of Parākramabāhu (AD 1240-1275). Another supplement carries the story of the island up to the reign of Kirtiśrīrājasiṁha (AD 1747-1780).

Among the other Pali chronicles are *Mahābodhivaṁsa* or the *Bodhivaṁsa* (the history of the Bodhi tree), the *Dathavaṁsa* (the history of [Buddha's] tooth), and the *Thupavaṁsa* (the history of the topes). These were late texts which were translated into Pali or remodelled after Sinhalese models. Similar works were also written in Burma like the *Cha-kesa-dhātuvaṁsa* (history of the six hair relic shrines). Pali works continued to be written even in modern times, the *Sāsanavaṁsa* (history of the doctrine) having been written in Burma in 1861. The other modern work, also written in Burma, is the *Gandhavaṁsa* (the history of the books) to which reference has been made above.

CANONICAL SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Provenance

Unlike the Pali texts, the Buddhist Sanskrit texts have come down to us in incomplete form, and it is no longer possible to study them as an entire Canon. For a proper study of Buddhist Sanskrit texts, the Chinese and the Tibetan translations are often indispensable. The fragmentary Sanskrit texts which are all that remain of a vast literature have been found in Central Asia, Gilgit (Kashmir), and Bamiyan (Afghanistan). Only in Nepal, where Buddhism lingered, the *Mahāvastu* (a para-canonical text), and a large number of works on philosophy, rituals, and legends, mostly of Mahāyāna school, have been preserved.

There is no tradition to indicate as to which texts in Sanskrit can be pro-

perly labelled as 'canonical,' as there is in Pali. 'The words of Buddha,' which formed a convenient definition of Pali Canon, is quite freely attributed to Sanskrit works. Therefore, it is convenient to group the Sanskrit works under the school which produced them.

Sarvāstivādin Works

Hiuen Tsang attested the existence of Sarvāstivādin monks in the kingdoms of Kuca and Agni in the basin of the Tarin in Central Asia. Modern archaeological explorations have recovered from this region fragments of a *Vinaya*. Sections on Pātimokṣa have also been found. Other fragments indicate the existence of a Sanskrit *Sutta-nipāta*, as well as of the *Dhammapada* and of the *Udāna*. There are also fragmentary remains of the *Saṁyuktāgama*, which is the Sanskrit version of the *Saṁyutta-nikāya*, and of the *Madhyamāgama* which corresponds to the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

Mūlasarvāstivādin Works

A portion (section 7-15) of the *Vinayavastu* of this school has been found among the Gilgit manuscripts, and a fragment of the *Mahaparinirvāṇa-sūtra* has been found at Turfan. A Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary contains among others the forms and Sanskrit expressions used by the Mūlasarvāstivādins whose Vinaya text was translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan. Besides these works, the Sanskrit *Avadānaśataka* and the *Divyavadāna* have been tentatively ascribed to this school.

The Sanskrit of both the Sarvāstivādins and the Mūlasarvāstivādins is correct, but the former uses more Pali words than the latter.

Avadānaśtaka

As explained above, the word *avadāna* means a 'noteworthy deed' a 'heroic deed,' or an 'exploit,' and in the context of Buddhist literature it also means a 'religious or moral feat.' The *avadāna* stories, which are also found in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and the *Sutta-piṭaka*, were compiled mainly for edification, but sometimes with literary ambition as well.

The *Avadānaśataka*, or 'one hundred *avadānas*,' was compiled for the purpose of edification, and is possibly the oldest work of this class. Winternitz concluded that it was a Hinayāna text, but in the story of Maitrakanyaka (no. 36) Bodhisattva is mentioned prominently, indicating at least a trace of Mahāyāna influence.

Divyāvadāna

The *Divyāvadāna* (divine or heavenly *avadānas*) is a non-canonical anthology with canonical elements. Some of the narratives are evidently derived from the *Vinaya-piṭaka* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, while other stories, like the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* have parallels in the Pali *Sutta-piṭaka*. Like the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Divyāvadāna* contains legends which are among the best in the Buddhist literature. Parts of the *Divyāvadāna* must have been written before

the 3rd century AD, the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*[1] being translated into Chinese in 265 AD, but some narratives are later additions.

Mahāsaṅghika Works

Fragments of Vinaya and Āgama (*sutra*) of the Mahāsaṅghikas have been found at Bamiyan, but the most important remnant of their Canon, the *Mahāvastu* or the *Mahavastvavadāna*, has been found in Nepal. It is stated in the work itself that it is a book 'of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* according to the text of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsaṅghikas of Madhyadeśa (*āryamahāsaṅghikānāṁ lokottaravādināṁ madhyadeśikānāṁ pāṭhena vinayapiṭakasya mahāvastu*).[2]

The *Mahāvastu*, however, is not primarily a Vinaya text, for its principal subject-matter is a biography of Buddha. It seems to be a medley of *sūtra*, *vyākaraṇa*, *avadāna*, and *jātaka*, sometimes repeated under different forms and usually grouped irrationally. The *vinaya* is thickly garnished by legendary narratives, which served the same purpose as a *purāṇa* did to the brahmanical Hindus. The juxtaposition of more than one version of the same story indicates their origin at different places and at different times. The earliest part of the *Mahāvastu* probably reaches as far back as the 2nd century BC, while the latest part may have been added in the 4th century AD. Taken as a whole, the work may be said to belong to the 1st or the 2nd century AD, containing very ancient tradition.

The language of the *Mahāvastu* is not pure classical Sanskrit. There are 'prakritisms' for which its language has been called 'mixed Sanskrit,' which is more evident in the verses (*gāthās*) than in the prose portion.[3]

Mahāyāna Works

The Mahāyāna reformation produced a vast literature. Some of these works are considered to be 'words of Buddha,' and serve as the Bible of this school. Hence those have to be treated as canonical or semi-canonical texts. A traditional classification of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts, including the Mahāyāna works, groups them into the following twelve *dharma-pravacanas* of which eight correspond to the *aṅgas* of the Pali Canon:

1. *Sūtra*; 2. *Geya*; 3. *Vyākaraṇa*; 4. *Gāthā*; 5. *Udāna*; 6. *Nidāna*; 7. *Ityukta*

[1]*Śārdulakarnāvadāna* is the basis of Rabindranath's dance-drama Caṇḍalinī, and according to Winternitz (op. cit., p. 287 fn.) of Richard Wagner's *Seiger* which finally became *Parsifal*.

[2]In ancient days, Madhyadeśa meant the country bounded in the west by the river Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra, in the east by Allahabad, in the north by the Himalayas, and in the south by the Vindhyas. The boundary of Buddhist Madhyadeśa or Majjhimadesa as given in the *Mahāvagga* (V, 12, 13) are: Kajaṅgala (near Rajmahal on the Ganges) and beyond it Mahāsāla in the east, the river Salāvatī in the south-east, the town Setakannika in the south, the town and district Thuna in the West, and the mountain Usiradhvaja in the north.

[3]For the language of the *Mahavastu*, see S. Sen, On Buddhist i.e. (Hybrid) Sanskrit, *Bulletin of Tibetology*, N.S, 1977, no. 1, pp. 7-8.

(Pali; *itivukta*); 8. *Jātaka*; 9. *Vaipulya* (amplified text); 10. *Adbhūta-dharma* (miracles); 11. *Avadāna*; 12. *Upadeśa*.

This classification, however, does not correspond to the texts. Most of the Mahāyāna works are called *Mahāyāna-sūtra*, *Vaipulya-sūtra*, or *Dhāraṇī*. The ordinary term for most of the Mahāyāna works or *Mahāyāna-sūtras* is *Vaipulya-sūtra*, while the *Dhāraṇī* (protective spells or charms) constitute a large and important part of Mahāyāna literature. Usually, however, the texts are known under their individual titles such as the *Prajñāpārāmitā*, *Buddhavataṁśaka*, or the *Ratnakūṭa*. Following are the principal Mahāyāna texts:

Lalitavistara

The *Lalitavistara*, or the 'sport (*lalita*) of a supernatural being,' is a legendary biography of Buddha from his previous birth to the sermon at Varanasi after his enlightenment. It is probably a Hinayana work adopted by the Mahayanists. The peculiarity of the language, part of which is pure classical Sanskrit, indicates that, originally it was written in mixed Sanskrit or in Prakrit, and was later translated into pure Sanskrit, but the exigencies of the metre prevented the rendering of all the verses into pure Sanskrit.

The importance of the *Lalitavistara* can be estimated from the fact that it provided the inspiration to the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra, and to the artists of Barabudur (*c.* AD 750-850). Regarding the Barabudur sculptures, Winternitz remarks: 'It may be assumed with certainty that a version differing slightly from the *Lalitavistara*, was known to the artists who, from about 850 to 999 AD, decorated the famous temple of Boro-Budur in Java, for these magnificent sculptures represent scenes from the Buddha legend in such a manner as though the artists had actually worked with a text of the *Lalitavistara* at their hand.'[1]

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra

The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (lotus of the true faith) is the most celebrated Mahāyāna text, and has enjoyed immense popularity due to its presentation of the Mahāyānic conception of Buddha and Bodhisattva. The work is divided into 27 unequal chapters of which Chapters XXIII to XXVI are supposed to be later additions. However, the nucleus of the work must be placed in the 1st century AD, as it is quoted by Nāgārjuna, and was translated into Chinese in AD 223. The Sanskrit text now available indicates mature development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the direction of *Buddha-bhakti*, the cult of relic and image-worship, and implies an advanced stage of Buddhist art. This work has always enjoyed great popularity in China and Japan.

Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra

The *Saddharma-Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* ('revelation of the true faith in Ceylon') is usually called the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. It is a Vijñānavāda text, divided into 10 chapters, of which the first 9 are in prose and verse, and the 10th entirely

[1]Winternitz, op. cit., p. 254.

in verse. In its first Chinese translation in AD 443, Chapters I, IX, and X are missing, but these are found in the Chinese translation of AD 513. Hence these chapters must have been written between AD 443 to 513. The earlier portion was written probably within a century of the first Chinese translation.

The work derives its name from its contents, which describe the teachings of Buddha at Ceylon where he had gone at the invitation of Rāvaṇa. Their meeting is described in Chapter I. Encouraged by the Bodhisattva Mahāmati, Rāvaṇa asks Buddha the difference between *dharma* and *adharma*. The real book, however, begins from the next chapter. From Chapter II to VII, Mahāmati asks Buddha a large number of questions which lead to the exposition of the Vijñānavāda metaphysics. In Chapter VIII, Mahāmati asks Buddha his opinion about meat-eating In his reply, Buddha not only prohibits the eating of meat, but also of intoxicating drinks as well as of garlic and onion. Chapter IX is a *Dhāraṇī* (magic formula), while Chapter X is a long philosophical dissertation from the Vijñānavāda point of view, which bears some similarity with the Vedānta philosophy. The non-reality of the world, for example is illustrated by the 'circle of fire' (*alāta-cakra*) as in Gauḍapāda's *Māṇḍukya-kārikā*. The speaker of Chapter X, however, is not Gautama Buddha, but a former Buddha of an earlier age.

Samādhirāja

The full title of this work, which is also known as the *Candra-pradīpa-sūtra* is *Sarva-dharma-svabhāva-samatā-vipañcita samādhirāja* (the *sūtra* about the king of *sadhanā* in which is developed the identity of the individual nature of all things). It contains 40 to 42 chapters depending on the manuscript, of which the first 16 have been found at Gilgit. The work is in prose interspersed with verses in mixed Sanskrit. It is said to have been translated into Chinese in the 2nd century AD, and also in the 5th century AD. It mentions three Councils, of which the last probably was held under Kaniṣka. Hence the scholars are inclined to place the *Samādhirāja* between the reign of Kaniṣka and the 5th century AD.

The *Samādhirāja* is a dialogue between Candrapradīpa (or Candraprabha) and Buddha, who shows how a Bodhisattva can attain to the highest development by meditation, specially by the 'king of meditation' or *samādhi-rāja*, the highest of all meditations.

Suvarṇaprabhāsa

The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (splendour of gold) contains 21 chapters in prose and verse. It was translated into Chinese at the beginning of the 5th century AD.

Like the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* ascribes infinite age to Buddha, and stresses the impossibility of obtaining a relic of Tathāgata, because his was a *dharma-kāya*. Also, like the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, a considerable portion of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* is given to extolling the merits to be acquired by reading it, and to Dhāraṇī. Many goddesses, like Sarasvatī,

Mahādevī, and Śrī promise protection to the possessors of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*. *Tantra* rituals are also taught, and female deities, namely, Hārītī, Caṇḍikā etc, are mentioned.

The philosophy of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* is universal *śūnyatā*. It enjoys great reputation in all countries where Mahāyāna Buddhism prevails.

Ratnakūṭa

The *Ratnakūṭa* (heap of jewels) is a collection of 49 Mahāyāna texts (*sūtras*) known from their Tibetan and Chinese translations, though Sanskrit fragments have been found. The Chinese translation is the work of an Indian monk named Bodhiruci (or Dharmaruci), who went to China at an advanced age, and died there in AD 727 at the age of 165 years. He had translated the work between AD 706 to 713.

The *Ratnakūṭa* is divided into 49 *pariṣads* or *sūtras*, 77 *vargas*, and fills 120 volumes in Chinese. Some texts of the *Ratnakūṭa* are very old. For example, the *Kāśyapaparivarta* was translated into Chinese by the end of the 2nd century AD. Similarly the longer *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, or the *Amitāyus-Tathāgata-pariṣad* was translated into Chinese during the 2nd or the 3rd century AD.

The *Sukhāvatī-vyuha* is found in two recensions, one long and the other short, describing the world of Buddha Amitābha (Amitāyus) called *sukhāvati* (prosperous), and extols Buddha. Twenty-two *sūtras* of the *Ratnakūṭa* consist of *paripṛcchā* (questions) put to Buddha by various persons such as Pūrṇa, Rāṣṭrapāla, Ugra, King Udayāna of Vatsa, Upāli, Maitreya, Akṣayamati etc. Several girls also put questions such as the girl (*dārikā*) Candrottarā, Vimalaśraddhā, and Sumati.

The *Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛccha* is divided into two parts. In the first part, in reply to Rāṣṭrapāla, Buddha expounds the *dharma* (qualities) of the Bodhisattvas, while the second part describes the 50 *jātakas* of Prince Puṇyaraśmi. The first part contains a lifelike and accurate prophecy of the future decay of Buddhism.

The *Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛccha* was translated into Chinese between AD 585 to 592. Hence it is apparent that downfall had started at least by the beginning of the 6th century AD.

Buddhāvataṁsaka

Another collection of *sūtras*, found only in Chinese and Tibetan translations, are grouped under the title *Buddhāvataṁsaka* (garland of Buddha) or simply *Avataṁsaka*. Only certain portions have been found in Sanskrit, but under a different title.

One of the long texts included in this collection is the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha*, which describes the wanderings of the young Sudhana in search of perfect knowledge on the advice of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Sudhana seeks instruction from various persons including several women such as Māyā and Gopā, the mother and wife of Gautama Buddha. Finally, he attains to perfect wisdom by the grace of Mañjuśrī through Bodhisattva Samantabhadra.

At the end of the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* is the *Bhadracarī-praṇidhānagāthāḥ* (the prayer verses concerning the pious life), book of prayer in 62 melodious verses in the *Dodhaka* metre. Winternitz ranks this work 'among the most beautiful expressions of Buddhist piety.'[1] Since the 4th century AD, it has been used for the purpose of worship in all countries professing Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The *Avataṁsaka* also contains the *Daśa-bhūmika-sūtra*, which is also available in Sanskrit. Here the Bodhisattva Vajragarbha gives a discourse on the ten stages (*daśa-bhūmi*) in the career of a Bodhisattva by which he can become a Buddha.

Prajñā-pāramitā[2]

The Mahāyana *sūtras* mentioned above mainly glorify Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The *Prajñā-pāramitā* (perfection of wisdom) texts on the other hand are philosophical treatises.

The *Prajñā-pāramitās* probably originated in south India, and later formed the canonical basis of the Mādhyamika doctrine of *śūnyata*. There are *Prajñā-pāramitās* of various lengths, namely, of 100,000 verses (*Śata-sāhasrikā*), 8000 verses (*Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā*), 2500 verses (*Sārdha-dvi-sāhasrikā*), 700 verses (*Sapta-śatikā*) down to one of very 'few syllables' (*Alpākṣarikā* or *Svalpākṣara*) and even of one syllable, namely '*a*' (*Bhagavatī prajñā-pāramitā·sarva-Tathāgata-mata ekākṣarī*='the sacred *Prjñā-pāramitā* of one syllable, the mother of all Tathāgatas'). These texts have come down to us in Sanskrit. Other *Prajñā-pāramitās* which are also found in their Sanskrit originals are the *Vajra-cchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā* ('the diamond cutter *Prajñā-pāramitā*,' or 'the *Prajñā-pāramitā* which cuts as sharp as a diamond') and the *Prajña-pāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtras* which are used as protective charms (*Dhāraṇīs*). Of all these *Prajñā-paramitās*, the *Aṣṭa·sāhasrikā* is considered to be the earliest.

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa

The *Mañjuśrimūlakalpa* is sometimes included within the *Avataṁsaka*, because it is sometimes described as the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṁsaka* in the colophons of Tibetan translations as well as in many original Sanskrit manuscripts, where it is also called a *Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtra* or *Mahāyāna-sūtra*. However, its contents show it to be partly a *sūtra* and partly a *tantra* text. It not only contains directions for rituals, the Tibetan translation is classified as a *tantra*. This divergence in designation and the transformation of a *Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtra* into a *tantra* work can be explained on the assumption of successive modification of an old *sūtra* text. The work was translated into Chinese between AD 980 to 1000, hence it must have been written before that date, but probably not much earlier than the 10th century AD.

The work consists of 55 chapters and is a veritable encyclopaedia of

[1]ibid, p. 326.

[2]For *pāramitās* see above.

miscellaneous subjects which include rituals, paintings of images, astrology, and history. As in the Purāṇas, Buddha predicts succession of future kings up to the 5th century AD in 1000 verses. The dynasties include the Mauryas and the Guptas. Part of the work is written in prose, but by far the greater part is written in verse.

As stated above, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is the only Buddhist text of whose Sanskrit original has been found in India.

Guhyasamāja and Tantra texts

A large number of *tantra* texts appear as *sūtras* preached by Buddha. Though these texts are apocryphal, yet they have to be classified as canonical because the *tāntrikas* consider them as such. Tāranātha has classified these texts, though not satisfactorily, according to their subject-matter into *kriyā-*, *caryā-*, *yoga-*, and *anuttara-yoga-tantras*. The *kriyā-tantras* treat of ceremonies at the building of temples and installations of images; the *caryā-tantras* teach the practical side of the cult; the *yoga-tantras* deal with the practice of *yoga*; while the *anuttara-yoga-tantras* deal with higher mysticism.

One of the earliest and most important Sanskrit Buddhist *tantra* work is the *Tathāgata-guhyaka* or the *Guhyasamāja*. The work is in prose interspersed with verses (*gāthā*) and contains 18 chapters (*paṭalas*), of which the 18th appears to be a supplement and has not been commented upon by Candrakīrti. A *Tathāgata-guhya-sūtra* is mentioned in the *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, which would indicate its date as prior to the 7th century AD, while its commentary would place it even before the 6th century AD.

NON-CANONICAL SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Besides the works mentioned above, there is a vast Buddhist literature in Sanskrit which are partly exegetical and partly devotional. Some of the exegetical works, like those by Nāgārjuna or Vasubandhu, form the basis of their philosophical schools. Some of these works will be mentioned in connection with them. It is, however, not possible to give any account of the devotional literature which are in the form of *stotras*.

SAṄGHA

MONKS

The Life of a Monk

Buddha personally ordained his disciples by uttering the famous phrase: *Ehi Bhikkhu* (Come, O monk). When he delegated the power of ordination to his disciples, he laid down certain rules which, in course of time, evolved as the Vinaya rules. According to these rules, a person seeking ordination

had to be free from certain disabilities; he had to attain the minimum age of fifteen, and to obtain the consent of parents. On ordination, a monk had to tonsure and shave himself completely, and put on yellow robes. He then selected a teacher who presented him before a panel of at least ten monks, and was given the *pravrajyā* (lower ordination) if the panel approved his admission unanimously. He then became a *śramaṇa* (novice) and was asked to observe the following ten precepts, namely, abstain from: 1. killing; 2. stealing; 3. committing adultery; 4. speaking falsehoods; 5. drinking intoxicating liquor; 6. taking meals in the afternoon; 7. witnessing dance shows and listening to music etc.; 8. using garlands, unguents etc.; 9. using raised beds; and 10. accepting gold and silver.

The dress of a monk consisted of three pieces of garments (*cīvara*), namely, an upper robe, a lower one, and a sort of cloak worn over the two. The *cīvara* had to be made of pieces of cloth dyed yellow. Later the monks were permitted to use particular kinds of shoes.

The monks depended on begging for their food. However, they were permitted to accept invitations or food sent to them, but they were prohibited from expressing preference for any particular type of food. The *Mahāvagga* (Ch. VI) relates that at the instance of Jīvaka, the famous physician, Buddha allowed the sick monks all the medical and surgical aids they might need. But the monks were repeatedly warned that they must not commit excesses on the plea of being ill.

Uposatha

The *Mahāvagga* (Ch. II) and the *Cullavagga* (Ch. IX) give details regarding the *uposatha* ceremony, and its origin. It is related that, some heretical monks (most probably Jainas) were holding assemblies on every eighth, fourteenth, and the fifteenth days of every fortnight. This system attracted Bimbisāra, and he suggested to Buddha that his followers too might recite their doctrine to the public on those days as the heretical monks were doing. Buddha agreed to this suggestion, and later prescribed that on the last day of the fortnight, the monks should recite a confession (*pātimokkha*).

Thereafter, every fortnight all the monks living within a particular area or parish, had to attend an assembly, the sick monks being represented by proxy. This led to the strict demarcations of the boundaries of the parish for which elaborate rules were laid down. The boundary of a parish, after demarcation, had to be confirmed at a meeting of the *saṅgha* by getting a formal resolution passed unanimously three times.

At the *uposatha* or fortnightly ceremony the rules of the *pātimokkha* were recited three times asking every monk whether he had been guilty of any violation of rules during the previous fortnight. If the offence committed by a monk was of a light nature, absolution was given by the assembly, but the offender of a serious breach was ordered to leave the assembly and appear before a panel of monks on a subsequent day for reprimand. At the end of the *pātimokkha*, religious discourses were given for the benefit both of the

monks and the laity which was the original purpose for calling this assembly.

Vassāvāsa

The Buddhist monks, like other contemporary monks or *parivrājakas*, were expected to be itinerant in order to prevent them from becoming indolent.[1] An exception was made for the rainy season, by both the Buddhist and other sects, when the inclement weather forced the monks to stay indoors. The Buddhist rainy season technically commenced from the day next to the full moon of *Āṣāḍha* (June-July) or of *Śrāvaṇa* (July-August). For the next three months, the monks had to take up a fixed residence, and depend for food on the local householders. This was known as the *vassāvāsa* or the 'rainy season retreat'. During the *vassāvāsa*, a monk could be permitted to go outside his limited area of sojourn only for one week. At the end of the *vassāvāsa*, the monks had to meet in a ceremonial assembly held on the lines of the *uposatha*, but known as the *pavāraṇā*. On the last day of the *pavāraṇā*, the laity offered unsewn fabrics to the *saṅgha* in a ceremony called the *kaṭhina*.[2] The main function of the ceremony was to entrust certain monks with the tailoring and dyeing of the robes which had to be completed within one day. The robes were then distributed among the monks. As there were doubtful claimants, rules were framed to determine the proper recipient of the robes.

Special Rules for the Nuns

The Eight Chief Rules or the *aṭṭha-garu-dhamma*[3] laid down that a nun was not to spend the rainy season in a district in which there was no monk. Every half month the date of the *uposatha* ceremony for the nuns was fixed by a monk who came to give exhortation. After the *vassāvāsa*, the nuns were to hold *pavāraṇā* before the combined *saṅghas* of monks and nuns, and confess to what has been seen, what has been heard, and what has been suspected.

It may be noted that under these eight *Pāṭidesaniya* Rules meant exclusively for the nuns, they were forbidden to eat, except when ill, *ghī*, curds, oil, honey, butter, fish, meat, and milk.

Altogether a Buddhist monk had to obey 227 rules, and a nun 311. Some of these, like the 75 *Sekhiya* Rules, which were common to both monks and nuns, gave detailed instructions as to general deportment, manner in which one should go about, dress, and eat. For example, Rules 48-55 provides that a monk or nun should eat (48) without scattering food all over; (49) without licking out with the tongue; (50) without making *cup cup* sound; (51) without making *suru suru* sound; (52) without licking palms; (53) without licking the bowl; (54) without licking the lips; and (55) should not hold the water jug with soiled hand. These rules were probably intended to guide those monks

[1]The tradition persists till now in the saying '*caltā sādhu aur vahatā nadī*, i.e., [two things are pure] 'an itinerant monk and a flowing river.'

[2]*Mahāvagga*, chapter VII. [3]*Vinaya-piṭaka*, II.

and nuns who came from plebian families. Apparently Buddha expected from his followers the elegant manners of *kṣatriya* oligarchs and observe, what may be called, proper 'table manners'.

In the collection of Mahāyāna texts there is no work on *Vinaya*,[1] that is, a code of rules governing the life of a Mahāyāna monk or nun. Some later Mahāyāna texts like the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa-sūtra* give some rules of a general but not obligatory nature. These texts emphasize on firm faith in Buddha and his teachings, and on self-abnegation for other's good. The Bodhisattvas are advised to have a spiritual guide (*kalyāṇamitra*), and to study the scriptures. They are asked to meditate particularly on the four kinds of mindfulness (*smṛty-upasthāna*), as also to retire to the forest and to meditate on the different stages of a dead body (*aśubha-bhāvanā*). They are to eschew all *loka-dharmas* such as gain, fame, and desire for food and dress, and to exercise love (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*), to learn the ways of good conduct (*bhadracaryā*), and to practise worship (*vandanā*) and devotion (*śraddhā*). In some later texts, there are some directions regarding food, dress, conduct, and atonement for offences peculiar to Mahāyāna. From these it is apparent that the Mahāyānists had adopted the original *Vinaya* rules with certain modifications to render those compatible with Mahāyāna ideals. For example, the ceremonials followed for the ordination of a Mahāyāna monk was done on the same lines and with the same formula as those for a Hīnayāna monk as revealed in the *Kriyā-saṅgraha-pañjikā*.

The existence of a basic common code of conduct rendered it possible for the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna monks to reside together in the same monastery as reported by Hiuen Tsang. Actually both Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing observed that in many *vihāras* the Mahāyāna monks were following Hīnayāna *Vinaya*. It seems that the only difference between the two sects was that the Mahāyānists did not eat meat, which is condemned in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. The additional features of Mahāyāna *Vinaya* were the formalities observed in taking the *Bodhi-citta*, which involved (i) worshipping of Buddhas and *caityas* (shrines), (ii) taking refuge in the *triratna* and confession of sins, if any, (iii) expression of sincere approval of other's merits, (iv) entreating Buddhas to be the guide of all beings, ignorant as they are, and (v) offering up one's merits for *bodhi*.

MONASTERY

Foundation of Monasteries

We have seen above that Buddha accepted the gifts of large monasteries.

[1]We have considered here only the Pali *Vinaya* of the Theravādins. There were other Vinaya texts for example of the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Sarvāstivādins which are now available only in Chinese translations. For a comparative study of these Vinayas see Biswadeb Makherjee, The Schismatic Matter and the Early Buddhist Literature, *The Journal of Research*, Viśva-Bhāratī, I, part 1, 1976-77, pp. 81-98.

Fa-hien describes how kings and rich merchants built *vihāras* for monks and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens, orchards, and cattle. Royal grants to monasteries, were engraved on metal plates, and were handed down from generation to generation without anyone daring to annul them. Thus the monasteries became wealthy, and I-tsing, visiting them in the last decades of the 7th century, was constrained to remark: 'It is unseemly for a monastery to have too great wealth, granaries full of rotten corn, many servants, male and female, money and treasures hoarded without use in the treasury.'

Though Buddha organized the monastic life and established the monasteries, he did not nominate a successor. The *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* records that a short while before he passed away, Buddha said to Ānanda: 'It may be Ānanda, that some of you will think, "The word of The Teacher is a thing of the past; we have now no Teacher." But that, Ānanda, is not the correct view. The Doctrine and Discipline, Ānanda, which I have taught and enjoined upon you is to be your teacher when I am gone. But whereas now, Ānanda, all the monks address each other with the title of "brother", not so must they address each other after I am gone. A senior monk, Ānanda, is to address a junior monk by his given name, or by his family name, or by the title of "brother"; a junior monk is to address a senior monk with the title "reverend sir", or "venerable". If the Order, Ānanda, wish to do so, after I am gone, they may abrogate all the lesser and minor precepts.'

Thus the *saṅgha* was left the sole legatee, and though a sort of hierarchy based on seniority was formed, there was no pontiff. Thus there was a Church but no Pope. Buddha established a religious oligarchy without a king, the type of organization with which he was familiar. However, he had framed rules under which monks living within a boundary (*sīmā*) were to elect their chief known as the *saṅghathera* or the *saṅghaparināyaka*. Besides the election of the *saṅghathera*, there were also the system of formal moving of resolutions (*jñāpti*), ballot voting by means of small wooden sticks (*śalākā*), and formation of sub-committees, rules for quorum, votes by absentees, and subsequent legalization of acts done by an improperly constituted assembly.

The minimum number of monks constituting a panel to inflict punishment on an erring monk, to restore his privileges, or to admit or readmit a monk was fixed, and any reduction in their number made the act of the panel invalid. In certain cases, even the absence of a single monk invalidated the decision of the panel, and the resolution had to be passed unanimously for carrying such duties as the distribution of food and dress, provision of beds, erection of monasteries etc.

The monastic organization was Buddha's permanent gift to Hindu religious life. The rules which he framed to guide the conduct of the monks have been obeyed by all Indian religious orders with minor variations up to the present day.

Development of Monasteries

Buddha accepted the gifts of monasteries because they afforded suitable accommodation to the monks for pursuing a secluded life of meditation and study without having to exert themselves unduly for their daily necessities of life. From the beginning, the monasteries provided facilities for training a neophyte, who, at his ordination had, besides a spiritual guide called the *upajjhāya*, a regular instructor called the *ācārya* who had to be a senior monk of at least ten years standing. The system of training the newly ordained monk was known as *nissaya*, meaning 'dependence on a teacher'. The period of *nissaya* varied according to the capacity of the monk from five years to whole life. However, it is laid down in the *Mahāvagga* (I.36.12 and 1.25.20) that the teacher must be able to 'instruct the pupil,' and discuss with him the various points of Dhamma and Vinaya; the pupil at the same time was to 'combat by discussion any false doctrine that the teacher might take to or to get others to do it.'

According to I-tsing,[1] the monasteries, besides training the neophytes, also catered to the needs of two classes of lay pupils. One class called the *mānavas* (children) chiefly read the Buddhist scriptures with the intention of joining the order later. The other class called the *brahmacārin* (student) studied secular subjects without intending to join the order.

Thus the monasteries became teaching institutions and centres of intellectual pursuits, and gradually some of them became great seats of learning and acquired a permanent place in the annals of history.

Hiuen Tsang told his biographer Hwui-li[2] that 'the monks belonging to the convent (of Nālandā) or strangers (residing therein) always number 10,000, and all study the Great Vehicle, as well as the works belonging to eighteen sects, and not only, so, but even ordinary works, such as the Vedas and other books, the *Hetuvidyā* (logic), the *Śabdavidyā* (grammar), the *Cikitsāvidyā* (medicine and surgery), the works on magic (*Tantra* or *Atharvaveda*), and the Sāṁkhya; besides they thoroughly investigate the miscellaneous works.' According to I-tsing, the students received a thorough grounding in Sanskrit, and the curriculum included Pāṇini's grammar.

A working day for the teacher and the student was eight hours. After completion of his studies, a student was granted a diploma according to his qualifications.

Nālandā was situated a few miles from Rājagṛha (Rajgir), and archaeological excavations have revealed the ruins of some buildings of the famous monastery.

There was another *mahā-vihāra* at Valabhī, which was visited by both Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing. I-tsing states that Nālandā and Valabhī were the two places where it was usual for scholars to reside for two or three years to

[1] *Record of the Buddhistic Religion as Practised in India and the Malaya Archipelago* by I-tsing, translated by J.A. Takakusu, New Delhi 1881 pp. 105-06.

[2] *Life of Hiuen Tsang* by the Shaman Hwui-li, translated by S. Beal, New Delhi, 1973 p. 112.

complete their studies.

Accounts of later monasteries are available from the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, and from the works of Tāranātha and Bu-ston. According to theses ources, Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, revived the Nālandā monastery. During his reign, an *upāsaka* built the Odantapuri (Uddaṇḍapura) monastery, which was so famous for its architecture that it served as the model for the first monastery built at Tibet. Odantapuri became a famous University with one thousand resident students.

The next Pāla king, Dharmapāla, founded the Vikramaśīla monastery on a 'bluff hill' on the right bank of the Ganges 'where the holy river flows northwards'. The site of Vikramaśīla has not yet been properly identified, but it may have been near Bhagalpur. Dharmapāla's first spiritual preceptor was Haribhadra, an exponent of the Yogācāra philosophy. After his death, Buddha-jñānapāda, who propagated the *Guhyasamāja* and other tantric texts, became Dharmapāla's preceptor. Therefore, the king made arrangements for teaching both Vijñānavāda and *tantra* at Vikramaśīla, where Buddhajñānapāda was appointed as the head on its foundation.

Around the central monastery at Vikramaśīla, there were 53 cells suitable for tantric esoteric practices, and 54 rooms for general use of monks. One hundred and eight *paṇḍitas* were in charge of the institution, each with a specific duty such as, making offering to deities, performing *homa*, giving initiation, looking after the pigeons etc. There were also temple attendants. Some of the *paṇḍitas* were entrusted with teaching such subjects as grammar, metaphysics, logic, ritualistic practices etc. There was provision for award of diplomas to the monk-students, and the king took interest in the award of diplomas. The famous *ācārya* Jetāri at first failed to obtain the royal diploma of Vikramaśīla, which was granted him later when he had gained renown by defeating in controversies many *paṇḍitas* of other lands. The income of the institute was shared equally by the 108 *paṇḍitas*, besides which they received some maintenance allowance from the state. The state also provided food and allowance to the students.

The Vikramaśīla monastery was surrounded by a high wall with six gates, each in charge of a renowned scholar called the *dvāra-paṇḍita*. Their function was to admit students, and to enter into controversy with religious teachers of other faiths.

Vikramaśīla attracted students from all parts of India, and also from Tibet. Many Sanskrit texts were translated into Tibetan at this monastery. In this connection the most famous name is that of Atīśa Dīpaṅkara (born *c.* AD 980) who, at the completion of his studies, accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramaśīla.

At this time Buddhism in Tibet having become greatly debased, the king of Tibet sent twenty-one Tibetan students to Vikramaśīla, of whom only two survived to complete their studies. Though they had been told that any invitation to Dīpaṅkara would be useless, the king of Tibet, on hearing of his great talents, sent an envoy with an entourage of one hundred persons

and a large quantity of gold. Dīpaṅkara returned the gold, and refused the king's invitation to visit Tibet. Shortly after this incident, the king of Tibet fell into the hands of an enemy, and died in captivity. But before his death, the captive king sent a message to Dīpaṅkara, which so touched the heart of the monk that he decided to visit Tibet. So he went there, was received with high honour, and spent the last thirteen years of his life in Tibet in reforming religion and writing books.

For the remaining period of the Pāla rule, Tibet maintained close contact with the monasteries of Vikramaśīla and Nālandā. Many Tibetans studied at these two *mahā-vihāras*, particularly at Vikramaśīla, and many Indian monks also visited Tibet. Their main contribution was the translation of Buddhist texts into Tibetan, and, as a result of their labour, the vast Buddhist literature, now lost in India, has been preserved in Tibetan translation in the two voluminous collection known as the *Bstan-hgyur* (*Tanjur*) and the *Bkah-hgyur* (*Kanjur*).

The next Pāla emperor, Devapāla, restored the temple of *Śrī*-Traikūṭaka, and in course of time this temple came to be known as the Somapurī-*vihāra*. The ruins of Somapurī, discovered at Paharpur, reveal that brahminical deities such as Śiva, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, Ganeśa, Kārttikeya, Durgā, Yama, Agni, Viṣṇu, Brahmā etc., were represented there either in stone or in terracotta plaques on the outside, almost like a religious art exhibition. These representations of brahmanical deities in a Buddhist *vihāra* seem to indicate not only tolerance, but a harmonious relation between the two faiths which later merged into a common national stream.

The Somapurī-*vihāra* was set on fire by the invading armies of Vaṅgāla, in the middle of the 11th century. Some time later, a monk named Vipulaśrīmitra renovated the monastery, but its original splendour could not be restored.

Rāmapāla, the last great Pālā monarch, established the Jagaddala *mahā-vihāra* in north Bengal. Jagaddala also became a famous seat of learning and was associated with many eminent Buddhist scholars. Besides these, there were many other less known Buddhist *vihāras* in Bengal. Among them Devikota in north Bengal, and Paṇḍita-*vihāra* in the Chittagong district of Bangladesh, were noted as seats of Buddhist learning and culture.

The Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra annexed to his kingdom some western parts of the Pāla empire, and married Kumāradevī, a grand-daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mathanadeva and a niece of Rāmapāla. Kumāradevī was a Buddhist, and an inscription[1] records the restoration by her of the Dharmacakra-Jina, originally set up by Dharmāśoka, and the annexed *vihāra* at Sarnath (Monastery no. 1). The ruins of the exposed parts of the monastery cover 700 feet from east to west. Govindacandra donated six villages to the *śākya-bhikṣu-saṅgha* at Jetavana-vihāra[2] though he himself followed the brahmanical faith.

[1] *EI*, IX, pp. 319-28.
[2] ibid, XI, pp. 20-6.

Govindacandra had another Buddhist queen named Vasantadevī. It is significant that neither Kumāradevī nor Vasantadevī is described as *paṭṭa-mahādevī* or *samasta-rāja-prakriyopetā* (endowed with all royal privileges), though his two queens from brahminical families receive this honour. The reason may be that due to political considerations, Govindacandra had formed matrimonial alliances, but it was not possible to marry them according to strict brahminical rules which alone could confer on the queens the honours mentioned above.

Kashmir was a great centre of Buddhism, and many *vihāras* were established there by the kings and queens of that country, all of whom were followers of brahminical faith. They erected the Buddhist shrines along with shrines dedicated to brahminical deities as a gesture to their Buddhist subjects, and also possibly out of respect for the great scholars who resided in some of these monasteries for which Kashmir was famous. Kashmir became a stronghold of the Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas, and many famous teachers of these schools lived there and spread their doctrines to Central Asia and China. Hiuen Tsang spent two years in Kashmir (AD 631-633) where he found a hundred monasteries and 5000 monks. Kalhaṇa gives some details of about twenty-eight *vihāras* and indicates that there were many more.

According to Kalhaṇa, Aśoka's son Jalauka, the ruler of Kashmir, destroyed a *vihāra* because the sound of music from it disturbed his sleep. Thereupon the Bauddha monks sent a witch to kill him, but she was forbidden to murder the king by the Bodhisattvas. Ultimately, the king was spared his life, the witch gained liberation, and 'thereupon the king built the Kṛtyāśrama-*vihāra*, and worshipped there the divine sorceress'. The witch defined a Bodhisattva as follows: 'We witches (*kṛtyakāḥ*) living by the side of Mount Lokāloka belong to darkness (sin). Putting our whole trust in Bodhisattvas we long for liberation from darkness. Know that Bodhisattvas are certain beings who since [the coming of] the blessed Lokanātha (Buddha) have freed themselves in this world from *kleśas* (afflictions). They being bent on supporting all beings, do not feel anger even towards the sinner, but in patience render him kindness and are bound to bring about their own final liberation.'[1]

The historical value of this story is slight as the name of Aśoka's son Jalauka is not to be found in any other source. Actually the earlier part of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* has little value as history. But the story indicates the prevalence of Mahāyāna and tantric forms of Buddhism in Kashmir from remote times. This is also indicated by Kalhaṇa's statement that, 'a Buddhist ascetic (*śramaṇa*), who was living alone in a *vihāra* situated at Kinnaragrāma, seduced the [king's] wife through magic powers.'[2]

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by Kalhaṇa, I, 131-147, translated by M.A. Stein. Stein suggested 'afflictions' for '*kleśas*; but most probably *kleśa* here denotes the *pañca-kleśa* of the *Yoga-sūtra*, II, 3-8, which are *avidyā* (nescience), *asmitā* (egoism), *rāga* (attachment), *dveṣa* (repulsion), and *abhiniveśa* (fear of death).

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 199.

Regarding the lives of the monks, Kalhaṇa gives the interesting information, that Meghavāhana's queen, Yūkadevī, built a magnificent *vihāra* in one half of which 'she placed those *bhikṣus* whose conduct conformed to the precepts (*śikṣācāraḥ*), and in the [other] half those who, being in possession of children, cattle, and property, deserved blame for their life as householders.'[1] Kalhaṇa's description of Meghavāhana's reign is so much mixed with legends, that it is difficult even to hazard a guess about his probable date. However, it must have been before,—probably long before,—*c.* AD 627 when Bālāditya the first historical king of Kashmir ascended the throne. Hence it may be tentatively concluded that, married monks though objects of censure, were to be found in Kashmir before the 7th century.

The tantric schools of Vajrayāna and Kālacakrayāna flourished in Kashmir, and from Kalhaṇa's testimony as cited above, it would appear that *tantra* came to Kashmir quite early. The *Bstan-hgyur* gives the names of a fairly large number of distinguished teachers of these two schools, of whom four were known as 'the Great Paṇḍitas of Kashmir,' namely, Jñānaśrīmitra (AD 1074) of the Anupama-*vihāra*, Buddhaśrījñāna, Sarvajñaśrīrakṣita, and Śākyaśrībhadra. Kashmir was also a famous seat for the study of Buddhist logic, but today the fame of such works has been eclipsed by Kṣemendra's *Bauddh-āvadāna-kalpalatā* completed in AD 1052.

BUDDHIST SECTS

First Council

Schismatic tendencies were discernible even during Buddha's life. Buddha's cousin Devadatta became his personal enemy, and tried to discredit him. Some monks tried to circumvent rules promulgated by him of whom the 'group of six' (*chabbaggiyas*, Sk. *ṣaḍvargikas*) became notorious for their defiantly critical attitude towards the Master.

Soon after the death of Buddha, the First Council or *saṅgīti* (standard scriptural recital) was held under the presidentship of Mahākāśyapa. This *saṅgīti* provided a coherent tenet for the Buddhists, but some aged monks like Purāṇa and Gavampati preferred to remain aloof on the ground that the *saṅgīti* did not accord with what they had heard from the Master.

During the century following the death of Buddha, the centrifugal tendencies among his followers became more pronounced. The difficulty was that Buddha had not appointed any apostolic successor possibly for the very good reason that only a Buddha could succeed another. However, as his religion spread, regional variations and local leadership came to play their part and influence new recruits. Buddha had said that *dhamma* itself would be the guide and instructor after his death. But *dhamma* could be differently interpreted; *dhamma* also depended to certain extent on common interest in a particular branch of study like the *Sūtra*, *Vinaya*, or the *Abhidhamma*.

[1]ibid, III, 12.

Second Council: The First Schism

About one hundred years after the death of Buddha, the matters came to a head. A large number of Vṛjins (Pali: Vajji) monks from the eastern regions like Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra began to advocate certain innovations in the realm of discipline. These were: 1. storing of salt; 2. taking of food after mid-day when the shadow had fallen eastward to the extent of two fingers; 3. taking a second meal in a neighbouring village; 4. observance of *uposatha* in different places within the same parish (*sīmā*); 5. taking sanction of an act from the *saṅgha* after it was done; 6. use of precedence for the justification of an act; 7. drinking milk which had just began to turn but had not yet curdled; 8. drinking of unfermented palm juice; 9. use of seat without fringes; and 10. the acceptance of gold and silver. These innovations were strongly opposed by the westerṅ monks from Kauśāmbī, Pāṭheyya, and Avanti.

To resolve the difference, a Council of 700 monks from east and west were held at Vaiśālī after attempts at mediation had failed. But even the Council of 700 monks failed to arrive at an agreed solution, so they appointed a committee in which each side was represented by four members. This committee having decided against the Vṛjin monks, they seceded and formed a group calling themselves the Mahāsaṅghikas. The western monks came to be designated as Sthavirāvadins or the Theravādins from *sthavira* or *thera* which in Pali means 'old' or 'senior.'

A late tradition, available in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of some Buddhist texts, ascribes the split to the activities of a monk called Mahādeva. His propositions, five in number, were:

1. An *arhat* may commit a sin by unconscious temptation;
2. One may be an *arhat* and not know it;
3. An *arhat* may have doubts on matters of doctrine;
4. One cannot become an *arhat* without a teacher;
5. An *arhat* attains the 'path' by exclamations such as '*aho*' or 'how sad, how sad'!

The Mahāsaṅghikas held their own Council known as the Māhasaṅgīti (from which they derived their name), in which they adopted their recension of the sacred texts from which they excluded the *Abhidhamma*, and parts of the *Sūtra* and the *Vinaya* and parts of the Jātakas. Thus the split in the Buddhist fraternity began.

Third Council

By the time of Emperor Aśoka, the discipline of the Buddhist monasteries had become lax primarily for two reasons. Firstly, there was no head of the Buddhist Church, nor was there any regular hierarchy among the monks. Secondly, as the monasteries became rich, a number of undesirable elements joined the order to lead an easy life of indolence. They are called 'heretics' or 'false monks' in the Buddhist texts.

Ultimately matters came to such a pass that for seven years the *uposatha* ceremony was not observed in the great monastery of Aśokārāma at Patali-

putra. The Emperor wanted the revival of the customary ceremony, which indeed was obligatory, but unfortunately he deputed a minister to carry out his wishes. The minister, in his zeal to please his master, cut off the heads of those monks who refused to comply with the imperial order. Aśoka felt contrite when he heard of this horrible incident, and ultimately sought the advice of the venerable Moggaliputta Tissa, the most learned monk of his time.

To the Emperor's query as to whether he had any vicarious responsibility for the killing of the monks, the Thera replied that there was no guilt without an evil intent. Since the Emperor did not intend to kill the monks, he was not guilty of their murder. Then, on Moggaliputta's advice, Aśoka turned out of the monastery all the monks who did not avow themselves as Vibhajjavādins (=Theravādins). A Council of one thousand Vibhajjavādins was then held under the presidentship of Moggaliputta, who attempted to refute the views of the non-Theravādins and establish his own views as the original teaching of Buddha. These refutations were compiled under the title of *Kathāvatthu*, which was made the fifth book of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* of the Theravādins.

Some scholars have questioned the authenticity of the Third Council because it is not mentioned (i) in Sanskrit traditions, (ii) by Chinese travellers, and (iii) in the edicts of Aśoka. These scholars further hold that, Aśoka could not have lent his support to a particular Buddhist sect to the exclusion of all others. These arguments are plausible but not conclusive, being of a negative character. Aśoka and his officials had nothing to do with this sectarian Council, though it would have been natural for the Emperor to have accepted the conclusions of a Council of learned monks as the correct interpretation of Buddhism. After the conclusion of the Council, missionaries were sent to various countries to propagate Buddhism, and Aśoka's son (or brother) Mahendra and daughter, Saṅghamitrā, were sent to Ceylon. They naturally preached the Theravāda doctrine and it may be said that the enduring legacy of the Third Council was the establishment of a permanent base for Theravāda.

Fourth Council

By the beginning of the Christian era, Buddhism had become very popular in India as is attested by the remains of Buddhist monuments mostly revealed by archaeological explorations. A factor in this development was the patronage extended to Buddhism by kings of foreign extraction like Menander and Kaniṣka.

According to Hiuen Tsang, Kaniṣka was at first unsympathetic to Buddhism, but later became a convert. Hiuen Tsang further relates that, Kaniṣka used to call a monk every day to instruct him, but found that the monks gave him different instructions which were often contradictory. Ultimately, the perplexed monarch consulted the venerable Pārśva, and, on the latter's advice, convoked a Council at Kashmir in which various sects

were represented. Five hundred monks are said to have taken part in the discussion with Vasumitra as chairman. The result of the deliberations was the compilation of *vibhāṣās* or commentaries on the three Piṭakas.

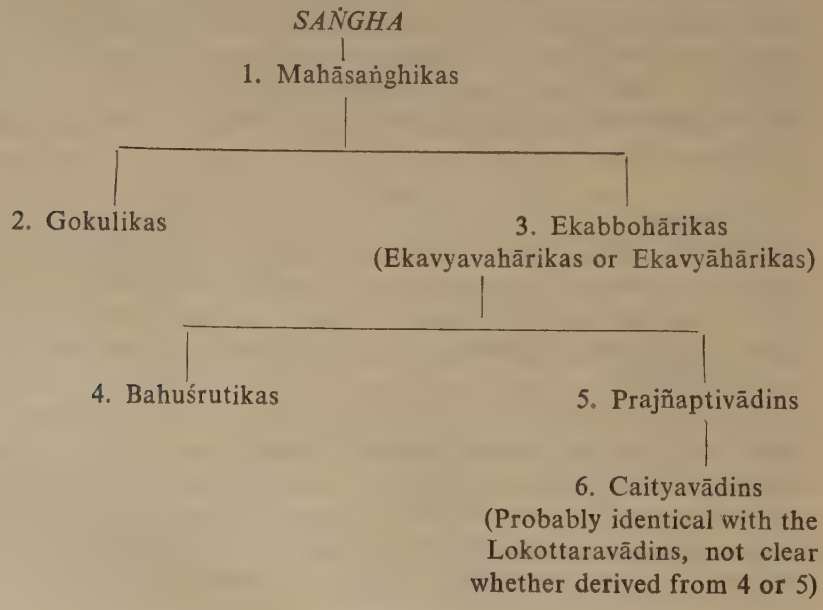
A slightly different account of the Fourth Council is given by Paramārtha in his *Life of Vasubandhu* (AD 499-569). Paramārtha also locates the session of the Council at Kashmir, but states that it was convened by Kātyāyanīputra, the author of the *Jñānaprasthāna-sūtra*, which is the principal text of the Sarvāstivādin *Abhidharma-piṭaka*. It contains eight sections, and was put into literary form by Aśvaghoṣa, the great contemporary poet. Thereafter, it took twelve years to complete the *vibhāṣās*.

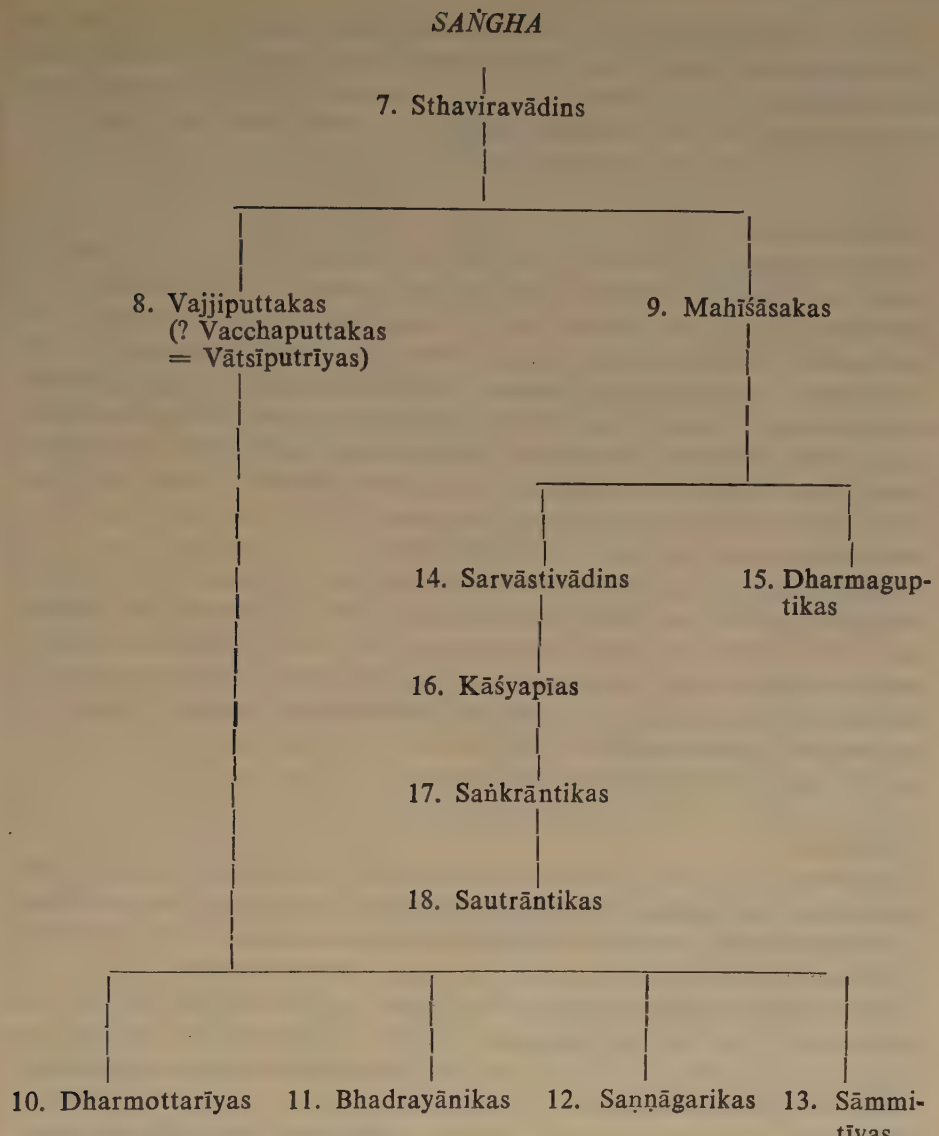
Tāranātha has also given an account of this Council, according to which it admitted the claims of the eighteen sects as giving a correct interpretation of Buddha's sayings, evidently each sect maintaining its own point of view.

It is apparent that the Council was held in Kashmir, the stronghold of the Sarvāstivādins, and that the leading monks among those who attended it belonged to this school. The Council may have permitted all the sects to express their views, but ultimately gave preference to the Sarvāstivāda doctrine. This Council is ignored in the Pali tradition, from which it appears that it was as much a Sarvāstivāda Council as the Third Council was a Theravāda one.

Sects

In course of time the Sthaviravādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas were subdivided into many sects. According to the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, the Mahāsaṅghikas split into six and the Sthaviravādins into twelve sects, thus giving rise to the traditional eighteen sects.





Besides these, there were other Mahāsaṅghika sects such as, the Pūrvaśailas, Aparaśailas, Uttaraśailas, and the Caityakas mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda and the Amaravati inscriptions. It should be noted that many scholars hold that the Saṅkrāntikas and the Sautrāntikas were identical, and that Sāmmitiya was another name for the Vātsīputrīyas.

THERAVĀDA

The Theravāda was not only the oldest, but the most orthodox sect. According to a Tibetan tradition, it claimed Mahākaccāyana, a native of

Ujjayinī as its founder. This was the 'western' sect, and had its centres at Kauśāmbī and Ujjayinī. They adopted Pali as the language of the scripture, and the doctrine found in the Pali Piṭakas mentioned above are really Theravāda doctrine. As stated above, Mahendra propagated this doctrine in Ceylon, which became a firm stronghold of this sect.

Sarvāstivāda

The most important branch of the Theravāda school was the Sarvāstivāda, which, according to a Tibetan tradition, was founded by Rāhulabhadra. The Sarvāstivādins adopted Sanskrit as the language of their scripture. Their early centre was at Mathura, from where they moved to Kashmir and Gandhāra. It remained the foremost school of Buddhist thought from the reign of Aśoka to that of Kaniṣka, and during the Kuṣāṇa period it penetrated into China through Central Asia. The Chinese Hīnayāna texts are translations from the Sarvāstivāda Piṭakas which were carried to China by Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing. Manuscripts and fragments of Sarvāstivāda texts have been discovered in Central Asia and Turkestan.

Though the Sarvāstivādins generally followed the Theravāda doctrine and disciplinary rules, there was a fundamental difference between them regarding the conception of 'impermanence' (*anitya*). In distinction to the Theravādins, the Sarvāstivadins held that a being is composed of 5 *dharmas* and 75 permanent elements which transmigrate, the present life being the result of the past and is the potential of the future.

Later the Vaibhāṣikas arose from the Sarvāstivādin sect.

Vaibhāṣikas

The other sects differed from the Theravādins on minor points. The Sāmmitīyas or the Vātsīputrīyas upheld the doctrine of a permanent *pudgala* which, according to them, transmigrated from one body to another. The philosophy of the Sautrantikas and the Vaibhasikas have been given below.

The principal Abhidharma (='The higher or Special Dharma,' or 'The Discourse on Dharma,' or 'higher subtleties of religion') text of the Sarvāstivādins was the *Jñānaprasthāna-sūtra* of Kātyāyanīputra (2nd century BC).[1] The Sarvāstivādins of Kashmir and Gandhāra, however, accepted the commentary or the *vibhāṣā* on this text as more authoritative than the text itself. Hence they were known as the Vaibhāṣikas.

The *Vibhāṣā-śāstra* was composed about the second century AD, and Aśvaghoṣa is said to have rendered them into literary Sanskrit. These were translated into Chinese during AD 383-434. However, there are two trans-

[1]The *Jñānaprasthāna-sūtra* contains the exposition of the following six texts: i. *Saṁgītiparyāya* by Mahākausthila; ii. *Dhātuvāda* by Vasumitra (according to Yaśomitra, the *Pūrvakāya* and not *Dhātukāya* is by Vasumitra); iii. *Prajñaptisāra* by Manudgalyāyana; iv. *Dharmaskandha* by Sāriputra; v. *Vijñānakāya* by Devaśarman; and vi. *Prakaranapāda* by Vasumitra; MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Bharatiya Saṁskṛti aur Sādhanā* Patna, 1963, p. 121.

missions of the *Vibhāṣās* into Chinese, the larger one in 200 parts, and the smaller one in 14 parts. It is not clear whether the smaller one was an abridgement of the larger version, but Prof. Takakusu[1] is of the opinion that the larger one belonged to the Kashmir school, and the smaller one to the Gandhāra school.

Among the many distinguished teachers of the Vaibhāṣika school, mention may be made of Dharmottara, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Vasumitra, and Buddhadeva. The Vaibhāṣika was a realistic school but each of these scholars held different views on realism.[2]

The greatest and most famous Vibhāṣā scholar was Vasubandhu (*c.* AD 420-500). He was a native of Gandhāra, and went incognito to Kashmir to make a special study of the *Vibhāṣās* with Saṅghabhadra. Saṅghabhadra wrote two orthodox texts, namely the *Nyāyānusāra* and the *Samayapradīpikā*. Vasubandhu on his return to Gandhāra wrote the *Abhidharmakośa* which is preserved in sixty volumes (or parts) in Chinese translation. The Sanskrit text is lost, but a commentary called the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* by Yaśomitra is available. The first Chinese translation was by Paramārtha, between AD 563 and 567, while Hiuen Tsang made the second translation between AD 651-654.

'The *Abhidharmakośa* treats in 600 memorial verses (*kārikās*) together with the author's own commentary (*bhāṣya*), the entire field of ontology, psychology, cosmology, ethics, and the doctrine of salvation. The last chapter, which is given either as Chapter IX or as an appendix to Chapter VIII, and which is not composed of memorial verses, treats of the Buddhist doctrine of the soul (denial of a permanent soul), and is directed against the Pudgalavādins, those who believed in a permanent soul.'[3]

One of Vasubandhu's disciples was Guṇaprabha, a native of Mathura. He came from a *brāhmaṇa* family, and after having mastered the Vedas and other brahminical *śāstras* turned a Buddhist and mastered Tripiṭaka and the Mahāyāna texts. Later he became a disciple of Vasubandhu, and gave up his Mahāyāna leanings to remain a lifelong Vaibhāṣika. He became the spiritual preceptor of Harṣā-vardhana. Hiuen Tsang writes that Guṇaprabha was a great intellectual and a voluminous writer.

The Sautrāntikas

Kumarālabdha (Kumāralāta), a native of Takṣasilā, is traditionally known as the founder of this school. He is counted by Hiuen Tsang as one of the 'four suns of India,' the other three being Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, and Āryadeva. Kumāralabdha seems to have flourished after Āryadeva (2nd century AD)[4] and Vasubandhu.

[1] J. Takakusu, *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, edited by W. Chan and C.A. Moore, 3rd ed., New Delhi, 1975, p. 60.

[2] N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, II, Calcutta, p. 145.

[3] Winternitz, op. cit., p. 357.

[4] Takakusu, op. cit., p. 98.

The other great exponent of the Sautrāntika doctrine was Śrīlābha mentioned in Vasubandhu's *Kośa-bhāṣya*. Śrīlābha was a native of Kashmir, but Hiuen Tsang noticed a monastery at Ayodhya where Śrīlābha had resided for some time.

The philosophy of the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika schools have been discussed below.

MAHĀSAṄGHIKAS

The Mahāsaṅghikas claimed one Mahākassapa as their founder. At first they had their centre at Vaiśālī and were scattered all over north India, but later they are found confined in the Andhra country with their main centres at Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda from which they derived their secondary name, 'Andhakas'. The literature of this school is lost, but from the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions it is learnt that it had a complete *Sutta-piṭaka* divided into five *Nikāyas*, and a *Vinayapiṭaka* which is now available in Chinese translation.[1] This school adopted Prakrit as the language of the Piṭakas.

The Mahasaṅghikas attempted to deify Buddha and maintained that he was supramundane (*lokottara*), so that what passed as Buddha in this world was an apparition. They also held that the *arhat*-hood was not the highest or the fully emancipated state, and therefore an individual should aspire to be a *buddha* and not an *arhat*. These doctrines were diametrically opposed to those of the Theravādins, and paved the way for the introduction of Mahāyānism.

MAHĀYĀNA

It is difficult to say precisely at what time Mahāyānism took its rise. The earliest known exponents of this doctrine, namely, Nāgārjuna and Maitreyanātha, flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era. Therefore, it seems possible that the Mahāyāna doctrine originated in the first century BC if not earlier.

The Mahāyānists take their stand on the reported statement of Buddha, made soon after his attainment of *bodhi*, that he was not inclined to impart the deep philosophical teachings to the mass. The Mahāyānists claim that Buddha preached the popular ethical religion to the *śrāvakas* who were less spiritually advanced, and communicated the subtle and deeper teachings to a select few, the Bodhisattvas, from whom the Mahāyānists received their doctrine and philosophy. The fact is that the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists derived their views from the sayings of Buddha, but interpreted them differently. I-tsing (*c.* AD 700) reports: 'The adherents of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna both practice the same *Vinaya*, recognize the same five

[1]For reference see above p. 391 fn 1.

categories of faults, are attached to the same four truths. Those who worship the Bodhisattvas and who read the Mahāyāna *sūtras* get the name of Mahāyānists; those who do not are Hīnayānists.'[1]

Dr. N. Dutt states that even in the Pali Nikāyas there are passages which inculcate Mahāyāna doctrine. Hence he suggests that the crucial test for designating a particular form of Buddhism or a particular text as Mahāyāna is to ascertain whether it (i) teaches *dharmaśūnyatā* (non-reality of phenomenal objects) besides *pudgalaśūnyatā* (absence of any substance such as soul); (ii) incorporates the conception of countless Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; (iii) advocates the worship of gods and goddesses; and (iv) recommends the use of *mantras* for attaining emancipation. The earliest text to contain these doctrines was the *Prajñāpāramitā* which was translated into Chinese by Lokarakṣā in AD 148, hence it may be assumed that the Mahāyāna doctrine was formulated by the first century AD if not earlier as suggested above.[2]

Bodhisattva dominates the Mahāyāna doctrine, though the conception of Bodhisattva was not a Mahāyāna innovation. All Buddhists believed that each Buddha before attaining *bodhi* had been a Bodhisattva, who acquired all the six or ten perfection of virtues (*pāramitās*) in order to qualify himself for the attainment of Buddhahood.[3] Gautama, like all other Buddhas, had to do the same in his previous existences as is related in the *Jātakas*. The Sarvāstivādins laid special stress on this aspect and extolled the cult in the *Lalitavistara*. However, these sects believed that this cult was meant for exceedingly rare beings, perhaps one in a *kalpa*, who, like Gautama or Dīpaṁkara, would ultimately become a Buddha. The cult of Bodhisattva was first popularized by the Mahāśaṅghikas and their branches, who preached that every being should aspire to Buddhahood, and therefore aim at becoming a Bodhisattva by acquiring the appropriate virtues.

The *Abhidharmakośa* gives a fine description of the mentality of a Bodhisattva, while explaining as to why after having taken the vow to obtain *bodhi*, a Bodhisattva takes such a long time to obtain it. The answer is that, apart from the difficulty of obtaining *bodhi*, the Bodhisattvas take 'infinite labour' 'for the good of others, because they want to become capable of pulling others out of this great flood of suffering . . . The benefit of others is their own benefit . . . Bodhisattvas, confirmed in pity, find pleasure in doing good to others without any egoistic preoccupation . . . Bodhisattvas, by the force of habit, detach themselves from the Dharmas which constitute their so-called "Self", do no longer consider these Dharmas as "I" or "mine", growing in pitying solicitude for others, and are ready to suffer a thousand pains for this solicitude.'[4]

Though the idea of Bodhisattva was evolved by the Hīnayānists, Mahāyāna

[1] I-tsing, translated by Takakusu, op. cit., pp. 14-5.

[2] *HCIP*, II, p. 387.

[3] For *pāramitās* see above.

[4] *Abhidharmakośa*, III, 94; II, 191-92, quoted by E. Conze, *Buddhism, Its Essence and Development*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1957, pp. 125-26.

elaborated this idea into a universal ideal, and deprecated the goal of *arhat*-hood which was the ideal attainment for the Hīnayānists.

Through spiritual meditation, the Hīnayānists attempted to realize that this body was a store-house of impurities, hence they took self-effacement in a practical sense. But the Mahāyānists maintained that the Hīnayāna practice of self-effacement for the attainment of *nirvāṇa* being for personal benefit was selfish. Self-effacement in the true sense of the term can only be meaningful when one dedicates one's own life in several existences to the service of others. Hence a Mahāyānist had to take the vow that he would not seek his own happiness, heavenly life, nor even *nirvāṇa*, until he had been able to render others happy, make them attain heavenly life, and ultimately *irvāṇa*. The altruistic attitude of the Bodhisattvas was the keynote of Mahāyāna.

A Mahāyānist, therefore, had to take the preliminary vow of developing the *bodhi-citta*, that is, the vow of dedicating one's self to the service of others. When an adept developed the *bodhi-citta*, he was called a *bodhisattva* (essence of enlightenment). The Mahāyāna texts like the *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Dasabhūmikā-sūtra*, and the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* prescribe in detail the course of training to be undertaken by a *bodhisattva*, which was the fulfilling the six *pāramitās*. As it was not possible to acquire all the six *pāramitās* in one life, a *bodhisattva* had to be born again and again to complete his mastery over the six *pāramitās*.

Here it may be pointed out, that anyone who develops *bodhi-citta* is a Bodhisattva, that is a being destined to attain knowledge or '*bodhi*' in course of time and become a Buddha. Hence every Mahāyānist is a Bodhisattva as distinguished from a Hīnayānist who is called a *śrāvaka*. As stated above, a Bodhisattva aspires for Buddhahood, while a *śrāvaka's* aim is limited to obtaining the *arhat*-hood.

The *bodhisattvas* are advised to have a spiritual guide (*kalyāṇamitra*) and to study the scriptures. Meditation is prescribed, particularly in forests, on the different stages of a dead body. They were to give up all desires for gain, fame, riches, food, and clothes, and develop *maitrī* (love) and *karuṇā* (compassion). They were also to learn the ways of good conduct (*bhadracaryā*), and to practise worship (*vandanā*) and devotion (*śraddhā*).

We have given below the Mahāyāna interpretation of *anitya*, *anātman*, and *śūnyatā*, which, included both *dharma-śūnyatā* and *pudgala-śūnyatā*. These two *śūnyatās* could be comprehended only by the removal of the two veils (*āvaraṇas*), namely; the *kleśāvaraṇa* (the veil of impurities), and the *jñeyāvaraṇa* (the veil of ignorance that covers the truth). The Hīnayāna *arhats* (perfect men) removed the *kleśāvaraṇa* by realizing only the *pudgala-śūnyatā*, by which they rose above the notion of identity and difference between the various phenomenal objects and regarded them as one mass without any distinction. The Mahāyānists deny the existence of this 'mass' also. That is, the Hīnayānists do not see any distinction between an earthen jar and an earthen horse, and regard both as identical clay. The Mahāyānists hold that not only there is no distinction between the earthen jar and the earthen horse, but their *dharma*

(substrate or substance), that is clay, also does not exist. When an adept realizes this *dharma-śūnyatā*, his *jñeyāvaraṇa* is removed and he attains perfect knowledge.

Mādhyamika

Nāgārjuna, the celebrated author of the *Mūlamādhyamika-kārikā*, was the founder of the Mādhyamika school, though the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* on which he based his philosophy may have been in existence about a century before his time.[1] Various traditions are available regarding Nāgārjuna's life, but most of them have confused the philosopher with the famous tantric teacher and alchemist who was also named Nāgārjuna, and was a contemporary of a Sātavāhana king. Unfortunately, Kumārajīva's biography of the philosopher written in AD 405, does not give any detailed or reliable information. Several Buddhist texts contain Buddha's prophecy that Nāgārjuna would be born 400 years after his passing away. This would place Nāgārjuna about the first century AD, which is the date accepted by most scholars and Prof. Venkata Ramanan has assigned him the period AD 50-120.[2]

Nāgārjuna was born in a *brāhmaṇa* family at Vidarbha, and at an early age gained renown as a scholar. Later he embraced Buddhism and wrote many works of which the most famous are his *Mādhyamika-kārikā* and his commentary on *Pañca-viṁśati-sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*. Commenting on the effects of his works, Prof. Stcherbatsky has remarked: ' . . . we are fully justified in maintaining that the history of religions has scarcely witnessed such a break between new and old within the pale of what nevertheless continued to claim common descent from the same religious founder.'[3]

Nāgārjuna was succeeded by his disciple Āryadeva, who, according to Hiuen Tsang, was one of 'the four suns which illumined the world,' the other three being Nāgārjuna, Kumāralabdha (Kumāralāta), and Aśvaghoṣa. Āryadeva was the foster-son of a king of Ceylon, and succeeded Nāgārjuna as the abbot of Nālandā, and became famous by successfully refuting the heretical teachers. Of his several works, only one, namely, the *Catuḥśataka* (400 verses) has been preserved in Sanskrit, and is one of the fundamental Mādhyamika texts. His other work, the *Śata-śāstra* (One hundred Verse Treatise) along with Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamika-śāstra* and the *Dvadaśadvāra* (The Twelve Gates) from the basic texts of the Sanron School of Japan. To this the more positive Shiron School added Nāgārjuna's *Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra*.[4]

Āryadeva's famous disciples were Matṛcetā and Rāhulabhadra, who succeeded the teacher as the abbot of Nālandā. Tāranātha has given the names of the successive Mādhyamika abbots of Nālandā. They are Rāhulamitra, Nāgamitra, and Saṅgharakṣita, each the disciple of his predecessor. Saṅgharak-

[1]K.V. Ramanan, *Nāgārjuna's Philosophy*, 1st Indian edition, Varanasi, 1971, p. 31.
[2]ibid, p. 30; *HCIP*, II, p. 389 fn. 3.
[3]T. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Leningrad, 1927, p. 31.
[4]Takakusu, op. cit., pp. 83-4.

sita's famous disciples were Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka, both of whom wrote several important Mādhyamika texts. Bhāvaviveka discarded the *prāsaṁgika* (*reductio ad absurdum*) method of Nāgārjuna, and introduced the *svātantrika* (direct reasoning) method. Hiuen Tsang says that in his work called the *Tarkajvālā*, Bhāvaviveka not only refuted the non-Mādhyamika doctrines but also the brahminical schools of thought.

Bhāvaviveka became involved in controversies with Sthiramati's disciples, and it was during his time that a sharp cleavage took place between the Mādhyamikas and the Yogācārins.

The next important Mādhyamika teacher was Candrakīrti, the famous commentator. He followed the *prāsaṁgika* method, which had been handed down through Buddhapālita, and is sometimes referred to as the latter's reincarnation. Candrakīrti was succeeded as abbot of Nālandā successively by Dharmapāla (AD 635) a Yogācārin, and Jayadeva. Jayadeva's successor was Śāntideva, the most famous Mādhyamika writer after Candrakīrti.

Śāntideva (formerly Śāntivarman, AD 695-730) was the son of Kalyāṇavarman, king of Saurastra. Śāntideva gave up his throne, and became a disciple of Jayadeva at Nālandā. Tāranātha ascribes to him three works, namely, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, of which the original Sanskrit text of the first two are available.

After Śāntideva, the great name among the exponents of the Mādhyamika school is that of Sarvajñamitra (8th century), the author of the well-known *Sragdharā-stotra* or the *Ārya-Tārā-Śragdharā-stotra*, in thirty-seven verses, *Sragdharā* 'female wearer of the wreath' being an epithet of Tārā, as well as the name of the metre in which the poem is written.

Yogācāra

It is said that even while Nāgārjuna was the abbot of Nalanda, there was a division among his followers leading to the origin of the Yogācāra school. But the real propounder of the Yogācāra philosophy was Maitreyanātha. He lived in Ayodhya about AD 270-350, and systematized the idealistic Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda philosophy through his works, namely, the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra-kārikā*, also known as the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* all of which are available in Sanskrit.

Maitreyanātha's disciple Asaṅga, who also lived in Ayodhya (AD 310-390), was formerly held to be the founder of the Yogācāra school. Asaṅga was the eldest son of the royal priest of Puruṣapura (Peshwar). He first joined the Hīnayāna Mahiśāsaka sect, but being unsatisfied approached Maitreyanātha and was initiated into Mahāyāna. Maitreyanātha inspired Asaṅga to write several texts, of which the most famous was the *Yogācāra-bhūmiśāstra* or the *Saptadaśa-bhūmi-śāstra*, of which only a portion, the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* has come down in Sanskrit. Hiuen Tsang carried the entire work to China where it was translated, and gradually Asaṅga achieved greater fame than his teacher.

One of Asaṅga's greatest services to the Yogācāra school was the conver-

sion of his brother Vasubandhu, the famous author of the *Abhidharmakośa*. Possibly Vasubandhu did not need much persuasion, for, as we have seen, his conception of Bodhisattva, as given in his *Abhidharmakośa*, is practically identical with the Mahāyāna ideal. After his conversion to Yogācāra, Vasubandhu, it is said, wanted to cut off his tongue which had reviled Mahāyāna. But his elder brother prevailed upon him to employ his tongue in the service of Mahāyāna. This he did, and wrote a number of commentaries on various Mahāyāna texts. Besides those, he wrote two classical treatises on idealism, namely, the *Viṁśatikā* (of 20 *kārikās* or memorial verses) and the *Triṁśikā* (30 verses), in which he subtly refuted the belief in the reality of the objective world, while defending the reality of pure consciousness (*vijñānamatra*). He was also a logician, but in this field the works of his disciple Diṅnāga is more famous.

Paramārtha in his biography of Vasubandhu concludes: 'The sense conveyed in his compositions is fine and excellent; there is no one who, on hearing or seeing it, does not believe and pursue it. Therefore all those who study the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna in India and in all the frontier countries use the works of Vasubandhu as their text books. There are no teachers of any other schools (of Buddhism) or of the heretical sects who, on hearing his name, will not become quite nervous and timid. He died in A-yu-ja (Ayodhya) at the age of eighty. Though he lived an earthly life, his real nature is indeed difficult to understand.'[1]

Vasubandhu had a long and distinguished career as the abbot of Nālandā, where he left a large number of disciples. Among them may be mentioned Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Diṅnāga, Saṅghadāsa, Dharmadāsa, Dharmapāla, and Vimuktasena.

Prof. Takakusu writes: 'In India there seem to have been three lines of transmission of Yogācāra Idealism after the death of Vasubandhu. The first was the line of Diṅnāga, fifth century, Agotra, and Dharmapāla, whose centre of transmission was Nālandā University. Śīlabhadra of Nālandā and his Chinese pupil Hiuen Tsang belong to this line. The second was the line of Guṇamati and Sthiramati whose seat of transmission seems to have been Valabhi University; Paramārtha the founder of the She-lum School in China belongs to it. The third was the line of Nanda whose tenet was followed by Paramārtha (sic), and Jayasena who instructed Hiuen-Tsang on certain questions. This last line of transmission did not flourish much in India and seems to have soon disappeared.'[2]

Diṅnāga was the greatest logician of his time, and one of the greatest that India has produced. He separated the science of logic from disputation, and replaced the word *vāda* by *nyāya*. Another famous Buddhist logician was Dharmakīrti, a disciple of Diṅnāga's disciple Īśvarasena. Dharmakīrti came from a *brāhmaṇa* family of south India, and was probably a nephew of the great Kumārila. He studied Diṅnāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* with Īśvarasena,

[1]J. Takakusu, The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha (AD 499-569), *T'oung Pao*, 1904, p. 27, quoted by Winternitz, op. cit., pp. 360-61. [2]Takakusu, op. cit., pp. 83-4.

but differed from the latter on certain points and composed a fresh commentary on this text. He is said to have surpassed even Diṅnāga in his contribution to the science of logic. His *Nyāyabindu* is extant in original Sanskrit.

The real dispute between the Buddhist and the brahminical philosophers began when Diṅnāga criticized Vātsyāyana's commentary on the *Nyāya-sūtras* of Gautama Akṣapāda. In reply to Diṅnāga, Udyotakara (*c.* AD 635) wrote a *vārttika* to refute Diṅnāga's views. Udyotakara was refuted by Śāntarakṣita, and Kamalaśīla, both of whom probably flourished in the 8th century. Within a hundred years, Vācaspati Miśra (AD 840) vindicated Udyotakara in his celebrated work the *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyaṭikā.* After that there was no worthwhile reply from the Buddhist scholars. Śaṁkara and Kumārila had already demolished the main plank of Buddhism which no longer had the vitality, nor possibly the reputation, to attract first-rate intellects.

Dharmapāla was a disciple of Diṅnāga, and both came from Kanchi. According to Hiuen Tsang, Dharmapāla was the son of a high royal official, and possessed of a prodigious memory. He became the abbot of Nālandā, and was succeeded in that office by his disciple Śīlabhadra. It was under Śīlabhadra that Hiuen Tsang studied at Nālandā, 'the important doctrines of Buddhism—first the reformed idealism of Vasubandhu in his *Vijñaptimātrata* and then the realism of the same author in his *Abhidharmakośa.* After seventeen years' sojourn in India, he came home in 645 and translated Dharmapāla's *Vijñapti-mātrata-siddhi* (Completion of Mere Ideation) in addition to seventy-four other texts.'[1]

Śilabhadra was a scion of the royal family of Samatata. He defeated in dispute some teachers in south India, and was awarded the revenues of a village by the king, with which he built monasteries and made provisions for the resident monks. Hiuen Tsang speaks highly of him, partly because he was the pilgrim's teacher. He was the last known Vijñānavādin abbot of Nālandā.

One of the most distinguished pupils of Sthiramati was Candragomin, the author of the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa,* and several other literary works. His grammar gained popularity, but later it was totally neglected in India presumably because of its Buddhist origin. However, the grammar was extensively used in Tibet, and also in Ceylon till about AD 1200, when a Ceylonese Buddhist monk wrote a popular recast of the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* called the *Bālāvabodha.*

Sectarian Harmony

It should be noted that the followers of the various Buddhist sects including those of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna were not as antagonistic as the Protestants and the Roman Catholics of Europe. In many Buddhist monasteries, the monks of various sects resided together in harmony, particularly in Magadha, and in the famous academic centres like the Nālandā, Vikramaśīla, and Pāṭaliputra. The main effort of the Buddhist monks, since the Gupta period, was aimed towards the elucidation of their particular doctrines, and

[1]Ibid, p. 63.

the development of monasteries into academic centres. Hiuen Tsang records that the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna monks resided together in a number of monasteries. As pointed out above, there are reasons to believe that the Buddhist monks even of different sects, subscribed to a common code of ecclesiastical rules.

VAJRAYĀNA

As stated above, Buddha's teachings were mainly rational and ethical. It was comparatively free from worship and rituals, because he emphasized on meditation as the means of realization or *nirvāṇa*. However, the first line of *Tri-ratna*, or the *Tri-śaraṇa*, namely *Buddhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi*, involves some sort of worshipful attitude towards Buddha, though it was designed to be an affirmation of faith. When the great line of Buddhist philosophers and logicians ended, there came the days of *stotras* and *stavas* which are found even in the early texts like the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalita-vistara*. There is a collection of four hymns (*Catuḥstava*) by Nāgārjuna in the Tibetan translation. As days went by the number and popularity of the hymns grew. As Tāranātha puts it: 'At the time when the six jewels (probably Aśvaghoṣa, Āryadeva, Nāgārjuna, Kumāralabdha, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu) stayed on earth, the Mahāyāna *ācāryas* were very scholarly and, apart from the fact that the monks were excellent, the number of Śrāvakayānists was much higher. Starting from this time on, the teachings growing weaker and weaker went down in a short time in the south, although in other countries it declined gradually.'[1] Thereafter came the days of *stotras* and *stavas* begun by Sarvajñamitra of Kashmir in the 8th century. Gradually the stream of faith released by the Tathāgata meandered into the vale of mysticism and *tantra*.

We shall deal with *tantra* in a later chapter, for it is difficult to isolate Buddhist *tantra* from the brahminical *tantra*. It is sufficient to state here that, *tantra* is not a synonymous term for hocus-pocus or debauchery. Speaking of Buddhist *tantra*, Dr. Nalinaksa Dutt observes: 'It must, however, be admitted that this new type of *sādhanās* or *yogic* practices did confer on the adepts some superhuman powers and also led many to the realization of high spiritual states, and that there were among adepts some who, in purity and knowledge, ranked in no way inferior to some of the best *arhats* of the past.'[2] Unfortunately, as days went by, increasing number of men and women got initiated to *tantra* to gain supernatural powers, and from then on began the decay and decline of Buddhism in India.

It should be emphasized here that charms and spells (*dhāraṇīs*) were not tantric innovations. These are as old as the Vedas, and in Buddhist literature the *Āṭānāṭīya-suttanta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* is described as *rakkhā* (protective spell) to be memorized for averting evils from Yakṣas, Gandhar-

[1]Quoted in *HCIP*, IV, p. 361 note 1a.

[2]ibid, p. 259.

vas and other wicked beings.[1] What is more, highly gifted Buddhists like Hiuen Tsang believed it. Hiuen Tsang was not only a renowned Buddhist scholar, but the manner in which he crossed the Central Asian deserts entitles him to rank with explorers like Sir Aurel Stein or Sven Hedin. However, describing his perilous journey to his biographer Hwui-li, the great pilgrim said that in the Gobi desert he 'encountered all sorts of demon shapes and strange goblins, which seemed to surround him behind and before. Although he invoked the name of Kwan-Yin, he could not drive them all away, but when he recited this *sūtra* (*Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*), at the sound of the words they all disappeared in a moment. Whenever he was in danger, it was to this alone that he trusted for his safety and deliverance.'[2]

The Tibetan Lama Tāranātha (born AD 1573) completed his work, written on the basis of Indian and Tibetan sources in AD 1608.[3] According to him, the *tantras* appeared at the same time as the *Mahāyāna-sūtras*, and since the time of Asaṅga, was secretly transmitted by teachers to a few deserving disciples. Tāranātha has given the names of eight early Buddhist tantric teachers beginning from Saraha and Lui-pā and the names of their works.

The earliest Buddhist *tantra* text is the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[4] which may be placed in the 5th or the 6th century AD. It sets forth details of numerous *mudrās*,[5] *maṇḍalas* (mystical diagrams), *mantras* (mystical spells), *kriyās* (rites), and *caryās* (duties of an officiating priest in worship). The prerequisites of the *mantra*-cult are given in the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* as *śīla* (moral precepts), *vratas* (vows), *saucācāra* (cleanliness in acts), *niyama* (austerities), *homa* (offering of oblations), *japa* (undertone repetition of a *mantra*) and *dhyāna* (meditation).

The next Buddhist *tantra* text is the *Guhyasmāja*, which is listed as one of the texts of the Vajra School (Pali, Vājiriyas) in the *Nikāya-saṁgraha* and Sinhalese works of the 8th century. The *Guhyasamāja* deals with *yoga* (ordinary meditation) and *anuttara-yoga* (tantric form of meditation), but its chief aim is to explain the *tathāgata-guhya* or 'the unfathomable reality,' and the way to realize it. The *tathāgata-guhya* is deep and subtle; it is the secret of all secrets, the unchangeable eternal reality.

The *vajra* of Vajrayāna is also *śūnya*, but this *śūnya* differs from the *śūnya* of the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools, because the *vajra* comprises *śūnya* (reality), *vijñāna* (consciousness), and *mahāsukha* (bliss) in other words *saccidānanda*.

The conception of the co-extensiveness of the ultimate reality and the

[1]ibid, p. 260.

[2]*Life of Hiuen Tsang* by Hwui-li, translation by S. Beal, pp. 21-2.

[3]Winternitz, op. cit., p. 399 fn.

[4]For references see *HDK*, V, p. 1140 ff.

[5]*Mudrā* usually means' 'finger poses' or 'certain position of fingers practised during worship.' Its efficacy has been described as:

yoyanāt sarva-devānāṁ drāvanāt pāpa-saṁhateḥ
tasmāt mudr-eti sā khyātā sarva-karm-ārtha-sadhanī.

phenomenal world is common to Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. The Mahāyāna schools instructed their followers to develop this conception through the practice of *brahma-vihāras*, which consisted of *maitrī* (love), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (joy at others' success), and *upekṣā* (equanimity). These mental qualities and attitudes were to be displayed to all worldly beings, and were therefore, unlimited in scope (*apramāṇa*). The Vajrayāna induces concentration of thought through *mudrā*, *maṇḍalas*, *mantras*, and goddesses. The followers of Vajrayāna associated with *yoga*-minded females of any caste in order to realize a basic concept of *tantra* that, there are two fundamental principles behind creation, the Ādi-Buddha (male) and Tārā (female energy).[1] It is stated in the *Guhyasamāja*, that a few Buddhas issued out of the body of Vairocana Buddha in the form of goddesses.

The term *guhya* has tempted a few scholars to trace in the text of the *Guhyasamāja* sexual religious practices. Commenting on this attitude, Dr. Nalinaksa Dutt has observed: '. . . . Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, in his introduction to the *Guhyasamāja*, has done injustice to the work by isolating, from the topic and trend of exposition, the verses which have references to the conception of *śakti*, by interpreting certain verses superficially without any reference to the theme of the passages preceding and following them, and also by misinterpreting a few verses.'[2]

The *Guhyasamāja* preaches the oneness of the universe, the Vajra, in which there is no distinction between a male and a female, between a wife and a mother or a sister, between the excreta and the meat of any animal, even of a human being. Even passionate acts are not different from Truth, the Vajra, and are included in the functions of the Bodhisattvas. The female sex, believed to be the source of all our sufferings, is as much an appearance as the male sex.

The use of these extreme similes were intended to emphasize that ultimate reality is *śūnyatā* and all else are appearances. But. the *Guhyasamāja* contains references to meat-eating (*māṁsa*), *mudrā* (finger-pose), and *maithuna* (sexual union), though not to the use of *madyā* (wine) and *matsya* (fish) which were introduced by later *tantra*. In course of time, this aspect of physical enjoyment gained currency among the new adepts and brought the tantric Buddhism and Vajrayāna into disrepute.

It seems possible that the tantric teachers had difference not only in regard to the methods of *sadhanās*, that is, *kriyā*, *caryā*, *mantra*, and *yoga*, but also about the conception of Vajra. In the *Guhyasamāja*, Anaṅgavajra's *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, and in Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi* the concept of Vajra is that of *śūnyatā* of Nāgārjuna. On the other hand, the *Dohās* and the *Caryāpadas* of Lui-pā, Kānhu-pā or Bhusukapāda propagate the idealism of *vijñaptimātra* of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.

[1]Here the following observation by A.K. Coomaraswamy in his *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, New Dehli, 1974. p. 320 may be noted: 'For in Europe it is not always remembered even in scientific circles, that Matter exists only as a concept.'

[2]*HCIP*, IV, p. 265; *Guhyasamāja*, p. 6.

The most outstanding feature of Vajrayāna is the identification of the ultimate reality with Bhagavān Vajrasattva or Vajradhara, a monotheistic conception, which distinguishes this school from earlier Buddhism. The Vajrasattva represents the non-dual state of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*, that is, He is 'infinite wisdom and universal compassion'. He, who realizes Vajrasattva, becomes Vajrasattva.

The evolution of the idea of Vajrasattva had other consequences. In the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, translated into Chinese in AD 148-170, Amitābha appears as the presiding deity of Sukhāvatī or the Akaniṣṭha heaven. The *Prajñāpāramitās* describe elaborate worship of Buddha with various accessories, still it is debatable whether even then the Buddhists had evolved a well-defined and classified pantheon. A number of gods and goddesses are described in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, but it is the *Guhyasamāja*, which is the first text to reveal the existence of a pantheon in a *saṅgīti* which introduced new ideas into Buddhism.

According to the *Guhyasamāja*, Vajradhara or the Ādibuddha (Primal Buddha) is possessed of five kinds of knowledge or attributes of meditation (*dhyāna*) from each of which emanates a Dhyānībuddha. They are also the presiding deities over the five *skandhas* or the elements of which the world is composed. Each Dhyānībuddha has a consort or *śakti* and a Bodhisattva who is like his son and also a particular *mānuṣī* (human) Buddha. The five Dhyānībuddhas are the progenitors of five *kulas*, and are called *kuleśas*. The five *kulas* are *dveṣa* (hatred), *moha* (delusion), *rāga* (attachment), *cintāmaṇi* (thought-gem), and *samaya* (convention) which are conducive to the attainment of all desires as well as emancipation.

dvesa-mohas=tathā rāgas=cintāmaṇi samayas=tathā
kula hy=ete tu vai pañca kāma-mokṣa pradāyinī

The *Guhyasamāja* gives elaborate description of the deities. They are endowed with one to eight pairs of hands, or even more, and corresponding number of heads. The deities have different complexions, different expressions, and different companions, depending on the tantric rite of worship and the purpose of worship, which could vary from curing a disease or an affliction to the killing of an enemy. Accretions to the pantheon were made by the artists who enjoyed considerable liberty of innovation. The votaries too made their contributions to the pantheon in order to have deities in more and more powerful forms with ever increasing number of limbs and heads. As a result, there was an amazing proliferation of the deities.

KĀLACAKRAYĀNA

About the 10th century AD, there arose a tantric Buddhist school which was known as the Kālacakrayāna. The innovations of this school were mainly two. The first innovation was, as the name implies, the conception of *kāla* or

time. The second innovation was the adoption of the basic tantric doctrine as an article of faith, that truth is to be realized in and through the body; that is, the 'truth' to be realized resides within the body of a man, and it is to be realized through the medium of the body.

From this spiritual introversion, the teachers of the yet obscure Nātha cult concluded that, the microcosm is a reflex of the macrocosm, and that everything that is found in creation has a parallel in the human body, a belief which is shared by all the later tantric schools. Kālacakrayāna preached that *kāla* also resided within one's body. According to them, *kāla* is produced by the *vāyus* (vital winds), and one who can control the *vāyus* by yogic practices can keep himself above the influence of *kāla*, or the passage of time. The other innovation of the Kālacakrayāna was the introduction of a large number of malignant gods and their female energies of awful and terrible aspects which predominated the pantheon of this school. It has been suggested that Kālacakrayāna should be regarded as identical with Vajrayāna, or at least not as an independent school.[1] It is difficult to subscribe to this view.

The sphere of Kālacakrayāna was first limited within the Pāla kingdom (Bengal and South Bihar), but subsequently it spread to Nepal and Kashmir. The two schools of Vajrayāna and Kālacakrayāna inspired a large number of artists, and they are important for the study of the eastern school of Buddhist art.

SAHAJAYĀNA

There arose in Bengal during the Pāla period another school of tantric Buddhism known as the Sahajayāna. According to the followers of this school, known as the Sahajiyās, the *bodhicitta* is *sahaja*, or the innate nature of the self and the world.

Bodhicitta is a Mahāyāna conception which distinguishes it from the Hinayāna. In order to realize the *dharmakāya* a being has to attain the *bodhicitta* which will enable him to gain perfection in the six *pāramitās*. According to Mahāyāna, the formalities observed in adopting the *bodhicitta* were, (1) worshipping of the Buddhas and the *caityas* (shrines), (2) taking refuge in the *Tri-ratna* and confession of sins, if any; (3) expression of sincere approval of other people's merits; (4) entreating Buddhas to be the guides of all beings, ignorant as they are; and (5) offering of one's merits for *bodhi*.

According to the Yogācāra school, however, the *bodhicitta* is a continuous stream of consciousness in which the consciousness of the previous moment gives rise to the consciousness of the succeeding moment. This chain of momentary, all-pervasive and all-powerful act-force is the *bodhicitta*. It is surcharged with impurities which are all unreal such as desire, memory, existence, non-existence, subject, object etc., which can lead a man to further extension of existence or to emancipation. The chief aim of a Bodhisattva is

[1] *HCIP*, V, p. 412.

to purify *bodhicitta*. In its upward journey, the *bodhicitta* has to traverse ten (spiritual) spheres or *bhūmis* one after another as described in the *Daśabhūmikāsūtra*. When the *bodhi-citta* crosses the ten *bhūmis* and reaches the last sphere or stage, which is known as the Dharmamegha, it becomes emancipated and is endowed with omniscience.

In Vajrayāna theory, the external world has much the same insignificance as in Yogācāra. The Vajrayānists and the tantrics in general held that the objects of the phenomenal world were no more real than dream objects, and that their reality could not be proved by reason. The reality is *bodhicitta* which is *śūnya*. This, it may be noted, is one of the main differences between the Buddhist and the brahminical *tantra*.

The identification or *ahaṁkāra* between individual *bodhicitta* and universal *śūnya* is established by tantric worship by the *mantra*: 'I am the goddess and the goddess is in me': *Yā bhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā sāhaṁ, yo'haṁ sā bhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā*. The worshipper conceives himself as the deity with the same complexion, form, and limbs as described in the *sādhanā*, and instead of worshipping any external object, worships himself; the duality between the *bodhicitta* and the deity disappears followed by enlightenment.

The *bodhicitta* is also called *karuṇā*, and in union with *śūnyatā*, is called *advaya*, or non-dual, which is a form of cognition where the *bodhicitta* blends with *śūnya*. Vajrayāna symbolized this principle by introducing the *Yuganaddha* form of deities, in which the male deity is interlocked in close embrace with his female counterpart. Here the male deity is *śūnya*, and the female deity is the *bodhicitta*; or they represent the ultimate principles, reality and *karuṇā*. Avalokiteśvara, who sacrificed his *nirvāṇa* to serve his fellow men, is the symbolical representation of *karuṇā*. The principle of *karuṇā* enables the *bodhicitta* to soar higher and become subtler till it merges in *śūnya* where all duality disappears.

According to the Sahajiyās, the *bodhicitta* is the highest Truth, the Absolute. It is the *sahaja*, the innate nature of the self and of the universe, and also the unified state of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*. According to the later *tantra* and the Sahajiyās, reality has two aspects, the static and the dynamic: the static *prajñā* and the dynamic *upāya* (means). *Prajñā* is called *padma*, and *upāya* the *vajra*, and are represented by the female and male principles. *Prajñā* is perfect knowledge of all that is and all that is not, that is of ens and non-ens. *Karuṇā* or *upāya* is the dynamic or the active principle which leads one to an active life seeking the liberation not only of the self but of others as well. *Prajñā*, the pure consciousness (*vijñaptimātra*) or pure wisdom, represents the *nivṛtti* (cessation or termination), while *upāya*, the active principle, represents *pravṛtti* (commencement, predilection, perseverance, attachment). Thus *prajñā* and *upāya* are really the counterparts of Śiva and Śakti of the brahminical tantras, the difference being that in tantric Buddhism the female *prajñā* represents the passive and the male *upāya* the active principle, while in the brahminical *tantra* their roles are reversed. In Buddhist *tantra*, every female is *prajñā*, and every male the embodiment of *upāya*. A pair of female

and male must transcend their corporeal existence and realize their true selves as *prajñā* and *upāya*. With this realization they should unite and control the sex act in such a way that the downward movement of the semen is changed to an upward motion till it reaches the seat of the Truth in the body which is located in the highest plexus (nerve centre) called the *uṣṇīṣa-kamala*. Ths stationery state of the semen in the *uṣṇīṣa-kamala*, or the union of the *prajñā* and the *upāya* (*prajñopāya*) is the final stage in the realization of Bliss (*mahāsukha or nirvāṇa*), and of Truth, for Bliss is the ultimate nature of Truth. This stage is also called the *mahā-mudrā*. According to the Sahajiyās, Buddha was the *upāya*, and his wife Gopā was the *prajñā*.

It has been claimed, and not unreasonably, that tantric *sādhanā* is capable of transmuting gross sensual pleasure into the realization of infinite bliss in which all the activities of the mind are lost in an all-pervading oneness. The fact, remains, however, that no great religious teacher, far less Buddha, ever preached such methods of self-realization. On the contrary, he insisted on continence, and avoidance of any kind of contact with women.

The type of tantric *sādhanā* involving sexual union may lead to *mahā-sukha* and *nirvāṇa*, but the very real danger is that the *sādhanā* may not lead to *siddhi*. Then the result is hideous, as in most cases it is.

SPREAD OF BUDDHISM

The history of Buddhism for about two hundred years after Buddha's death is not known. Apparently during this period there was little to distinguish it from other contemporary religious movements. It was slowly spreading towards the west, for, at the time of the second Council described above, invitations were sent to monks residing in distant countries like Pāṭheyya (western India), Avanti, Kauśāmbī, Saṅkasya (Etah District, 45 miles north-west of Kanauj). Mathura became a Buddhist centre during the early Maurya period. Aśoka in his XIII R.E. deplores the injuries, or slaughter, or deportation of *brāhmaṇas* and *śramaṇas* of Kalinga.[1] If the *śramaṇas* are identified with the Buddhist monks, which is most likely, then it would appear that Orissa was a Buddhist centre before Aśoka's coronation.

During this period the Buddhist *saṅgha* was losing its cohesion for want of communication between the communities which were separated by great distances. Local influences slowly predominated and affected the various communities, and local leadership shaped them in different ways. These tendencies gave rise to several sects or schools which have been described above.

With Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism, described in a previous volume,[2] Buddhism was transformed into a movement of unprecedented intensity, and for all we know the time may have been ripe for the movement, for

[1]For RE XIII, see above I, p. 38.
[2]ibid, pp. 158-60.

royal patronage alone cannot account for its rapid expansion. Though himself a Buddhist, Aśoka's attitude to religion was non-exclusive. This is made clear in his R.E. IX and XIV, and the P.E. VII (Topra). Propagation of Buddhism, however, was his special concern, as is shown by M.R.E. III in which he prescribes seven texts, which cannot be properly identified, for the study of the monks and nuns. The Minor P.E.I. (Allahabad-Kosam) shows that he united the *saṅgha* of the monks and the nuns, and expelled the heretical monks.

Aśoka instituted the office of the *dharma-mahāmātra* to propagate *dharma* 'not only here in his own dominions but also in the territories bordering on his dominions, as far away as at the distance of six hundred *yojanas*, where the Yavana king Antiyoka is ruling and where beyond the kingdom of the said Antiyoka, four other kings named Turamāya, Antikini, Makā, and Alikasundara are also ruling, and towards the south, where the Coḍas, and Pāṇḍyas are living as far as Tāmraparṇī.[1] (R.E. XIII).

Another event of great importance in the history of Buddhism was the convening of monks in the Third Council described above. This Council reorganized the dominant school of the *saṅgha*, and helped the Emperor to spread Buddha's message to distant lands. The success of the missionary activities in the Yavana countries could not have been remarkable, but post-Aśokan epigraphic records and Buddhist monuments clearly testify that within the Maurya empire Aśoka's endeavour met with spectacular popular response. Puṣyamitra, the first Suṅga king, is said to have persecuted the Buddhists, and in any case, the Suṅga and Kāṇva kings, who followed the Mauryas were not patrons of Buddhism. But the architectural monuments of the Suṅga-Kāṇva period, namely the Bharhut and the Sanchi *stupas*, the Karle caves, and the large number of recorded private donations bear witness to the secure and popular base of Buddhism.

It was about this time that Buddhism was adopted by the Greeks in the north-west during the reign of king Menander (*c.* 140-130 BC). Henceforth, the Greeks in India adopted Buddhism as their religion. Their main contribution to Buddhism was the Gandhāra art.

In the early sculptures, like the reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi, Buddha is invariably represented by some aniconic symbol such as the *bodhi* tree with the *vajrāsana* beneath it, or the garlanded *dharmacakra*, his foot-steps, or the *stūpa*. It is possible that there was some convention against the representation of the Master, who was regarded by the early Buddhists as a Teacher and not as a Deity. Hence they were intent on avoiding any form of worship except reverence to his relics. The Greeks imported anthropomorphic ideas, which they expressed through various images of Buddha rendered in terms of Graeco-Roman pantheon. However, almost at the same time the Mathura school of art began to produce Buddha images which have been ascribed to the 'innate anthropomorphism of the Indians.'

The next landmark in the history of Buddhism was the reign of Kaniṣka.

[1]For the identification of these kings see ibid, p. 167.

He was a Buddhist, and as mentioned above, the Fourth Council was held during his reign. Chinese pilgrims have described the magnificent *stūpa* more than 600 feet in height built by Kaniṣka at Peshawar, which is referred to by Al-Beruni. The relic casket which it contained has been found *in situ* in course of excavation. The Gandhāra art achieved its greatest success during the Kuṣāṇa period. All these possibly contributed to revitalize the *saṅgha*, and Buddhist monks from India carried their doctrine to Central Asia and China with great success.

It was also during the Kuṣāṇaper iod that the Mahāyāna doctrine came into prominence. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* states that the Mahāyāna doctrine will originate in Dakṣiṇāpatha (south India), pass to eastern countries (*vartanyām*), and prosper in the north. From this and some other evidence, it is possible to conclude that Mahāyāna originated in the Andhra region in the 1st century BC, but it became a recognized form of Buddhism during the reign of Kaniṣka. Later it spread all over north India by the 1st or the 2nd century AD.

During the Gupta period only three or four Hīnayāna sects survived to carry on their activities in different parts of India. Many seals, images, inscriptions, and manuscripts written in Gupta character have been discovered. These testify to the energetic activities of the Hīnayāna sects, particularly of the Sarvāstivādins, the Sāmmitīyas, the Vātsīputrīyas, and the Sthaviravādins. But there are enough indications to show that the Hīnayāna sects were losing their grounds, and the Mahāyāna ideals were becoming increasingly popular. Ultimately the Mahāyāna doctrine won the contest.

Fa-hien, who visited India during AD 400 to 411 saw both the sects. He noticed the popularity of Hīnayāna (probably the Sarvāstivāda) in Lob-nor, Darada, Udyāna, Gandhāra, Bannu, and Kauśāmbī, and Sthaviravāda in Ceylon. In Afghanistan, Bhida (Punjab), Mathura and Pataliputra, Fa-hien found only Mahāyāna monks. At Gaya and Kapilavastu he found the monasteries empty and desolate.

On the whole, Fa-hien found Buddhism flourishing in Central Asia and India. On his way to Mathura he saw numerous monks and monasteries, and noticed that in most places the kings were strong believers in Buddhism, and held the monks in veneration. Some of the kings had granted land to monasteries. Fa-hien has recorded his admiration for the monks for their strict observance of the disciplinary rules, and the lay devotees for their devotion for the shrines and liberality towards the monks. He noticed that the householders erected *caityas* and *stūpas* and worshipped them. This indicates that the worship of the Buddha image had not yet become popular, but the ground for it was ready.

The situation had changed when Hiuen Tsang toured India during AD 630 to 644. He found exclusive centres of Hīnayāna, particularly of Sarvāstivāda in the countries lying beyond the northern boundaries of India, and also at Sthāneśvara, Prayāga, and Kośāmbī. Adherents of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna lived side by side in Kapīsa (in Afghanistan), Jālandhara, Mathura, Sāketa

(Ayodhya region), Nepal, Puṇḍravardhana, Ceylon, Mahārāṣṭra, and a few other countries. In Lampa (Lampaka=Lamghan near Peshawar), Takṣaśīlā, Kullu, Magadha, Orissa, and Vidarbha, Hiuen Tsang found only the adherents of Mahāyāna.

From Hiuen Tsang's account, it appears that among the Hīnayāna schools, the Sāmmitīyas had attained importance. He saw the adherents of this sect in Viśoka, Ahicchatra, Saṅkāsya (Etah District, near Faizabad), Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī, Karṇasuvarṇa. Mālava, Valabhī, Hayamukha (Daundiakhera, about 100 miles north-west of Allahabad), Ānandapura, Sindh, Cutch, and a few other places. Evidently, the Sāmmitīyas had replaced the Sthaviravādins in these places, and it has been suggested that the latter may have adopted the doctrine of the existence of *pudgala* (explained below), and become Sāmmitīyas. The Sthaviravādins continued to flourish in Samataṭa where they had thirty monasteries, and in Draviḍa (capital Kanchi) where they had one hundred monasteries, with 2000 and 10,000 monks respectively. He found only a few adherents of the Mahāsaṅghika sect at Andarab and Dhanakaṭaka (Amaravati), their ancient centre.

Hiuen Tsang has also left a vivid description of Harṣa-vardhana. About Harṣa's religious activities, Hiuen Tsang says that, the king performed a great ceremony at the confluence of the Ganges and Yamuna at Prayāga every five years. Here, after the examples of his ancestors, he 'distributed in one day the accumulated wealth of five years.' An image of Buddha was offered the most costly jewels, and then gifts were distributed first to the Buddhist priests after which the 'retired scholars and recluses of other religions and kinless poor' received the royal bounty.[1] The exhausted treasury was soon filled up by the gifts of rulers of different countries. Hiuen Tsang gives the impression that Harṣa was not only a devoted Buddha, but had scant respect for other religions. He is, however, contradicted by other evidence. Harṣa's seal refers to his three ancestors as devotees of Sun, his elder brother as a Buddhist, and himself as a Śaiva, which is corroborated by his two records discovered so far. Hence it appears that the pious monk was exaggerating Harṣa's attachment to Buddhism, which must have been genuine but not exclusive.

Hiuen Tsang's description of Harṣa's religious assembly also seems to be somewhat subjective. Harṣa held this assembly at Kanauj, and it was attended by King Bhāskaravarman of Kamarupa and eighteen or twenty other kings.[2] A hundred feet tower was raised with a golden image of Buddha of the size of the king inside it. A smaller golden image of Buddha was daily carried in a procession of a gorgeously caparisoned elephant with Harṣa, dressed as Śakra (Indra), holding a canopy, while Bhāskara-varman, dressed as Brahmā, held a white *cāmara*. When the procession reached a specially

[1] *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* by T. Watters, New Delhi, 1973 p. 364.

[2] *Buddhist Records of the Western World* by Hiuen Tsang, translated by S. Beal, New Delhi, 1981, I, p. 218. The number of kings is given as 18 in the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* by Ḥwui-li translated by S. Beal, p. 177.

constructed altar, the image was placed on it, and Harṣa, having bathed it in scented water, bore it on his shoulder to the tower where thousands of silken garments studded with jewels were presented to it. Then followed a great feast, after which the kings and the adherents of different religions gathered in an assembly, where abstruse subjects were discussed till Harṣa retired to his palace in the evening. This programme was followed continuously for twenty-one days.

For the purpose of the assembly, Harṣa had selected one thousand Buddhist monks and five hundred followers of other religions including *brāhmaṇas*. Hiuen Tsang was nominated as 'Lord of the discussion,' and, having selected a subject, he offered his head to any one who could find a flaw in his arguments. None dared accept his challenge, but after five days, some Hīnayānists plotted to murder him. Harṣa then proclaimed that, any one who should 'hurt or touch' Hiuen Tsang would be instantly executed, and the tongue of any one who spoke against him would be cut off. Hiuen Tsang smugly remarks that, after this proclamation 'the followers of error withdrew,' and no one joined the discussion. None would, if Harṣa had indeed issued such a proclamation.

However, the troubles were not over. On the last day of the assembly, the great tower caught fire, and in the ensuing confusion, a heretic attempted to stab Harṣa. The assassin was apprehended, and he revealed that he had been hired by the heretics, who had deliberately set the tower on fire to create an opportunity for murdering Harṣa. Five hundred *brāhmaṇas* then confessed their share in the plot, which was hatched out of jealously for 'the *śramaṇas* whom the king had reverenced and exceedingly honoured.' Harṣa punished the ringleaders, and banished the *brāhmaṇas* to the frontiers of India.

This strange account may be true; at least the punishment inflicted on the *brāhmaṇas* agrees with the Smṛti law. However, it is apparent that among Hiuen Tsang's many great qualities was included that of a courtier. Royal favour attracted and pleased him, and he was quite conscious of his intellectual attainments. It is evident that his Indian teachers did not attend the assembly, otherwise, one of them, and not he would have been the natural choice as the 'Lord of the discussions.' It is also evident that no reputed Buddhist scholar attended Harṣa's assembly, and he had to select one thousand monks from those who were mainly attracted by the stories of the king's munificence. Harṣa's threat to cut off the tongue of any one who spoke against Hiuen Tsang may have been meant to protect his protègè from vilification. For, to insulate the 'Lord of the discussions' from his opponents would be otherwise inexplicable, though it resulted in isolating him. The fact of Hiuen Tsang's being left alone may be explained by the insularity of the Indians, particularly the *brāhmaṇas*, who have always been reluctant to discuss their tenets with a foreigner on equal terms, and was possibly outraged by the sight of a young Chinese being elevated to the dignity of the 'Lord of the discussions.'

There is no doubt that Harṣa was greatly attached to Buddhism, and that he heaped honours upon Hiuen Tsang. The Chinese pilgrim must have had a very charming personality, and managed to convince Harṣa of his erudition. Hiuen Tsang's fame rests upon his translation of the Buddhist texts which he carried with him to China. But those days were yet to come, and in India he was an adventurous Chinese youth who had come to learn. Did Harṣa flatter Hiuen Tsang to use his services in establishing good relations with China?[1] Does Harṣa's pre-emptory request to Bhāskara-varman to send Hiuen Tsang indicate that he was apprehensive lest Bhāskara-varman use the Chinese pilgrim as channel of communication with China? Hiuen Tsang does not provide any answer to these questions. But we know that Harṣa exchanged diplomatic representatives with China, for which he may have sent feelers through Hiuen Tsang. In China Hiuen Tsang must have described Harṣa's might and power in the same extravagant manner in which he described Harṣa's army in his record, and this could not but have produced a deep impression in China.

He states that Harṣa's army at first consisted of 5000 elephants, 2000 cavalry, and 50,000 infantry, but later the number of elephants and cavalry were raised to 60,000 and 100,000 respectively. One wonders who supplied him these figures; did he get them from Harṣa?

In spite of Hiuen Tsang's attempt to draw a bright picture of the state of Buddhism in India, it is apparent from his record that conditions had vastly changed since the days of Fa-hien. In the north-western parts of India, particularly in Nagarkot, Gandhāra, Udyāna (north of Peshwar, probably the region around Ghazni), and Takṣaśilā, Hiuen Tsang found most of the monasteries in ruins and deserted, and the peoples mostly non-Buddhists. At Siṁhapura, near Takṣaśilā, he saw a spot sacred to the Śvetāmbara Jainas. In Śrāvastī and Vaiśālī also the monasteries were untenanted and uncared for, and in Vaiśālī the Digambara Jainas were prosperous. Similar conditions prevailed in Campā and Puṇḍravardhana. In Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, and Kaliṅga, Hiuen Tsang saw many Digambaras. In the south, at Dhanakota, Chola country, and Malakūṭa (Tanjore) only a few Buddhist monks resided in monasteries, while there were many Digambaras and other non-Buddhists. Of the kings mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, only Harṣavardhana and Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhī were adherents of Buddhism, while the other kings followed the brahminical faith. However, we have seen that Harṣa was probably not exclusively devoted to Buddhism as Hiuen Tsang would have us believe. Hiuen Tsang mentions that other kings were tolerant of all religions and occasionally showed favour to any religious order which existed in their realms. It is apparent from his account that Buddhism had not only lost royal patronage, but had also lost its hold on the people. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were gaining ascendancy, but Buddhism though declining, was still a prominent religious order all over India, from Kashmir

[1]For. Harṣa-vardhana's relation with China see M.L. Ettinghausen, *Harṣa-vardhana: Empereur et Poet*, Paris, 1906, pp. 54-7.

and Gandhāra to Dravida land, and from Ganjam and Samataṭa to Sindh and Valabhī.

The general decline of Buddhism at this period is unmistakable, for which an explanation may be offered. Giving his general account of India, Hiuen Tsang writes: 'The Brethren are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity and bring moral character into prominent distinction, to reject the worthless and advance the intelligent.'[1] While 'those who bring out subtle points in philosophy couched in ornate diction,' are given high distinction, 'those who are defeated in discussion are covered with ignominy and expelled.' The description indicates that the Buddhist monasteries had been converted into learned academies, which is corroborated by later accounts of Nālandā, Vikramaśīla and other monasteries. These gradually developed into centres of learning and possibly resembled the British universities. But the Established Church of England is a State institution, a privilege which Buddhism never enjoyed. Instead of helping people to remain steadfast in their faith and increasing the number of converts, the Buddhist monks concentrated their energies on metaphysical speculations and polemics. If Hiuen Tsang is to be believed, and there is no reason to disbelieve him, the monks who were least able to defend a view were expelled from the monastery. They must have presented a sorry spectacle when they went about begging to sustain themselves and represented to the public the typical Buddhist monk. The rich donations to the monasteries allowed the monks who dwelt there to live at ease without having to depend on begging for their food and other needs. It was during his begging rounds that Buddha and the early Buddhist preachers came into contact with the people and prepared them for conversion. Now that contact was lost, or at best was minimal.

Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing, who visited India during AD 671 to 695, speak highly of the morals of the Indian Buddhist monks. Unfortunately, neither of them refers to the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, which had been translated into Chinese between AD 585 to 592, and was possibly written not much earlier. In Part I of this work (Finot's ed., pp. 28-33) Buddha makes the remarkable prophecy: 'My monks will be without shame and without virtue, haughty, puffed up and wrathful . . . . intoxicating themselves with alcoholic drinks. While they bear the banner of Buddha, they will only be serving the householders . . . . They themselves will have wives, sons, and daughters like householders . . . "You are not to indulge in sensual pleasures, in order that you may not be born again as animals, ghosts, or beings of hell," thus they will preach to householders, but they themselves will be uncontrolled and so on, Winternitz, while introducing this passage, justly remarks: '. . . the picture here sketched in a very life-like and accurate manner, must necessarily reflect actual facts, and must contain a satirical description of the lax morals of the Buddhist monks.'[2] As has been shown above, there is at least one example of married Buddhist monks living in a monastery with their

[1]Watters, op. cit., I, p. 162.
[2]Winternitz, op. cit., p. 331.

families.[1] It is hardly surprising that Hiuen Tsang found many monasteries ruined and deserted.

Downfall of Buddhism had started in the Gupta age, and the following period was one of slow decadence. The secular literature of the Gupta Age betray the aversion of their authors towards Buddhist monks, but particularly nuns who seem to have acquired an unsavoury reputation. Since mutual toleration was widely prevalent, this attitude cannot be attributed only to brahminical orthodoxy. Possibly some of the monks and nuns, particularly the itinerant ones, were persons of dubious character.

Tantric Buddhism gained popularity practically from the beginning of the Pāla rule. For a time Buddhism may have prospered due to this innovation, but *tantra* sapped the vitality of Buddhism and ensured its ultimate absorption in the fold of the brahminical religions. During the long period of Pāla rule (*c.* AD 750-1150), Buddhism, once an all-India religion, found a haven of retreat in Bihar and Bengal, the dominion of the Buddhist Pāla kings. The bankruptcy of the Buddhist church was so complete, that without royal support it could not even exist. The only other areas in this sub-continent where Buddhism flourished during this period was Kashmir which had then developed strong links with Central Asia and China, and Nepal which was influenced by Bengal. Bengali influence was also felt in Tibet.

Though their inscriptions attest to the fact that the Pāla monarchs were Buddhists, these records, with a solitary exception, do not contain any indication of their religious activities. On the other hand, an inscription of their *brāhmaṇa* minister show that the Pālas were served by several generations of *brāhmaṇa* ministers, who claim to have guided the kings.[2] The traditions regarding the pious activities of the Pāla kings are given in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and in the works of the Tibetan historians Bu-ston and Tāranātha, which have been noted above.

The royal patronage could not extend beyond the establishment of richly endowed monasteries. Dharmapāla (*c.* AD 770-810) established the Vikramaśīla monastery, but soon after its erection, some Saindhava *śrāvakas* came and destroyed the metal image of Heruka, and burnt the *mantra* texts on the ground that Mahāyānism (i.e., tantricism) did not represent Buddha's teachings. The enraged Dharmapāla wanted to punish the *śrāvakas*, but desisted on the advise of Buddhajñānapāda, his spiritual preceptor.

This isolated incident is not without its importance in the history of Buddhism. It shows that even in the 9th century, Hīnayāna was a force not only in Ceylon but also in Sindh, and there were Hīnayāna monks who were prepared to stake their lives for the purification of their faith. But such attempts were not sustained, and therefore produced only temporary results, for it is related that some pilgrims from Bengal were converted to Hīnayāna after the incident narrated above.

An inscription of AD 1026 found at Sarnath records that Mahīpāla I built

[1] See above p. 391.

[2] Badal Pillar Inscription, *EI*, II, p. 160.

and repaired many sacred structures in that hallowed site, under the supervision of his two brothers, Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla. During Mahīpāla's reign the Nālandā monastery was badly damaged, but it was not repaired by the king but by a commoner called Bālāditya who hailed from Kauśāmbī, evidently still a centre of Buddhist activities.[1] During AD 1000 to 1033, that is, during Mahīpāla's reign, many Chinese pilgrims visited Bodh-Gaya and built *stūpas*.

At Kusinara, where the Master passed into *mahā-parinibbāna*, a stone inscription of the 11th century refers to a Buddhist Kalacuri dynasty, which worshipped Śiva along with Buddha and Tārā.[2] However, from a manuscript of the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* it is learnt that a temple of Tārā was established at Vaiśālī during the 12th century. At Jetavana, in ancient Śrāvastī, a stone inscription of AD 1118 records that one Vidyādhara, a counsellor of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Madana, had established a monastery.[3]

The Saranath region passed out of the hands of the Pālas soon after the death of Mahīpāla I. It formed a part of the kingdom of the Kalacuris of Tripuri, and later was incorporated with the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom. The pious activities of the Buddhist queens of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra have been noticed above. His grandson, Jayaccandra (AD 1170-1194), the last king of the dynasty, is known to have been a Vaiṣṇava as a prince, but in his records is called a *parama-māheśvara*. However, the Bodh-Gaya inscription refers to the Buddhist monk Śrīmitra as the *dīkṣā-guru* of *Kāśīsa* Jayaccandra, and records that out of reverence king Jayaccandra became his disciple.[4] It is not clear whether the king gave up his ancestral faith in favour of Buddhism. Most probably, like Harṣa-vardhana, Jayaccandra adopted Buddhism, but continued to profess brahminical faith.

There are sporadic references to Buddhism in records found in Bundelkhand and Malava during the 11th and the 12th centuries, but it is evident that Buddhism was practically a spent force in these regions as well as in other parts of northern India, with the possible exception of Orissa.

The position of Buddhism in south India during this period was hardly better. However, Emperor Rājarāja, granted a village to a Buddhist *vihāra* built in his dominion by the Cūḍāmaṇivarman the Śailendra king of Java at Negapatam. Lingering influence of Buddhism is attested by five inscriptions from Andhra and six from Karnataka. One inscription from Shimoga and another from Dharwar refer to the worship of Buddha and Tārā along with brahminical and Jaina deities in the same temple by some merchants and the Western Cālukya princess, Akkādevī. Similar instances, though rare, are found elsewhere, including Orissa and other parts of south India.

In the 16th century, when Caitanya visited south India, he came across a

[1] *JASB*, New Series, IV, pp. 105-07.
[2] *EI*, XVIII, p. 128.
[3] *IA*, XVII, p. 61; XXIV, p. 176; *Journal and Proceedings of the ASB*, XXI, pp. 103, and R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, Banares, 1937, p. 309.
[4] *IHQ*, 1929, pp. 14-20.

group of Buddhists at Vṛddha-kāśī (Vṛddhācalam, South Arcot District on the Vellar river) who seem to have been tantrics. He vanquished them in a public debate.

Buddhism outside India

Though Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism had at one time gained considerable following in South-East Asia, Buddhism has been the only Indian religion which has claimed universal and continuous following outside India. The main centres of Buddhism beyond the borders of the sub-continent were Central Asia, China, Korea, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Thailand, Cambodia, Viet-nam, and Indonesia. Of these countries, Central Asia, Malay Peninsula, and Indonesia have abjured Buddhism in favour of Islam. China, Japan, Korea, and Viet-nam follow the Mahāyāna doctrine, while the rest are mainly affiliated to Theravāda form of Buddhism excepting Tibet, which is the home of tantric Buddhism. China and Japan developed many sects or schools of Buddhism, some of which are flourishing even today, particularly in Japan, but a discussion of the history of Buddhism in these countries is beyond the scope of the present work.

BUDDHIST RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

State of Religion and Philosophy in India at the Birth of Buddha

Some idea about the state of religion and philosophy in India can be gleaned from Buddhist and Jaina sources which mention the contemporary religious teachers of Buddha and Mahāvīra. However, both of them were born in eastern India, and their spheres of activities were limited within this region. Hence strictly speaking, the Buddhist and the Jaina texts present the religious conditions in eastern India, except for the Vedic religion and the Upaniṣadic philosophy which was by this time known all over India. However, a reaction against the Vedic religions had set in, and many non-Vedic sects had developed. The Buddhist *sūtras* put their number at 62 or 63, while according to the Jaina *sūtras*, they numbered as many as 363. These numbers may be exaggerated, but they undoubtedly indicate massive discontent with the Vedic religion.

The dissatisfaction with the Vedic religion may have been due to various types of grievances. The elaborate Vedic rituals, which involved animal slaughter, probably was found repugnant by many. At the end of the 12th century, that is nearly 1600 years after Buddha, Jayadeva traced the surge of popular sentiment in these memorable lines:

nindasi yajña-vidher ahaha śrutijātam
sadaya hṛdaya darśita paśu-ghātam
Kesavadhṛta-Buddha-śarīra
jaya jagadīśa Hare[1]

[1]'O you of merciful heart denounced the Vedas where the slaughter of animals is prescribed, O Keśava, you in the form of Buddha, victory to you Hari, lord of the world.'

It is apparent that his countrymen remembered him as the uncompromising anatagonist of Vedic sacrifices.

Another grievance against the Vedic sacrifices was their expenses.[1] The most celebrated Vedic sacrifices like the Rājasūya and the Aśvamedha could be performed only by powerful monarchs. Even lesser sacrifices were beyond the competence of ordinary men, and the *śūdras* in any case were debarred from performing them. According to the Vedic doctrine, however, performance of these sacrifices was the only means of attaining heaven. Buddha showed that there were not only other and better ways of attaining heaven; a man by his own exertions not only could become a *deva*, but reach yet higher goals.

The idea that the sacrifices did not bring permanent bliss is admitted, and the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* classifies *kalpa* (ritual) as one of the lower knowledges (*aparā-yidyā*, 1.1.5) and denounces the sacrifices as 'unsafe boats' (1.2.7). The *Śvetāśvatara* (1.2) refers to diverse non-Vedic creeds. Apparently, the followers of these creeds discussed the origin of the world, and some thought that 'time' (*Kāla*) was the ultimate cause of all, others that all these had sprung forth by their own nature (*svabhāva*), others that all these had come forth in accordance with a destiny or necessity (*niyati*), or a fortuitous chance (*yadṛcchā*), or the elements (*bhūta*) or the *puruṣa* (*vijñānātmā*) or the *prakṛti* (*yoni*), were considered as the cause.

Doctrines based on Upaniṣadic philosophy ultimately replaced Buddhism. But the Upaniṣads did not try to establish any school of discipline or systematic thought which were accomplished more than a thousand years after Buddha by Śaṁkara. At the dawn of Indian philosophy the Sages revealed their kindred experiences of an immutable Reality as the Self of the man, as the only abiding truth behind any or all changes. But how was a man to gain the knowledge of this truth? Buddha preached that the immutable self of man is a delusion and a false knowledge, but he was prepared to show the way which would lead to true knowledge. Actually, Buddha was against speculation, and insisted on the practical side of spiritual realization.

The *Majjhima-nikāya* (Sutta 63) relates that one day a man named Mālunkyāputta said to Buddha that he would become his disciple if he could answer these questions: 'Would the Buddha ever die, and if so, what would become of him after death? What was the first cause of the universe, and what was the universe going to be like in future? Why do men live, and what becomes of them after death?' Buddha said in reply: 'Suppose you were shot by a poison arrow, and a physician came to draw the arrow from your body and to dress the wound, would you first ask him questions as to what the arrow was made of, what the composition of the poison was, and who shot the arrow, and if the physician did not dress the wound what was going to happen, and such blissful questions, and refuse the treatment until the physician answered all the questions to your satisfaction? You would be dead

[1]For details, see A.K. Majumdar, *Economic Background of the Epic Society*, Calcutta, 1977, pp. 195-97.

before you obtained the answers.' The fundamental teaching of Buddha was a way to end human misery.

Non-Buddhist Sects

The *Brahmajāla-sutta* (*Sutta-piṭaka, Dīgha-nikāya,* 1) mentions 62 non-Buddhist non-Vedic sects, but gives no details about them. The *Sāmañña-phala-sutta* (*Dīgha-nikāya,* 2) refers to six teachers as *aññatitthiya* (*anya-tīrthika*= those who cross by another ford) or simply *tīrthika*, and gives the names of six teachers and some details of their doctrines. The teachers were: Purāṇa Kaśsapa, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Makhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambalin, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and Nīgantha Nātaputta. Of these the last, namely, Nīgantha Nātaputta, was Mahāvīra, the founder of the Jaina religion whose life and doctrine have been described in the previous chapter.

i. *Purāṇa Kassapa, the niṣkriyavādin:* Purāṇa Kassapa (Sk. Purāṇa Kāśyapa) preached that action produces no result. Neither does bad action like murder, adultery etc. produce bad results, nor does good actions like offering alms, performing sacrifices, truthfulness etc., produce merit. Hence it is called *akriyāvāda* or *niskriyavāda*. In the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*,[1] Purāṇa Kassapa is credited with the possession of certain supernatural powers. In the *Saṁyutta-nikāya*,[2] Buddha says that Purāṇa Kassapa does not accept any cause (*hetu*) nor any condition (*paccya*) for one's becoming either defiled or purified.

It is possible that the Buddhist texts have not correctly represented the views of Purāṇa Kassapa, and that he was, as Dr. Barua suggested, an advocate of the theory that as the soul was passive (*niṣkriya*), no action could affect it, and it was beyond good and bad, which is found in the Upaniṣads.[3]

ii. *Pakudha Kaccāyana, the Sāsvatavādin:* Pakudha Kaccāyana (Sk. Kakuda Kātyāyana) was the head of a religious sect which held him in high esteem. The first part of his name, namely *pakudha*, has been taken to mean 'furious,' and its alternative from '*kakudha*' also has the same meaning. Dr. Barua, however, has amended the word and read '*kakuda*,' meaning 'a hunchbacked man,' which is probably the correct form. But Dr. Barua's identification of this Kaccayāna with Kabandhi Kātyāyana, a pupil of the sage Pippalāda of the *Praśna Upaniṣad* is not convincing. Buddhaghoṣa states that Kaccāyana never touched cold water to the extent of even not crossing a river or a marshy path lest his vow should be broken.

According to the Buddhist source, Kaccāyana held the view that there were seven elements, namely earth, water, fire, air, ease (pleasure), pain, and soul. The Jaina texts *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, however, records that he believed in the existence of six elements, namely, earth, water, fire, air, space, and soul. This seems to be a kind of early Śāṁkhya doctrine, but it is said that if this *sāsvatavāda* is developed, 'the resultant must be the atomic theory.'[4]

[1] *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, IV, pp. 383-84; 398. [2] *Saṁyutta-nikāya*, III, p. 69.
[3] B.M. Barua, *A History of the Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 279.
[4] H. Ui, *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, p. 23.

Dr. Barua has compared Kaccāyana with the Greek philosopher Empedocles (*c.* BC 444), for according to both of them the four elements are 'root-things,' and the formative principle is two fold: 'love' and 'hatred' for Empedocles, and 'pleasure' and 'pain' for Kaccāyana, whom he calls Indian Empedocles.[1]

iii. *Makkhali Gosāla and the Ājīvikas*: Makkhali Gosāla (Sk. Maskari Gosāla) was the leader of the Ājīvika sect, which had two other leaders before him, namely, Nanda Vaccha, and Kisa Sankicca.

Details about Gosāla's life are given in the Jaina texts, where it is claimed that he was for some time Mahāvīra's disciple, which is not accepted by some scholars as historical. It is, however, generally agreed that Gosāla was born somewhere near Śrāvastī, which he left and spent twenty-four years as a homeless wanderer. It is during this period that he is said to have spent one or six years with Mahāvīra. After leaving Mahāvīra, he became the head of the Ājīvika sect.

Gosāla's name is given as Makkhali in Pali, Mankkhaliputta in Ardha-Magadhi, and Markali in Tamil. Of these, Makkhali and Markhali are equivalent to Sanskrit Maskarin, which according to the Chinese sources was his *gotra* name, Gośāli being the name of his mother. According to Pāṇini (VI.i.154), the word *maskara* means a 'bamboo,' and *maskarin* a 'wandering monk' who carried a *maskara*. Hence it has been suggested that Gosāla's name indicates that his father was a monk, and that his mother's name was Gośāli.

The Jainas, however, derive Mankkhaliputta as 'son of *Maṅkhali*,' that is, a 'mendicant who carries about the image (of a deity) for collecting alms'. This reminds us of Pānini's aphorism *jīvikārthe c=āpanye* (V.iii. 99), which has been explained as applicable 'to the images of divinities which are made means of subsistence by a low order of *brāhmaṇas*, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door.' Most probably Gosāla's father followed this profession.

The Jaina sources also state that Gosāla's parents once came to Śaravana near Śrāvastī, and took shelter in the cow-shed (*gośāla*) of a wealthy *brāhmaṇa*. There Mankkhali's wife, Bhadda, gave birth to a son, who was named Gosāla Mankkhaliputta for obvious reasons.

The name Ājīvika seems to have been bestowed on Gosāla's sect by his opponents. There are conflicting explanations of the term '*ājīvika*', and different descriptions of the mode of life of the Ājīvikas. According to some, Gosāla was insincere, and he practised religious mendicancy as a means of gaining livelihood. Possibly he had adopted his father's profession, and there is some evidence which indicate that the Ājīvikas were professional astrologers. According to the Jaina sources, however, the Ājīvikas practised severe austerities, and went about naked.

The conflicting evidences of the Jaina and the Buddhist texts render it difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion regarding the Ājīvikas and

[1]Barua, op. cit., pp. 283-84.

their philosophy. The Jaina sources say that the Ājīvikas had their own texts, but those are now lost. However, the Ājīvikas survived for a long time, and received favours from Aśoka and his grandson, Daśaratha. The Ājīvikas spread to Ceylon, and have been referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (X. 102) as one of the flourishing religions of the island during the reign of King Paṇḍukābhaya (377-307 BC). The *Sivajñāna-sittiyar*, written in the 13th or the 14th century AD, gives a vivid description of the Ājīvikas and their creed. Therefore, they must have been in a flourishing condition in south India during this period, which is confirmed by the Digambara Jaina works of Karnataka.

The central theme of Ājīvika philosophy seems to have been that, there was no special cause for either human misery or their deliverance. A man can attain purity only by passing through all kinds of existence. The Ājīvikas had no faith in human effort, and relied exclusively on destiny. Thus all men, wise as well as foolish, were destined to pass through *saṁsāra* (transmigration), and this misery would come to an end on the completion of the predestined cycles of births and deaths, which no human effort could alter. Like a ball of thread, *saṁsāra* has a fixed term or span which every being must pass; hence this doctrine is known as *saṁsāra-viśuddhi*.

iv. *Ajita Keśakambalin, the materialist:* Ajita was called the Keśakambalin because he put on a blanket of hair. His doctrine, which roughly corresponds to the Lokāyata or the Cārvāka school, briefly was, that there was no fruit or result of good or evil deeds. There was no other world, nor was this world real, and neither the former lives had any efficacy with respect to this life, and there was no after-life. No endeavour could prevent the total extinction of a person at death. A human being is made of four elements, namely, earth, water, fire, and air and the faculties, namely the five senses (*indriyāni*) and the mind. When a man dies, the elements relapse like water to water, the earth to earth, the heat to fire, and the air to air, and the faculties pass into space.

v. *Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, the sceptic*: Sañjaya Velaṭṭhiputta (Sk. Vairaṭiputra) is believed to be identical with Parivrājaka Sañjaya, the teacher of Sāriputta and Moggalāna. He was a sceptic, and refused to give any categorical answer to a question. Hence the Buddhists call him the '*vikṣepavādin*' (one who did not adhere to any view categorically).

Commenting on these sectarian doctrines, H. Jacobi has remarked: 'The views of the *ajñanikas*, or agnostics, are not clearly stated in the texts, and the explanation of the commentaries of all these philosophies . . . is vague and misleading . . . It is evident that the agnostics examined all modes of existence or non-existence of a thing, and if it were anything transcendental or beyond human experience, they negatived all the modes of expression. The records of the Buddhists and the Jainas about the philosophical ideas current at the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra, meagre though they may be, are of the greatest importance for the historian of that epoch. For they show us the ground on which, and the materials with which, a religious reformer had to build his system. The similarity between these "heretical

doctrines" on one side, and Jaina or Buddhist ideas on the other, is very suggestive, and favours the assumption that the Buddha, as well as Mahāvīra, owed some of his conceptions to these very heretics, and formulated others under the influence of the controversies which were continually going on with them . . .'[1]

These teachers were however dogmatic, and obstinately clung to their mutually contradictory views. The characteristic language of advocacy of each dogma or creed, as the *Udāna* (pp. 66-9) and other Pali text point out was: *idam eva saccam mogham aññam* (This [what I affirm is] verily the truth; everything else is useless.) This dogmatic assertion, which takes only a partial view of reality, has been called the *ekāṅgadassana*, and the teachers have been compared in the Pali texts to a group of blind men attempting to describe an elephant.

Buddha was absolutely different. As Zimmer stated: 'He (Buddha) offered his advice in the practical manner of a spiritual physician, as though through him, the art of Indian medicine were entering the sphere of spiritual problems—that grand old arena where, for centuries, magicians of every kind had been tapping powers by which they and their disciples lifted them to the heights of divinity.'[2]

Buddha's diagnosis was that 'suffering' was the disease that afflicted humanity, and his view was shared by all schools of Indian philosophy except the materialistic Cārvakās. But Buddha, the spiritual physician, prescribed the remedy also in his 'four noble truths,' and the 'noble eight-fold path.' He also gave a logical prognosis of the disease in his formulation known as the *pratītya-samutpāda*.

Four Noble Truths

Buddha's doctrine has been succinctly expressed in the triune formula: *anicca*, *dukkha* and *anatta*. As he himself once said: 'Whether Buddhas arise, O monks, or whether Buddhas do not arise, it remains a fact and the fixed and necessary constitution of being, that all its constituents are transitory. This fact a Buddha discovers and masters, and when he has discovered and mastered it, he announces, teaches, publishes, proclaims, discloses, minutely explains, and makes it clear, that all constituents of being are transitory.

'Whether Buddhas arise, O monks, or whether Buddhas do not arise, it remains a fact and the fixed and necessary constitution of being, that all its constituents are misery. This fact a Buddha discovers and masters, and when he has discovered and mastered it, he announces, teaches, publishes, proclaims, discloses, minutely explains, and makes it clear, that all the constituents of being are misery.

'Whether Buddhas arise, O monks, or whether Buddhas do not arise, it remains a fact and the fixed and necessary constitution of being, that all its elements are lacking in an Ego. This fact a Buddha discovers and masters,

[1]H. Jacobi, *Jaina-sūtras* translation, *SBE*, II, introduction, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

[2]H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, edited by J. Campbell, London, 1951, p. 467.

and when he has discovered and mastered it, he announces, teaches, publishes, proclaims discloses, minutely explains and makes it clear, that all the elements of being are lacking in an Ego.'[1]

Buddha promulgated the fundamental basis of his *dharma* in his very first speech at Sarnath where he set in Motion the Wheel of the Law (*dharma-cakra-pravartana*):

'There are two extremes which he who has gone forth ought not to follow—habitual devotion on the one hand to the passions, to the pleasures, of sensual things, a low and pagan way (of seeking satisfaction), ignoble, unprofitable, fit only for the worldly-minded; on the other hand, to self-mortification, which is painful, ignoble, unprofitable. There is a Middle Path discovered by the Tathāgata—a path; which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace, to insight, to the higher wisdom, to *Nirvāṇa*. Verily! it is this Ariyan Eightfold Path: that is to say, Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Mode of Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Rapture.

'Now this is the Noble Truth (*āriya sacca*) as to suffering (*dukkha*). Birth is attended with pain, decay is painful, disease is painful, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant is painful, painful is separation from the pleasant, and any craving unsatisfied, that, too is painful. In brief, the five aggregates of clinging (this is, the conditions of individuality) are painful.

'Now this is the Noble Truth as to the origin of suffering (*dukkha-samudaya*). Verily! it is the craving thirst (*taṇhā=tṛṣṇā*) that causes the renewal of becomings, that is accompanied by sensual delights, and seeks satisfaction, now here now there—that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the senses, or the craving for prosperity.

'Now this is the Noble Truth as to the passing away of pain (*dukkha-nirodha*). Verily! it is the passing away so that no passion remains, the giving up, the getting rid of, the emancipation from, the harbouring no longer this craving thirst.

'Now this is the Noble Truth as to the way that leads to the passing away of pain (*dukkha-nirodha-gāminī patipada*). Verily! it is this Ariyan Eightfold Path, that is to say, Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, conduct, and mode of livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Rapture.'[2]

Doctrine of Causal Connection

The word *dhamma* in Buddhist terminology has four meanings: i. scriptural texts, ii. quality (*guṇa*), iii. cause (*hetu*), and iv. unsubstantial and soulless (*nissatta nijjīva*). The early Buddhist philosophers did not accept any fixed entity as determining all reality, for which they postulated unsubstantial phenomenon called *dhamma*. But if reality is non-substantial, how to account

[1] *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, III, p. 134, translated by H.C. Warren, op. cit.,

[2] Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism*, London, 1908, pp. 51-2; E. Conze, op. cit., p. 43 has translated *ārya-satya* as 'holy truth,' which seems very appropriate.

for the phenomena which are happening and passing away? The phenomena are happening in series, and there being certain phenomenon there become some others; that is, the happening of some events cause some others to be produced. Hence Buddha had to take up the problem of 'What being what else is,' 'What happening what else happens,' and 'What not being what else is not.' Buddha's solution to these problems was given in a formula called the *paṭiccasamuppāda* (=*pratītya samutpāda*, dependent origination), of twelve interdependent links.[1] *Samutpāda* means' appearance' or 'arising' (*prādurbhāva*), and *pratītya* means 'after getting' (*prati*+*i*+*ya*); hence the compound means 'arising after getting (something).' The elements, depending on which there is some kind of arising, are called *hetu* (cause) and *paccaya* (ground).

Buddha meditated deeply into the root of the problem, of human misery and found that on birth (*jāti*) depend old age and death, sorrow, lamentations, misery, grief, and despair. What being there is there birth, or on what does birth depend? On (previous) existence (*bhava*) depend birth. But on what does this existence depend, or what being there is there *bhava*? On attachment (or holding fast) depends existence. But on what did attachment (*upādāna*) depend? On desire (*taṇhā*) depends attachment. On what being can there be desire? On sensation (*vedanā*, feeling) depends desire. What generates sensation? On sense contact (*phassa*=*sparśa*) depends sensation. Without sense-contact, there can be no sensation. On what does sense-contact depend? On the six organs of sense which their objects (*āyatana*) depends contact. On what does the six *āyatanas* depend? On name and form (*nāma-rūpa*) depend the six organs of sense. But on what does *nāma-rūpa* depend? On consciousness (*vijñāna*) depend name and form. But on what being there would there be *viññāna*? On conformation (*saṅkhāra*) or *karman* depends consciousness. But on what being there are there *saṅkhāras* or *karmans*. On ignorance (*avijjā*=*avidyā*) depends *saṅkhāra* and *karman* (Pali, *kamma*).[2]

Ananda Coomaraswamy has aptly called the doctrine of *pratītya-samutpāda* or the 'Twelve *nidānas*' precisely the physician's diagnosis of the disease of *dukkha*.'[3] The series shows that *viññāna*, or the consciousness of 'I,' does not reside in an eternal soul, but is a contingent phenomenon arising by way of cause and effect. The right understanding of *pratītya-samutpāda* gives the very insight by which the sources of *dukkha*-consciousness of I (*aham-bhāva*), and the desires of I (*mamatva*) are destroyed.

Of this chain of twelve interlinked causes *avidyā*, *saṅkhāra* (or *cetanā*) or *karman* belong to the past life. *viññāna*, *nāma-rūpa*, *sad-āyatana*, *phassa*, *vedanā*, *taṇhā*, *upādāna* and the *bhava* (leading to another life) belong to the present life. *Jāti* and *jarā-maraṇa* belong to the future life but they are produced by the *bhava* of the present life.

[1]The twelve links are not always constant.

[2]*Mahāvagga*; *Saṁyutta-nikāya*, XXII, 90; *Visuddhimagga*, Chapter XVII, and *Mahā-nidāna-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* translated by Warren, op. cit., pp. 84, 165-66, 201-08.

[3]A. K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 87.

If *avidyā* is destroyed, this chain of causation will be broken. Otherwise man will pass from one birth to another, through old age and death, and suffer the miseries of the world.

Categories

The terms used above have been explained in some details in the Buddhist texts, and their summary is given below.

a. *Avidyā* or ignorance is want of knowledge concerning the following: 1. misery; 2. origin of misery; 3. cessation of misery; 4. path leading to the cessation of misery; 5. anteriority; 6. posteriority; 7. anteriority and posteriority; 8. definite dependence and of the elements of being sprung from dependence.[1]

b. *Karman* may be meritorious (like giving alms etc.), and demeritorious (like the taking of life etc.). *Karman* may be physical, vocal, and mental. As *karman* depends on ignorance, so when the latter is replaced by wisdom a man does not even perform meritorious *karmans*.[2]

c. *Vijñāna* or consciousness is the act of being conscious. Like a watchman, standing in the middle of the crossroads, who beholds every approaching man, in the same way whatever a man sees, hears, smells, tastes, touches, or thinks of that he is conscious with his consciousness.[3] As Buddhaghoṣa says in the *Atthasālinī*, consciousness means that which thinks its object.[4]

d. *Nāma-rūpa* or 'name and form' are like the blind carrying the cripple. Neither name nor form have power of their own, yet when they mutually support one another it is possible for them to spring up and go on.[5] By 'name' are meant the three groups beginning with sensation (i.e., sensation, perception, and predisposition), and by 'form' the four elements and their derivatives.

As Buddhaghoṣa states in the *Visuddhimagga* (Chapter XX) 'No heap or collection of material exists for the production of Name and Form; nor are Name and Form sprung from any such heap or collection of material; and when Name and Form cease, they do not go to any of the cardinal or intermediate points of the compass; and after Name and Form have ceased, they do not exist anywhere in the shape of heaped up material. But, just as when a lute is played upon, there is no previous store of sound; and when the sound comes into existence, it does not come from any such store; and when it ceases, it does not go to any of the cardinal or intermediate points of the compass; and when it has ceased, it exists nowhere in a stored-up state; but having previously been non-existent, it came into existence in dependence on the body and neck of the lute and the exertions of the performer; and having come into existence passes away: in exactly the same way, all the elements of being, both those with form and those without, come into existence after hav-

[1] *Visuddhimagga*, chapter XVII; Warren, op. cit., p. 170.
[2] *Visuddhimagga*, chapter XVII; Warren, op. cit., p. 182.
[3] *Milindapañha*, 62; Warren, op. cit., p. 182.
[4] S.N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 89.
[5] *Visuddhimagga*, chapter XVII; Warren, op. cit., p. 184.

ing previously been non-existent; and having come into existence pass away.[1]

e. Six organs of sense are the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind.[2]

f. Contact takes place when, for example, two rams fight one another. The eye is comparable to one of the rams, form to the other, while contact is comparable to their collision with each other. Or if two cymbals are clapped together, the eye is comparable to one cymbal, form to the other and contact to their clapping or collision with each other.[3]

g. Sensation or *vedanā* is of three types: pleasant, unpleasant, and indifferent. Sensation is produced by sense-contact, and leads to desire[4] (*tṛṣṇā*).

h. Desire or *tṛṣṇā* is of six types, namely, desire for forms, for sounds, for odours, for tastes, for things tangible, and for ideas. Any desire may manifest itself for sensual pleasure, for permanent existence, or for transitory existence.[5]

i. Attachment may be for sensual pleasure due to the sense-organs. It may also be due to Fanatical Conduct due to contact. Or it may be due to either *karman* or ignorance.[6]

j. Existence is twofold, namely, *karma*-existence and originating-existence. The groups which have come into existence through *karman* is originating-existence.[7]

The process of attachment to existence have been considered in detail in Buddhist scriptures. Existence is said to depend on tendencies and passions which involve action and are obstacles in the path of salvation. These mainly depend on *āsava* (Sk. *āsrava* or *āśrava*=depravities or current) also known as *yoga*, because it propels a man into the torrents of transmigration. The *āsava* is of four types: *kāma* (desire), *diṭṭhi* (*dṛṣṭi*, false view), *bhava* (existence) and *avijjā* (*avidyā* ignorance). Other causes of attachment are the *upādānas* (acquisitions), namely, desire, false vue, observances and vows (*sīlabbata=śīlavrata*), learning of vain rituals and ascetic practices, and the theory of the 'permanent self' (*attavāda=ātmavāda*). There are also four knots (*gantha=grantha*), namely avidity, malevolence, adhesion to observances and vows, that is vain religious practices, and the inclination to say 'this is the truth,' (*idaṁ saccābhinivesa*), that is intransigent dogmatism. There are also five *nivāraṇas* or *āvaranas* (envelopes). These are: the tendency towards desire (*kāmachanda*), malice (*vyāpāda*), arrogance and regret (*uddhacca-kukkuc ca=auddhatya-kaukṛtya*), and doubt (*vicikicchā=vicikitsā*). Any one of these 'envelopes' can disturb the tranquillity of the mind and thought. There are also seven 'after effects' (*anusaya=anuśaya*) which are, passionate desire (*kāmā-rāga*), hostility (*paṭigha=pratigha*), false view, doubt, pride, the desire

[1]Warren, op. cit., 185-86.
[2]*Saṁyutta-nikāya*; Warren, op. cit., p. 186.
[3]*Milindapañha*, 60; Warren, op. cit., 186-87.
[4]*Majjhima-nikāya*, Sutta 44; Warren, op. cit., p. 187; Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 90.
[5]*Visuddhimagga*, chapter XVII; Warren, op. cit., pp. 187-88.
[6]*Visuddhimagga*, chapter XIV; Warren, op. cit., pp. 189-94.
[7]*Visuddhimagga*, chapter XVII; Warren, op. cit., pp. 194-201.

for life (*bhava-rāga*), and ignorance. The Sarvāstivādins and the Vaibhāṣikas give the number of the *anasuyas* as 98, grouped under the domains of desire, appearances, and non-appearances which constitute the essential elements of rebirth.

There are also the 'afflictions' or 'defilements' (*kilesa=kleśa*). These are greed (*lobha*), anger or hatred (*dosa=dveṣa*), delusion, confusion or infatuation (*moha*), pride (*māna*), false view, doubt (*vicikicchā*), laziness (*thīna*), arrogance (*uddhacca*), shamelessness (*ahirika*), and unscrupulousness or hardness of heart (*anottapa*).

All these are factors of existence about which Buddha said:

'What do you think O monks? Which may be more, the flow of tears you have shed on this long way, running again and again to new birth and new death, united to the disliked, separated from the liked, complaining and weeping, or the water of the four great oceans? . . . But how is this possible? Without beginning or end, O monks, is this round of rebirth. There cannot be discerned the first beginning of beings, who, sunk in ignorance and bound by thirst, are incessantly transmigrating, and again and again run to a new birth. And thus, O monks, through a long time you have experienced suffering, pain, and misery, and enlarged the burial ground; truly long enough to be disgusted with every kind of existence, long enough to turn away from every kind of existence, long enough to deliver yourself from it.'[1]

Anicca and Anatta

a. It is almost impossible to ascertain what Buddha actually meant by the terms *anicca* or *anitya* and *anatta* or *anātman*. Amara the lexicographer, reputedly a Buddhist of pre-8th century AD, has given the following variants of the meaning of the word *ātman*: *ātmā yatno dhṛtir-buddhiḥ svabhāvo brahma-varṣma ca*. Thus *ātman* can mean *sva-bhāva* or 'own being,' which, according to Vedānta, never undergoes any change nor depends on anything for its 'being,' so that it is always *nitya*. The Buddhists, however, do not use the word *ātman* in this sense. Their use of the phrase *pudgala-nairātmya*, which will be explained presently, indicates that the Buddhists usually used the word *ātman* not exactly in the sense of a body (*varṣma*) but as something in between a gross body and non-material soul; since according to them anything existing is composed of *nāma-rūpa*, of which *nāma* is the non-material part, and *rūpa* the material form, both of which are changing every moment.

b. *Five Skandhas:* I. From *nāma-rūpa* are derived the five elements called *panca-kandha or skandha*. The word *skandha* means 'the trunk of a tree' and is generally used to mean a 'group' or an 'aggregate.' The *skandhas* are aggregates of physical and psychical states, which are immediate with us, and are divided into five classes namely, i. *rūpa*; ii. *vedanā*; iii. *saññā*; iv. *saṅkhāra*; v. *viññāna*.

i. *Rupa-skandha* is the aggregate of: (a) four elements (*dhātu*), namely,

[1] *Saṁyutta-nikāya*.

pṛthvī (earth), *ap* (water), *tejas* (fire) and *vāyu* (air); (b) the sense-organs, namely, *chakṣus* (eye), *śrotra* (ear), *ghrāna* (nose), *jihvā* (tongue) and *kāya* (body) with their objects, and (c) form and appearance which consist of *rūpa* (form), *śabda* (sound), *gandha* (smell), *rasa* (taste), and *sparśa* (touch).

The Buddhist texts, however, are not very consistent in their explanation of *rūpa-skandha*, and Dr. S.N. Das gupta remarks: 'If we take somewhat conflicting passages referred to above for our consideration and try to combine them so as to understand what is meant by *rūpa*, I think we find that which manifested itself to the senses and organs was called *rūpa*. No distinction seems to have been made between the sense-data as colours, smells etc., as existing in the physical world and their appearance as sensations. They were only numerically different and the appearance of the sensations was dependent upon the sense-data and the senses, but the sense-data and the sensations were "*rūpa*" . . . Buddhism did not probably start with the same kind of division of matter and mind as we now do. And it may not be out of place to mention that such an opposition and duality were found neither in the Upaniṣads nor in the Sāṁkhya system which is regarded by some as pre-Buddhistic.'[1]

ii. *Vedanā-skandha* is the aggregate of feeling and sensations. They are of six kinds, and are generated by contact with the five senses and mind. They can be agreeable, disagreeable, or indifferent, so that the total number of primary *vedanā* is eighteen.

iii. *Saññā*-or *saṁjñā-skandha* is the aggregate of concepts or perceptions. While the *vedanā-skandha* is the aggregate of sense-phenomena, the *saṁjñā-skandha* is that of cognitive-phenomena, and are of the same kind as the former. But *saṁjñā* can also mean cognitive assimilation of senses (*paṭigha-saññā*), as well as cognitive assimilation of ideas knows as 'perception of the equivalent word or name' (*adhivacana-saññā*).

iv. *Saṅkhāra* or *saṁskāra* is sometimes rendered as 'conformations,' and also as 'aggregate of latent forces like instincts.' According to the *Saṁyutta-nikāya* (III. 87), this *skandha* is called *saṅkhāra* because it synthesizes the conglomerated (*saṅkhatam abhisaṅkharonti*).

v. *Viññāna* or *vijñāna-skandha* means the aggregate of consciousness, and means both the stages at which the intellectual process started and the final resulting consciousness. *Vijñāna* is the resultant ideation of the other psychological phenomena, or the cognition by all the five senses and mind.

II. *Āyatana and Dhātu*: Besides the five *skandhas* or 'basic elements' within an individual, there are twelve *āyatanas* and eighteen *dhātus*. The *āyatanas* (inner seat) are the six organs of sense (eye, ear, nose tongue, body and mind) and their corresponding objects, namely, form, sound, smell, taste, touch, and the *dharmāyatana*, which is the corresponding object of mind or *vijñāna*.

There are also eighteen *dhātus* which consist of the twelve *āyatanas* and six conscious elements (*vijñāna*), namely, eye-consciousness, ear-consciousness,

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 95.

nose-consciousness, tongue-consciousness, body-consciousness, and mind-consciousness (*mano-vijñāna*).

Mind

Human personality is called *pudgala* by the Buddhists. This *pudgala* is a compound of the five *skandhas* mentioned above, of which four, except *rūpa*, are mental.

The *cetasikas* or 'mental properties' are of two kinds: good (*kuśala*), and bad (*akuśala*), each of which can be either universal or specific. There are seven universal good mental properties: 1. contact (*phassa=sparśa*); 2. feeling (*vedanā*); 3. perception (*saññā=saṁjñā*); 4. volition (*cetanā*); 5. oneness of object or exclusive attention (*ekāggatā=ekāgratā*); 6. psychic life (*jīvitendriya*); and 7. attention or memorization (*mānasikara*). Contact brings the awareness of an object, which is followed by 'feeling,' and 'perception.' *Cetanā* is willing, which, under favourable conditions, results in action. *Ekāggatā* is the act of perceiving the object as one individual by focussing attention to it.

Explaining the process of Buddhist psychology, Buddhaghoṣa says that 'consciousness (*citta*) first comes into touch (*phassa*) with its object and thereafter feeling, conception (*saññā*), and volition (*cetanā*) come in. This contact is like the pillars of a palace, and the rest are but superstructure built upon it. But it should not be thought that contact is the beginning of psychological process, for in one whole consciousness it cannot be said that this comes first and that comes after, so we can take contact in association with feeling (*vedanā*), conceiving (*saññā*), or volition (*cetanā*); it is itself an immaterial state but yet since it comprehends objects it is called contact.' The special feature of *saññā* is said to be recognition (*paccabhiññā*) while that of *cetanā* (volition) is co-ordination or binding together.[1]

There are six specific good mental properties: 1. *vitakka* (=*vitarka*, reasoning, or the process of directing concomitant properties towards the object); 2. *vicāra*, or reflection or the process of continually exercising the mind on the object; 3. *adhimokkha*, or decision, the act of selecting the object for perception; 4. *viriya*, or energy.

Four universal and two specific mental properties are bad. The universals are *moha* (delusion), *ahirika* (shamelessness), *anottāpa* (remorselessness), and *uddhacca* (arrogance). The specifics are *lobha* (greed), and *diṭṭhi* (error or erroneous view).

Cosmology

The universe consists of an infinite number of disc-shaped worlds, each fixed on a mountain called Meru or Sumeru. The *pātāla* is under the Meru. The worlds are called *cakkavāḷa* (Sk. *cakravāla*, which is the limit of light and darkness, while Amara has *cakravālaṁ tu maṇḍalam* and *lokālokas cakravāla*). The Meru is encircled by seven rings of mountains separated by as many oceans, nearest being the Yugandhara. At the periphery of the

[1]ibid, p. 96.

cakkavāḷa is an ocean, beyond which is another range of mountains. In this ocean, there are four continents (*dīpa=dvīpa*) each at a cardinal point, namely, the semi-lunar Pubbavideha (Pūrvavideha) in the east, the triangular Jambudīpa (Jambudvīpa) in the south, the round Aparagoyāna (Aparagodāna) in the west, and the square Uttarakuru in the north. The *cakkavālas* are in groups of three touching each other, the intervening spaces, or the *lokantarika* (*lokāntarika*), being occupied by the dead. Certain worlds are suitable for the birth of a Buddha. Each world has nine *grahas* (planets) with twenty-seven *nakṣatras* (asterisms or lunar mansions), and numerous stars (*tārā*). Each world is divided into three planes called *loka*, *dhātu*, and *avacara*, known as the *kāmāvacara* or region of desire, *rūpāvacara* or region of appearance, *arūpāvacara* or region of formlessness. Those having divine eyes can see the other regions, and by the performance of *yoga* one can reach the stage corresponding to these domains.

The *kāmāvacara* or the *kāmadhātau* is the habitat of men, animals, certain fallen beings, and some gods. It consists of the world with hell and heaven beneath and above it.

There are eight hells, which are always burning. These are: 1. Sañjīva, 2. Kālasūtra, 3. Saṅghāta, 4. Raurava, 5. Mahāraurava, 6. Tāpana, 7. Pratāpana, and 8. Avīci. The Pali texts mention a number of other secondary hells and ten cold hells, of which the eight principal cold hells are: 1. Arbuda, 2. Nirarbuda, 3. Aṭaṭa, 4. Hahava, 4. Huhuva, 6. Utpala, 7. Padma and 8. Mahāpadma. (Intense cold will result in the ulceration of the flesh, hence the body will resemble a lotus).

The heavens according to their gradations are: 1. Cāturmahārājikas (of the four guardians of the cardinal points); 2. Trāyatriṁśa heaven on the Meru; 3. the heaven of Yama; 4. the Tuṣita heaven; 5. the Nirmānarati; and 6. the Paranirmitavaśavartin. Above the Meru, the gods reside in aerial palaces (*vimāna*).

The Rūpāvacara or the Rūpadhātu is located in the four layers or stages of the heaven. It is inhabited by gods who have crossed the limits of desire, but still retain the notion of form, and are visible in their forms. The first stage or layer is inhabited by the Brahmakāyikas, who are sub-divided into the Brahmapāriṣadyas, the Brahmapurohitas, and Mahābrāhmaṇas. In the second layer are the Ābhādevas, sub-divided into Parīttābhas, Apramāṇābhas, and the Ābhāsvaras. In the third layer are the Śubhadevas, the Parīttaśubhas, the Apramānaśubhas, and the Śubhakṛtsnas. In the fourth layer are Bṛhatphalas, the Asaṁjñasattas, and the Śuddhāvāsikas. The Śuddhāvāsikas are grouped into the Avihas, the Sudṛśa, the Sudarśanas, and the Akaniṣṭhas.

The Arūpāvacara or the Arūpadhātu is, as the name indicates, free of material substances. Hence it is not sub-divided into layers but into four *āyatanas* or spheres, namely, 1. the Ākāśānantāyatana (infinite space), 2. Vijñānāyatana (infinite knowledge), 3. Akiñcanāyatana (sphere of vacuity or 'nothing'), and 4. Naivasaṁjñā-nasaṁjñāyatana (where there is neither notion nor non-notion).

Material World

The world is composed of four *dhātus* or *mahābhūtas*, namely, earth, water, fire, and air. Space (*ākāśa*) and *vijñāna* (knowledge) are added to make six elements.

Matter is the collocation of colour, smell, taste, and contact. A unit possessing this fourfold substratum is a *paramāṇu*. This is the minutest form of a *rūpa*, and may be defined as 'that which has the capacity to obstruct sense organs.' A *paramāṇu* is indivisible, unanalysable, invisible, inaudible, untastable, and intangible. A *paramāṇu*, however, has no permanent existence but is like a momentary flash into being. The simple atoms are called *dravya-paramāṇu*, and the compound ones the *saṅghāta-paramāṇu*. Prof. Stcherbatsky has pointed out that 'the universal elements of matter are manifested in their actions or functions. They are consequently more energies than substances.' The organs of sense are also regarded as modifications of atomic matter.

Seven *paramāṇus* combine to form an *aṇu*, which alone is visible. An *aṇu* has one *paramāṇu* at the centre and others round it, and the qualities of the *mahābhūtas* are inherent in the *paramāṇu*.

Time

In the Pali Canon, time (*kāla*), is considered only as an adventitious element. According to the Vaibhāṣikas, time is not a *padārtha* (category) but an expression used to signify the *saṁskāras* (impressions or conceptions) of past, present, and future. Generally, time is considered as an aspect of the duration of a phenomenon like the astronomers.

The shortest unit of time is an instant (*akṣara*) which is measured by a twinkle of the eye, or the time taken by two strong men holding two ends of the finest thread to break it. Ten *akṣaras*=1 . *kṣaṇa*, 10 *kṣaṇas*=1 *laya*, 10 *layas*=1 *kṣana-laya;* 10 *kṣana-layas*=1 *muhūrta*=48 minutes. There are also divisions of days, fortnights, months, seasons, years, and cosmic periods (*yugas* and *kalpas*).

The largest unit of time is *mahā-kalpa*, which is divided into four *asaṁkhya-kalpas* (incalculable *kalpas*), each of which consists of twenty *antara-kalpas* (intermediate *kalpas*). Each *antara-kalpa* is equivalent to eight *yugas*, corresponding to the four brahminical *yugas*, such as Kali etc. Each *asaṁkhya-kalpa* has successive periods of evolution and involution. During a period of involution (*samvarta*), births cease, those who are born die, to be reborn in other worlds, which are then in a period of evolution, if their actions have not fructified. The empty world is destroyed in stages by fire, water and wind.

Certain periods are called 'not empty' or 'empty' (*śūnya*) depending on whether they are provided with a Buddha or not. The present period which has revealed five Buddhas is a *bhadra-kalpa* or 'blessed period.'

Living Beings

The living beings (*sattvas*) are divided into five or six categories according to their destinations which are, *sugati* (good), and *durgati* (bad), depending

on the acts performed in the past lives which produce fruit or result during the present. The bad *gatis* (*apāyas*=calamities or evils) are the hell, *tiryag-yoni* (animals), *preta-yoni* (evil spirit), and *asura-yoni* (demon). The good destinations are *deva-yoni* (god) and *manuṣya-yoni* (human being). Thus there are six destinations, but sometimes the *asuras* are counted among the *pretas*. Most of these beings, except men and animals, are born by the process of sudden appearance.

Hell

The hot and cold hells are the abodes of the damned who must suffer a continuous pain as retribution for their sins. The damnation is not eternal, but can extend from one cosmic period to another if the retribution is not complete at the moment of the destruction of the world by involution. In that case, the damned ones die in their hells to be reborn in other hells when another world evolves.

There is another class of dead spirits (*preta*), who include the *pitṛs* and the *piśācas*. They are bound to a specially miserable existence as retribution for their misdeeds. They are not the denizens of hell, but inhabit the intermediate space between the worlds, or haunts the world. They are always hungry, because their mouth is as small as the eye of a needle. They always desire to eat repugnant things. Their king is Yama. They live for five hundred years, formed by days as long as a human month.

The fauna includes, besides the ordinary animals, the *nāgas* (snakes of a particular type) and the water-sprites, who live in *pātāla* (nether world), and on the peak of the Yugandhara mountain. They have the power to assume human form, but their hair is always wet. Their enemy is the bird Garuḍa. Eight great *nāga* kings sustain the earth.

Asuras

The *asuras*, sometimes called *dānavas* or *daityas*, are rivals of gods. They have both good and bad characteristics. They are gigantic in size, brutal in character, and often wicked. Their major faults are pride and jealousy. Sometimes they are represented as not contravening any Buddhistic regulation, giving alms, and paying homage to Buddha. Due to their ambivalent nature, they are sometimes grouped with human beings, and at others with the *pretas*, or even with the gods. They have their cities at the bottom of the sea, and sometimes live in caves. Their king is Vemacitra. One of the chief *asuras* is Rāhu which causes the eclipse.

Gods

The Buddhist gods are mainly brahminical, particularly those who are relegated to an inferior class. The superior gods, who are characterized by their spiritual power gained through meditation, are mainly Buddhist creations. The term *devatā* includes both gods and goddesses, while the secondary divinities are called *deva-putras* (sons of gods) and *deva-kanyās* (daughters of

gods). In the early texts only the gods, and not the goddesses, are named and considered.

The humblest among the gods (*bhauma*) inhabit the earth. They frequent the cities, the cross-roads, the forests, the trees, the sea, and certain objects like the royal umbrella. Others circulate in the atmosphere or move in the clouds. Above them live a superior type of gods. Firstly, there are the four *lokapālas*. They guard the world and the Buddhist religion under instruction from the Thirty-three gods. The *lokapālas* are: Dhataraṭṭha (Dhṛtarāṣṭra) in the east; Virūḷhaka (Virūḍhaka) in the south; Virūpakkha (Virūpākṣa) in the west; and Vessavaṇa (Vaiśravaṇa) in the north. Dhṛtarāṣṭra's followers are the *gandhabbas* (*gandharvas*) chief among whom are Pañcasikha (Pañcaśikha) and Timbaru (Tumburu). Their women are the *accarās* (*apsarases*), but they do not play any effective role in the Pali texts. Virūḷhaka reigns over the class of monsters known as *kumbhāṇḍas*. Virūpakkha is the king of the *nāgas*. Vessavana or Kubera is the king of the *yakkhas* (*yakṣas*), who sometimes protect, but can also be sources of danger, frequently being cannibals. However, the term *yakkha* is rather vague, and in the Pali Canon it has been used to indicate Sakka (Śakra or Indra). Some *yakkhas* live in Ceylon, and they are confounded with the *rakkhasas* (*rākṣasas*), who are demons, cannibals, capable of assuming human form, usually haunting the forests and sometimes the sea. In the Sanskrit Buddhist texts they are sometimes called the *brahma-rākṣasas*. Associated with the *yakkhas* is another class of Kubera's followers called the *kinnaras* or the *kiṁpurisa* (*kiṁpuruṣa*). They are half male and half female, half bird and half horse, and are often musicians like the *gandhabbas*.

The 'Thirty-three' gods or the *Traya-triṁśat* occupy the next higher level. Their chief is Devanāminda (Devendra), Mahinda (Mahendra), or Sakka (Śakra), who is sometimes also called Vajrapāṇi. He serves Buddha faithfully, protects his doctrines, and supervises the cosmic order. The Thirty-three gods assemble on the full moon night at the beginning of the rainy season on the Meru in the Sudhammā sabhā attended by four *mahārājas*.

Then come the gods who are beyond the region of desire (*kāmāvacara*). They are known as the Yamas, and are under the control of Devaputta Suyāma. The next three gradations of divinity are the gods of the Tusita heaven (where the Bodhisattva lived before descending to earth), the Nimmānaratis, and the Paranirmitavasvartin.

Beyond and above these gods are those who have attained perfection in *yoga*. They are known as the *Brahmakāyikas*, and live in the Brahmaloka under Mahābrahman. However, several Mahābrahmans are known, namely, Baka, Sanaṁkumāra (Sanatkumāra), who sometimes attends the assembly of the 'Thirty-three,' and Sahampati, who came to Buddha several times. Above them are the Ābhādevas whose chief is Ābhasvara (Ābhāsvara). Above them are the Subhadevas, and yet above them are the Ākāśanañcāyatanūpagas.

Buddha and the Bodhisattvas

The gods live for several cosmic ages, hence their attainment of Buddha-

hood is retarded, though they too can attain *nirvāṇa*. Birth as a human being, preferably as a male, is necessary for the attainment of *bodhi* if not for *nirvāṇa* also. Human beings are grouped not only as males and females, but also according to their social order. The grouping is not according to the accident of birth, but by individual attainment into *brāhmaṇas*, *śramaṇas*, other religious persons, kings, and householders (*gahapati=gṛhapati*).

According to Buddhism, distinction between men is due to the difference in their progress along the road towards the suppression of misery. Near the summit are the Bodhisattas (Bodhisattvas) whose natural characteristic is consciousness, or whose essence is perfect knowledge. They are prepared to attain *bodhi* and become Buddha, as Gautama did in his last human birth.

At the summit are the Buddhas, of whom there are two types. First are the Buddhas properly called (*sammā-sambuddha=samyak-sambuddha*), and the second are the Paccekabuddhas (Pratyeka-buddhas) who do not communicate their knowledge to others. The Pratyeka-buddhas live in this world when there is no Buddha, but they pass away into *nirvāṇa* when a Buddha is born. In the Buddhist legends, several brahminical *ṛṣis* have been considered as Pratyekabuddhas.

A Buddha is also called Bhagavat, Jina, Sugata, Śasṭr, and Tathāgata. The meaning of the word Tathāgata is not clear, and has been interpreted differently by scholars as stated above. Gautama Buddha had six predecessors who were also Buddhas. They are: 1. Vipassin (Vipasyin); 2. Sikkin (Śikhin); 3. Vessabhū (Viśvabhū); 4. Kakusandha (Krakutsanda or Krakucchanda); 5. Konagāmana (Kanakamuni); and 6. Kassapa (Kāśyapa). Another Buddha is yet to be born, and he will be known as Metteya (Maitreya). He is now in Tusita heaven. He will be the last Buddha.

Late Theravāda texts add another list of eighteen past Buddhas, and make the total number of Buddhas to be twenty-four, making the number of the past Buddhas equal to the number of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.

THE FOUR PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS

There were four main philosophical schools of Indian Buddhism: Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas of the Hīnayāna, and Mādhyamika and Yogācāra of the Mahāyāna. Ācārya Śaṅkara and the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* have recognised only these four schools. Dr. S.N. Dasgupta has pointed out that when the brahminical writers use such general terms as 'the Buddhists say,' they refer to the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra, and by the term 'Sarvāstivādin' they mean both the Sautrāntikas and the Vaibhāṣikas. Dr. Dasgupta has also remarked that there is no evidence that the brahminical writers were acquainted with the Theravāda doctrine as expressed in the Pali texts.

HĪNAYĀNA: SARVĀSTIVĀDA

The *Abhidharmakośa* describes the Sarvāstivādins as those who maintain the universal existence of everything, past, present and the future. The idea of *sabbam atthi* (all things exist) is found as early as the *Saṁyutta-nikāya* (IV. 15), but the school came into existence probably in the 3rd century BC, a little before the Third Council held during the reign of Aśoka.

The Sarvāstivādins, like the Sthaviravādins, are realists. They hold that the external world and its constituent parts have a real existence. Hence this school believes that all things exist, and exist continually, in the past, present, and the future as stated above. The main difference between the Sthaviravādins and the Sarvāstivādins was that the former believed that the revelation or penetration of truth was simultaneous, while the latter believed it to be gradual. The Sarvāstivādins, along with some other schools, raised a revolt against the *arhats*, maintaining that an *arhat* may fall away from his *arhat*-hood.

Vaibhāṣikas

Kātyāyaṇīputra's *Jñānaprasthāna-sūtra* was the principal *abhidharma* text of the Sarvāstivādins. But the Sarvāstivādins of Kashmir and Gandhāra held that the *vibhāṣās* (commentaries) on this text were more authoritative than the *sūtras* of the text; hence they were known as the Vaibhāṣikas. The names of many Vaibhāṣika teachers are known, of whom the most famous is that of Vasubandhu. Born in Peshwar (5th century AD), he went to Kashmir to make a special study of the *vibhāṣās*, and then condensed the topics dealt with in them in his *Abhidharmakośa* and its *Bhāṣya*, which came to be regarded as one of the most famous texts of Buddhism, and were studied by the monks of all schools. In the 7th century, the *Abhidharmakośa* was so widely read in India that, in a description of a Buddhist hermitage, Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* (VIII) says that the parrots explained the *Kośa* to one another. These two works were translated in Chinese and Japanese, on the basis of which developed the Kośa school in China and the Kuṣa school in Japan.

According to the Vaibhāṣikas, the difference in time depends upon the difference in the function of an entity. An entity is respectively called present according as it produces its efficiency, past when it ceases to produce after having once produced it, and future when an entity has not yet begun to produce efficiency. There is a real existence of the past as also of the future.

According to Vasubandhu, only *arthakriyākāritva* (the capacity of producing effects or practical efficiency) proves existence. As the eternal, uncaused, and unchanging *ātman* (of Vedānta) is without any practical efficiency, it can be said to have a mere nominal existence as an object of current usage. There is no soul, but there are elements of a personal life. The elements are arranged and systematized into five categories and seventy-five elements, of which three are *asaṃskṛta* (uncompounded), and seventy-two are compound or *saṃskṛta* elements, or *dharmas*.

The *saṁskṛta-dharmas* are: i. *Rūpa*; ii. *Citta*; iii. *Citta-samprayukta-saṁskāra*; and iv: *Citta-viprayukta-saṁskāra*.

i. As already explained, *rūpa* is that which has the capacity to obstruct the sense organs. It consists of the following eleven matters: 5 sense-organs and 5 sense-objects (which include the 4 gross elements), and the *avijñapati-rūpa* (unmanifested form-element). The mental function of willing to act is called *cetanā*, or 'will-action,' and when expressed in words is called 'word-action,' and when expressed physically is called 'body-action'. These two outwardly manifested actions produce a corresponding and similar action in mind which is known as *avijñapti-karma*. The *avijñapti-rūpa* consists of the form elements of the *avijñapti-karmans*, because they are considered to be sense-objects though unmanifest.

ii. *Citta* is mind or consciousness itself. It comprises of only one *dharma*, though it functions in 5 ways corresponding to the 5 sense-organs.

iii. *Citta-samprayukta-saṁskāra* or *caitasika* (the concomitant mental function) consists of 46 *dharmas* which are grouped into 6 classes: 1. *Mahābhūmika* (of the universal ground [mind]) 10 *dharmas*; 2. *Kuśala-mahābhūmika* (moral universals) 10 *dharmas* which accompany all good mental functions; 3. *Kleśa-mahābhūmika*, (general foul functions) 6 *dharmas* which are those tainted with earthly desire or passions (*kleśa*); 4. *Akuśala-mahābhūmika* (general functions of evil) 2 *dharmas* which are concomitant with all evil thoughts; 5. *Upakleśa-bhūmika* (minor evil function) has 10 *dharmas* or ordinary passionate character; and 6. *Aniyata-bhūmika* (indeterminate functions) 8 *dharmas* which cannot be classified as belonging to any of the other five functions.

iv. *Citta-viprayukta-saṁskāra* consists of 14 *dharmas* which cannot be included among material or mental elements, because they are neither matter nor mind, hence they are also known as *rūpa-citta viprayukta-saṁskāra-dharma*. According to Yamakami Sogen, they are energies which are not always actual but potential, and that they cannot be active unless joined with a mental or material basis.[1]

These 75 elements or *dharmas*, though distinct and separate from each other, are linked together in the phenomenal world by a system of ten causal relations of which six are principal (*hetu*) and four are subsidiary (*pratyaya*) causes.

The *asaṁskṛta-dharmas* are three, namely 1. *ākāśa* (space); 2. *pratisaṁkhyā-nirodha* (an extinction attained by the intellectual power such as *nirvāṇa*); 3. *apratisamkhyā-nirodha* (extinction not caused by any producing cause).

The Sarvāstivāda doctrine that 'all things exist,' is not materialism, because according to the Vaibhāṣika theory, all things, including mind and matter, are *dharmas*. All the *dharmas* are real, but their conglomeration, a man, is a temporary unity only living in the contiguity of momentariness. An individual consists of nothing other than the elements mentioned above. Similarly,

[1]Y. Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, Calcutta, 1912, p. 159.

the universe too consists of these elements. But, while the material elements are dominant in the universe, the moral elements are dominant in a person. The external aspects of the individual and the universe are constantly changing, the past determining the present condition, and the present the future. Thus they go on always changing and creating. 'Men are always floating on the waves of dynamic becoming called *saṁsāra*, the stream of life'. Hence there is no need to postulate a permanent changeless self, for the unbroken continuity of the present with the past, and of the future with the present to prevent the loss of identity.

Sautrāntikas

The *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*[1] says 'the name Sautrāntika arose from the fact that the venerated Buddha said to certain of his disciples who asked what was the ultimate purport (*anta*) of the aphorism (*sūtra*), "As you have inquired the final purport of the aphorism, be Sautrāntikas." ' This seems to be a late derivation. However, the Sautrāntikas are also known as the Sūtrāntavādins, and Sūtraprāmāṇikas, and sometimes they are identified with the Saṅkrāntivādins.

Like the Vaibhāṣikas, the Sautrāntikas also flourished in Kashmir and Gandhāra, but they were bitter opponents of the former's realism. In the *Abhidharmakośa* (VIII, 32), the Sautrāntika school is described as the Vinayavādī (the upholders of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*) and also as the Dārṣṭāntika, as the Sautrantikas admitted examples as the proof of a theory. Prof. Takakusu is of the opinion that the Sautrāntikas developed out of the Satyasiddhi school of Harivarman who lived in India during *c.* AD 250 to 300. But since no Indian work refers either to Harivarman or to the Satyasiddhi school, it is doubtful if this school ever existed in India.

According to Prof. Takakusu, the Sautrantikas can be considered to be an orthodox school of Buddhism being much nearer than the Vaibhāṣikas to the original teachings of Buddha.

The main doctrine of the Sautrāntikas is that the *skandhas* in their subtle form transmigrate from one world to another. There is one *ekarasa-skandha* which gives rise to four *mūlāntika-skandhas*. The *paramārtha-pudgala*, which appears to be the same subtle consciousness as the *ekarasa-skandha*, is the substance that is subject to transmigration. The *ekarasa-skandha* corresponds to the *ālaya-vijñāna* of the Yogācāra, who indeed may have derived the idea from the Sautrāntikas. The Sautrāntikas also believed that every man has the potentiality of becoming a *buddha* which is also akin to the Mahāyāna doctrine, that every being has in him the seeds of a *buddha*. For these reasons, the Sautrāntikas are considered to be the bridge between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna schools.

The Sautrāntikas were considered as opponents of the Vaibhāṣikas, because they relied upon the Sūtras denying any authority to the *Abhidharma*.

[1]The *Sarvadarsanasaṁgraha* by Madhava Āchārya translated by E.B. Cowell and A.E. Gough, London, 1914, p. 32.

Vasubandhu, though generally in favour of the Vaibhāṣikas, support the Sautrāntika view in this respect.[1] A fundamental difference between the two schools was that, while the Vaibhāṣikas upheld the existence of phenomenal objects or *pratyakṣa* (direct perception), the Sautrāntikas asserted that external objects were *prajñapti* (appearances), and that their existence could only be proved by inference. Just as the fatness of a person implies that he has been taking nourishing food, so the existence of intellection implies that the existence of truth is to be realized (*jñeya*).

As against the Sarvāstivādin doctrine of dormant act and its unmanifest effect, the Sautrāntikas maintain that, an act is momentary but its corresponding ideation leaves on the psychological system an efficient trace which determines an evolution whose end result is the fructification of the act. The relation between the act and its final consequence is like that between the seed and the fruit, which does not come directly out of the seed, but from the tree which is directly evolved from it. This standpoint led the Sautrāntikas to a deep study of the problem of the sub-conscious, which was implied in certain ancient traditions. The Sautrāntikas hold that the psychological system is sheltered in the heart when consciousness in suspended, and that an extremely subtle (*sūkṣmasūkṣma*) consciousness existed in the heart inside the unconscious and received the impression of the phenomenon, which later germinate as new phenomenon. From this the Sautrāntikas have developed the theory of an absolute person who transmigrates, in contrast to the empirical person who passes away, being the conglomerate of one *rasa* (*eka-rasa-skandha*). Hence they have been called the *saṁkrāntivādins*, because they uphold the passage (*saṁkrānti*) of one *skandha*.

The Sautrāntikas criticize the Sarvāstivādins on various grounds, namely, 'that the Sarvāstivādins (1) fail to show a criterion to serve as the *raison d'etre* of function; (2) fail to distinguish between the essence which they take as non-temporal and the function which is temporal, and consequently fail to distinguish between the composite and the incomposite; (3) mistake the continuation of the past to mean its everlastingness and hence its self-being (*svabhāva*); and (5) fail to draw a clear line of distinction between existence and non-existence. The Dārṣṭāntikas, again, point out that the Sarvāstivādins fail to provide for negation and error or illusion, and mistake relative existence to mean absolute self-being.'[2]

MAHĀYĀNA

The main characteristic of the Mahāyāna system was the development of the speculations on the natures of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, and the enlargement of the ancient mode of destruction of misery to a doctrine of salvation. This shift was due to a change in the ideal. Formerly, the ideal was the

[1] N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, II, p. 168.
[2] K.V. Ramanan, op. cit., p. 347, note 179.

arhat, who sought *nirvāṇa* by following the prescribed monastic life. The Mahāyāna substitute was the ideal of the *bodhisattva*, who seeks universal salvation during innumerable mundane lives. A much larger number of people can thus aspire for and gain salvation through sentimental ardour (*bhakti*) and recourse to the grace of Buddha, which replaced the rigorous discipline reached by him. This attitude led to the development if the *bhakti* element in Buddhism, which it passed on to brahminical Hinduism. The Mahāyāna attitude also led to the worship of the images of Buddha and of a large number of Bodhisattvas. The idea was that they could bestow merit and wash away the evil acts of the sinner.

In their systems of philosophy, the Mahāyāna schools emphasized the distinction, already observed in certain older schools, between experiential and absolute truth. The Theravādins also recognized the *sammuti-sacca* (*samvṛti-satya*) the conventional or commonsense truth, and the *paramattha-sacca* (*paramārtha-satya*), but the Sarvāstivādins and the Vaibhāṣikas opposed this doctrine.

Samvṛti-satya means the ideas regarding particular objects like a jar or water which disappear either when they come to an end, or when the mind grasps some other object. The *paramārtha-satya* represents the idea of the form which exists independently of special accidents as the composition of atoms, taste, etc. According to Mahāyāna, the *samvṛti-satya* or phenomenal truth is illusory, and is contradictory to the absolute truth or *paramārtha-satya*.

In Hīnayāna, impermanence means just the arising and perishing of things, but in Mahāyāna the term indicates that the ultimate nature of all things is indeterminate, without origin and without end. Impermanence as momentary existence would, according to Mahāyāna, imply a false notion of eternalism, for if a thing could exist for one moment, it could exist for ever. Even momentary existence of things is apparent, for the true nature of things is passing away. This awareness of the passing away of things awakens one to the ultimate nature of things: a complete *śūnya*, that is, impermanent, and indeterminate, or indescribable.

Mādhyamika or Śūnyavada

The Mādhyamikas follow the 'doctrine of the middle (*madhyamaka*) path,' as explained by Nāgārjuna in his celebrated texts, of which the most important are the *Madhyamaka-śāstra* or the *Madhyamaka-kārikā* with Candrakīr'i's *Prasannapadā* commentary, and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, which is Nāgārjuna's commentary on the *Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*. The former is available in Sanskrit, while the latter is available only in its Chinese translation, by Kumārajīva (*c.* AD 343-413). In these and other works Nāgārjuna has elaborated his theory which may be called the theory of the 'Identity of Illusion and Reality.'

By the time of Nāgārjuna, the Buddhists were divided into various contending schools of thought, each school holding steadfastly to its own views

and rejecting all other. Nāgārjuna held that every systematic expression of the fundamental nature of things from a specific standpoint leads to the error of misplaced absoluteness. Mādhyamika philosophy is in reality anti-system-building. They have no position of their own, and claim that truth is unseizable. However, they accept transcendence and immanence as well as identity and difference as relative ways of conveying the ultimate truth. Non-exclusiveness is the spirit of the Mādhyamikas. Through their concepts developed by skilful dialectics the Mādhyamikas attempt to indicate what lies beyond the concepts: the Absolute,—immutable, empty, or filled with the image of Nature itself, not an object of intellection, but realizable through mystic experience.

In the *Majjhima-nikāya* (Suttas 63 and 72) and in several other places, Buddha is reported to have refused to answer the following questions: 1. Whether the world is eternal or not? 2. Whether the world is finite or not? 3. Whether the soul and the body are identical or not? 4. Whether the Tathāgata exists or does exist after death? 5. Whether the Tathāgata both exists and does not exist after death? and 6. Whether the Tathāgata neither exists nor does not exist after death.

From this the Madhyamikas derive their famous fourfold (*catuskoti*) logical premiss:

1. *Hoti tathāgato paraṁ maraṇa* (The Tathāgata exists after death, i.e., *ens* or *sat*)

2. *Na hoti tathāgato paraṁ maraṇa* (Tathāgata does not exist after death, i.e., *non-ens* or *asat*).

3. *Hoti ca na hoti tathāgato paraṁ maraṇa* (Tathāgata both exists and does not exist after death, i.e., either *ens* or *non-ens, sadasat.*)

4. *Na hoti ca na hoti tathāgato paraṁ maraṇa* (Tathāgata neither exists nor does not exists after death neither *ens* nor *non-ens, na sat nāsat.*)

The only conceivable truth beyond this fourfold proposition is the inconceivable, inexpressible reality to which none of the four affirmations and negations are applicable.

The discussion of these problems, known as *avyākṛta*, was avoided by the Hīnayānists. Nāgārjuna, however, took this problem as the perfect expression of Truth. According to the Mādhyamikas, the *catuskoṭi* does not apply to absurdities like 'sky-flower,' or 'horns of a hare,' but to the Absolute, which has neither origin nor decay, neither both origin and decay, and neither both non-origin and non-decay. This Absolute is the everlasting and perpetual Reality, the *śūnyatā* or the *vijñaptimātratā.*

All phenomenal objects are really non-existent. The only non-illusory Truth is *nirvāṇa* (*amoṣa-dharma-nirvāṇam*). As all illusory objects are false, all mental constructions being illusory are also false. If all are illusory and false, what is there to delude a person? Why indeed should he be deluded?

In establishing his doctrine of *śūnyatā*, Nāgārjuna takes two extreme positions: 1. the transitory objects are unreal and therefore false, non-existent; 2. the Real the Truth being eternal is immutable, indestructible, and without

origin and decay. If the Real has no origin and decay, the question of cause and effect etc. does not arise. Similarly, if the un-Real is non-existent, it too has no use for cause and effect, and does not require characterization. The phenomenal world, though un-real and non-existent, seems to have apparent existence to the ignorant, just as a person having a defective vision sees two moons; if the diseased eye is treated and proper vision restored, the person will see only one moon. Similarly, when the disease of ignorance is removed, one visualizes the reality. This Reality or Truth has been defined by Nāgārjuna in a famous verse in his *Madhyamaka-kārikā* (XXV. 3).

aprahīṇam asamprāptam anucchinnam aśāśvatam
aniruddham anutpannam etān nirvāṇam ucyate

(*Nirvāṇa* is that which is neither to be eschewed, nor to be avoided, nor to be attained, which is not subject to destruction, nor is eternal, and which has neither origin nor decay).

That is, *nirvāṇa* is the absence of the essence of all phenomena, that which cannot be conceived as anything which is produced or as anything which has ceased. In *nirvāṇa* all phenomena are lost. It is said that the phenomena cease to exist in *nirvāṇa*, but like the illusory snake in the rope they never existed.

In his commentary on the *Pañcasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Nāgārjuna compares *nirvāṇa* with an island, and the surrounding streams (of life) to the defiling elements (*āsrava*), ignorance, and passion with regard to worldly objects and of the higher world, to all the *kleśas*, to all the deeds, and to their results. The central principle, the island in the centre, is the *dharma* of complete *śūnyatā*, the utterly unseizable *nirvāṇa*. People sink in the waters of the four streams and in the *kleśas*, and Buddha, with his boat of the eightfold way, rescues them and puts them on the island of *nirvāṇa*.[1]

In the *Madhyamaka-Kārikā*,[2] Nāgārjuna says: *na saṁsārasya nirvāṇāt kiñcid asti viśeṣaṇam*, i e., 'there is no absolute distinction between the two relative ideas, *saṁsāra* and *nirvāṇa*,' but there cannot be any conception of a relation between the two even in apposition. It is, however, explained, that, *pratītya-samutpāda* in its *samutpāda* (origination) aspect is *saṁsāra*, but all origination is false, for a thing could neither originate by itself nor by others, nor by a co-operation of both, nor without any reason. A thing could not originate without a cause, for in that case all things could come into existence at all times. Hence *pratītya-samutpāda* is not a real law, but a facade for an appearance which is due to ignorance. The true meaning of *pratītya-samutpāda* or *śūnyavāda* is that, there is no truth, no essence in all phenomena that appear.

It is said in the *Saṁyutta-nikāya* (II. 17): 'This world, O Kaccāna is addicted to dualism, to the "it is," and to the "it is not." He who perceives in truth and wisdom how things arise in the world, for him there is no "it is not" in the world. And O Kaccāna, he who perceives, in truth and wisdom

[1] K.V. Ramanan, op. cit., pp. 272-73.
[2] *BI*, ed., IV, p. 235.

how things in the world pass away, for him there is no "it is" in the world.' It is this position to which Nāgārjuna refers in the opening verses of his *Madhyamaka-karika:*

anirodham anutpādam anucchedam aśāśvatam
anekārtham anānārtham anāgamam anirgamam
yaḥ pratītya-samutpādam prapañcopaśamaṁ śivam
deśayāmāsa sambuddhas taṁ vande vadatāṁ varam

Without destruction and without origination, without being cut off and without being eternal,
Neither being one thing, nor different things, neither coming nor going,
He who can thus teach the 'dependent origination,' the blissful coming to rest of all illusory unfoldment,
Before Him, the Enlightened One, the best of all teachers, I reverently bow down.

It has been stated above, that *nairātmya* or 'the denial of a permanent self,' was a basic doctrine of Buddhism. This *nairātmya* can be *pudgala-nairātmya* or *dharma-nairātmya. Pudgala-nairātmya* means that what is believed to be the self or *ātman* has no independent nature of its own, and therefore does not in fact exist. Therefore, the *pudgala* is not a thing in reality (*vastusat*), but exists merely as a name or convention for serving the purpose of everyday life. Similarly, the *dharmas*, or all phenomenal objects, are devoid of independent natures for they depend on their origination or being on cause and effect. As a thing which is not in its own nature cannot be in the nature of others, all perceptible objects have no existence in fact, and are of imaginary nature. This theory is known as the *dharma-nairātmya.* The Mādhyamikas believed both in *pudgala-nairātmya* and *dharma-nairātmya.*

All the Buddhist schools, with the exception of the Vātsīputrīyas, admitted their faith in *pudgala-nairātmya.* Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośa* has refuted the views of the Vātsīputrīyas, who were also known as the Pudgalavādins. The Vaibhāṣikas admitted *dharmātmā*, while they denied *pudgalātmā.* Nāgārjuna in his *Mahā-Prajñapāramitā-śāstra* states: 'During the 500 years after the passing away of the Buddha, the *saṁgha* was divided into two: some accepted *dharma-śūnyatā* and some only the *śūnyatā* of the individual (*pudgala*); the latter said that the five *skandhas* were real, and that only he who perceives the *skandhas* was *śūnya.*' As Prof. Venkata Ramanan points out, 'the reference here to the Sarvāstivāda is obvious.'[1] According to Nāgārjuna, only by attaining two kinds of *śūnyatā*, namely, *dharma* and *pudgala*, one gradually reaches the *anupalambha-śūnyatā*, or the ultimate truth. The ultimate reality of all things (*sarva-dharma-bhūta-lakṣaṇa*) is itself in the nature of *svabhāva-śūnyatā* or in 'the state of being devoid of specific character.'[2]

The use of the word 'Void' for *śūnyata*, as Prof. Takakusu has pointed out, 'is not entirely fitting and often misleading, yet if we look for another word, there will be none better. It is after all, an idea dialectically established.

[1]K.V. Ramanan, op. cit., p. 343, note 121.

[2]ibid, pp. 353 and 375; Takakusu, op. cit., p. 106.

It is nameless (*akhyāti*) and characterless (*alakṣaṇa*). It is simply the negation of an independent reality or the negation of specific character. Besides the negation there is nothing else .... The object of negativism is the realization of perfect wisdom. Wisdom here is opposed to all partial knowledge or rather is inclusive of all partial knowledge. Thus by not clinging to the knowledge of special things, one can attain perfect wisdom; and by not adhering to one thing or another, one can attain perfect freedom. Perfect emptiness or Void comprehends all things. Emptiness is different from space, for space is what anything can occupy. The doctrine of Void of this school [Mādhyamika or Sanron] is in reality Non-Void, i.e., not one-sided abstracted Void, because it can comprehend anything whatever.'[1]

Yogacara or Vijñānavāda

This school had two aspects, one practical and the other theoretical. In its practical aspect, it emphasized the practice of *yoga* as the most effective method for the attainment of the highest truth. This *yoga* again had two aspects. The first was to practise meditation to raise mentation from the place of gross worldly objects to the level in which perception is almost extinct or withdrawn (*naivasaṁjñā-nāsaṁjñā* or *saṁjñā-vedayita-nirodha*) resulting in the cessation of the perception of phenomenal objects. The second was the performance of the duties (*ācāra* or *caryā*) to acquire merit by the fulfilment of the six *pāramitās*. Both these aspects are mentioned in the Pali texts. The *Majjhima-nikāya*, for example, describes how Gautama obtained *bodhi* after attaining perfection in all the *pāramitās*, thereby reaching the highest mental place. This was known in Pali as the *ceto-vimutti*, or *cetaso-vimokho*.

In the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (I.10), Buddha compares a controlled mind with the transparent water of a clear pool, and says that 'consciousness is self-luminous, but is defiled by adventitious elements,' just as clear water is covered by scum. Hence the Yogācāra argument that, though the external world is non-existent, it is not absurd as a barren woman's son, but is an ideation or extension of the *cittamātra* or *vijñānamātra*. As the *Laṅkāvatāra* (p. 48) states: 'Just as the waves are seen in the sea, as figures are seen in a mirror or dream, so do the self-created objects of mind appear simultaneously in thought.' As all objects are conceived through misconceptions, they are in fact imaginary and have no real existence. The phenomenal world or *saṁsāra* is *bhrānti* (delusion) or *parikalpa* (deceit). Hence the Vijñānavādins admit the *parikalpita-svabhāva* of objects whose origin is not accidental, but is due to certain causes or conditions. From this they arrive at three stages or degrees of reality:

i. *Parikalpita* or illusory, when we mistake a rope for a snake;

ii. *Paratantra* or empirical, when we recognize a rope for a rope;

iii. *Pariṣpanna* or absolute, when we recognize that 'rope' is a mere concept, and has no existence as a 'thing-in-itself.'

[1]Ṭakakusu, op. cit., pp. 106-07.

Here lies the main difference of the Vijñānavādins with the Mādhyamikas who recognized only two kinds of reality. namely, *samvṛti* (conventional or empirical), and *paramārtha* (transcendental). The *Vijñānavādins* have apparently sub-divided *samvṛti* into *parikalpita* and *paratantra.*

Unlike the *parikalpita* and *partantra* which possess characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*), the *pariṣpanna-satya* or absolute truth is devoid of all characteristics except *advaya-lakṣaṇa.* The *parispanna* corresponds to *tathatā,* or *dharmatā,* or *vijñaptimātra.* When *vijñapti* or *vijñāna,* which has the capacity or the character of grasping objects, ceases to function on its object (*ālambana*), and goes beyond the state of the received and the recipient, that is, beyond the subject object relation (*grāhya-grāhaka-bhāva-rahita*), then it becomes the *vijñaptimātra,* which is a non-mental (*acitta*) state. Therefore the Yogācārins insist on the logical primacy not of the created manifold but of the creating principle, or pure thought. Not the world but thought is treated by them as the primary substance and the positive starting point.

When things are reflected on mind, *vijñāna* or consciousness is at work. These reflections are stored in by a sort of superior over-personal consciousness which is called *ālaya-vijñāna* or 'store consciousness,' or as Prof. Takakusu has rendered it 'the ideation store.'[1] It is the seed consciousness, and the conscious centre, and the world manifested by ideation is its environment. In the 'ideation store,' the pure and the tainted elements are causally combined. Pure ideation, which emanates from Buddha, can purify the tainted part of the 'ideation store,' and develop its power of understanding. Then the *parikalpita* and *paratantra* realities will give place to the *pariṣpanna* reality, and the seed store of consciousness will disappear altogether.

Critique of Buddhist Philosophy

It has been stated above that though Buddha had preached the doctrine of *anātman,* he had refused to discuss its implications. The Buddhists got themselves into difficulties as soon as they began to develop speculative theories in disregard of the Master's declared intention. The Hīnayānists made a half-hearted attempt at solving the problem of *anātman* by formulating that the elements (5 *skandhas* and 72 *dharmas*) constituting a being or *pudgala* are transitory (*anitya*) and devoid of substance (*anātman*). As stated above, one Hīnayāna sect, the Vātsīputrīyas (also known as the Sāmmitīyas), put forward the view that no transmigration was possible without a *pudgala,* which is neither the same nor is different from the *skandhas.* Therefore they came to be known as the Pudgalavādins, and their view was refuted and rejected by all other schools of Buddhism, who regarded the Pudgalavādins as heretics. 'But,' as Conze has remarked, 'the more tenaciously and persistently one tries to keep something out of one's mind, or out of a system of thought, the more surely it will come in. The orthodox, in the end, were forced to admit the notion of a permanent ego, not openly, but in various disguises, hidden in particularly obscure and abstruse concepts, like the *Sub-*

[1]ibid, p. 82.

conscious Life-continuum (*bhavāṅga*) of the Theravādins, the *continued existence of a very subtle consciousness* of the Sautrāntikas, the *Root-Consciousness* of the Mahāsaṅghikas etc. The *Store-Consciousness* of the Yogācārins is conceived in the same spirit. As soon as the advice to disregard the individual self had hardened into the proposition "there is no self," such concessions to commonsense became quite inevitable.'[1]

Beginning with the *ālaya-vijñāna*, the Yogācārins got increasingly involved into a complicated network of speculative philosophy which had little relevance to Buddha's teachings. Refuting the Vijñānavāda doctrine in his commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* (2.2.28), Śaṁkara remarked: 'The non-existence of external things cannot be maintained because we are conscious of some external thing corresponding to the idea, whether it be a post, or a wall, or a piece of cloth, or a jar, and that of which we are conscious cannot but exist. Why should we pay attention to the words of a man who, while conscious of an outward thing through its approximation to his senses, affirms that he is conscious of no outward thing, and that no such thing exists any more than we listen to the man who while he is eating and experience the feeling of satisfaction avers that he does not eat and does not feel satisfied? If the Buddha should reply that he does not affirm that he is conscious of no object but only that he is conscious of no object apart from the act of consciousness, we answer that he may indeed make any arbitrary statement he likes but that he has no argument to prove what he says (*bāḍham evaṁ bravīṣi niraṅkuśatvāt te tuṇḍasya, natu yukty=upetaṁ bravīṣi*).'[2]

The doctrine of causality is one of the central problems of Indian philosophy, and therefore controversial. In the technical terminology of Indian philosophy, the term *dharmin* bears the sense of 'substrate, subject, that in which something is held, that of which something is predicated;' and *dharma* means the 'aspect of *dharmin*, predicate, content' etc. All predication, and therefore all judgement, involves affirmation (*vidhāna*) or denial (*niṣedha*) of a particular *dharma* with reference to a particular *dharmin*. Whenever a proposition is made, the subject of predication always becomes, so far as its nature and essence are concerned, a point of controversy. The simple statement that 'the flower is red' is certainly intelligible, but the proposition lost its simplicity when Nāgasena raised the problem before Menander: What is that to which redness is being attributed? What is meant by flower? Is it a mere conglomeration (*saṁghāta*, or *samudaya*) of sensible qualities, or is there a real objective ground, a substrate, to which the qualities are attached by some natural relations? Nāgasena and the Buddhists denied the existence of a substance apart from its qualities, and of a whole distinct from its parts.

According to Śaṁkara, in causal activity, that is in the transformation of cause into effects, cause alone was permanent and real, and all effects as such were but impermanent illusions due to ignorance. Sāṁkhya held that there

[1]E. Conze, *Buddhism, Its Essence and Development*, Oxford, 1957, p. 170.

[2]It may be noted that here Śaṁkara has quoted from Dharmakīrti's (AD 650) *Paramārthavārtika*. For Dharmakīrti's date see Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 309.

was no difference between cause and effect, the former being only the earlier stage which, when transformed, becomes effect. Buddhists held that everything was momentary, so that neither cause nor effect could abide. They defined existence as the capacity to produce anything, and held that the momentary existence of the effect was determined by the destruction of its momentary antecedent called the cause. Thus the Buddhists affirmed the identity of existence and causal efficiency.

In the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness or universal flux in which a permanent substrate is not admitted, there is logically no room for the past or for the future. How could then Buddha make predictions, and was able to know anything, however remote in time?

DOWNFALL OF BUDDHISM

Abu'l Fazl writes that 'for a long time past scarce any trace of them [Buddhists] has existed in Hindustan, but they are found in Pegu, Tenasserim, and Tibet.' During Akbar's third visit to Kashmir (AD 1597), Abu'l Fazl met 'a few old men of this persuasion but saw none among the learned.'[1] Abu'l Fazl's statement is borne out by the fact that there were no Buddhists among the learned divines who gathered at Akbar's religious assembly.'[2]

From Abu'l Fazl's statement it is evident that, by the end of the 16th century, Buddhism had virtually disappeared from the land of its birth.[3] This unique phenomenon is usually attributed to three causes: 1. Opposition of the brahminical religions; 2. decline of vigour in the *saṅgha* due to widespread immorality, and the influence of *tantra*; and 3. Turkish invasion. These three causes also operated against Jainism,[4] still it survived. Therefore, while discussing the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism from India, the reasons for the survival of Jainism will have to be briefly considered.

Buddhism and Brahminism

The indefinable term Hinduism means several systems of religion, philosophy, social system, and law: civil criminal, and personal. Hinduism represents the traditional life and cultural pattern indigenous to India which Buddha improved and enriched without disturbing its normal development. 'Buddha,' MM. Kane has said, 'was only a great reformer of the Hindu religion as practised in his time. He did not feel or claim that he was forming a new religion, nor did he renounce the Hindu religion and all its practices and beliefs. The Buddha referred to the Vedas and Hindu sages with honour

[1] *Āīn-i-Akbarī* by Abul Fazl, translated by H.S. Jarrett, III, p. 212.

[2] M.L. Roy Chowdhury in his *Din-i-Ilahi*, Calcutta, 1941, p. 169, asserted that Akbar was influenced by the Buddhists. For an able refutation of Roy Chowdhury's view see R. Krishnamurti, *Akbar, The Religious Aspect*, Baroda, 1961, pp. 98-100.

[3] As will be shown later, Buddhism lingered.

[4] The Jainas also developed *tantra*, but possibly not *vāmācāra tantra*.

in some of his sermons. He recognised the importance of Yogic practices and meditation. His teachings took over several beliefs current among the Hindus in his day such as the doctrine of Karma and Rebirth and cosmological theories[1]. . . .'

It is usually held, however, that the main controversy between Buddha and his contemporary *brāhmaṇas* centred round the Vedas, particularly regarding the importance of the Vedic sacrifices, and the social structure based on caste.

Regarding the Vedas, as MM. Kane has observed, Buddha had no animus against the Vedas as such, and he shared many Upanisadic ideas. However, he preached unequivocally against the Vedic sacrifices on moral, humanitarian, and rational grounds. But the Vedic sacrifices had already been condemned in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (1.1.4-5 and 1.2.7), and the *Muṇḍaka* is supported by the *Kaṭha* (1.2.4), and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (1.4.10). Austerity, liberality, straightforwardness, *ahiṁsā*, and truthfulness, which aresu pposed to be exclusively Buddhist virtues, are praised as equal or even superior to the actual performance of *yajña* (sacrifice) in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (3.17.4), and also to some extent in the *Praśna Upaniṣad* (1.15) and *Muṇḍaka Upanisad* (1.2.11-12).

It is possibly true that Buddha had not read a single Upaniṣad, but relied exclusively on his own realization. What is unfortunate is that he never came across anyone who knew the Upaniṣads properly. As A. Coomaraswamy states: 'It has been remarked with perfect justice by A. Worsley: "It is possible that had Gautama chanced to meet, in his earliest wanderings, two teachers of the highest [Upaniṣadic] truth, the whole history of the Old world might have changed."[2]

The strength of Buddhism (as well as of Jainism) was that, being the work of a single individual, it was consistent, in contrast to the Vedic and brahminical religions, which were the products of a continual development from animism to idealism. And, in this process little was left out; the primitive thoughts and practices were retained under layers of complex ideologies. Even the Upaniṣads are the products of many minds, and are a compendium of many thoughts. About 1200 years after Buddha, the complex diffusion of Upaniṣadic thought was perceived by Śaṁkara, who explained their inconsistencies by brilliant generalizations. During the intervening period, the consistent teachings of Buddha had been replaced by controversial schools of Buddhist philosophy. Thus the advantages of early Buddhism was thrown away by its later exponents.

Mahāvīra was as much against the Vedic sacrifices as Buddha, but his followers remained steadfast to his doctrines. Except one great schism, there was but little controversy among them over the fundamental tenets. This unwavering devotion must be ascribed as one of the reasons for their survival in the face of challenge from the neo-Vedānta and the *bhakti* doctrines.

[1]Kane, op. cit., V, part 2, p. 1004.

[2]A. Worsley, *Concept of Monism*, p. 197, quoted by Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 198 fn.

Buddhism succumbed, not only because its followers were divided, but also because not a single great scholar or saint appeared among them after the 10th century AD, while the Jainas produced a galaxy of saints and scholars between the 10th and the 13th centuries.

As for royal patronage, while the Jainas received some patronage from the kings of Karnataka and the Caulukyas of Gujarat, the Buddhists received patronage on a far more generous scale from the Pālas of Bengal during the same period. But today the Jainas are an important community in Karnataka and western India, while the Buddhists are virtually extinct in Bengal. We shall show later the activities of the Jaina monks which deservedly earned them royal patronage particularly in Karnataka.

A series of inscriptions from the Gupta age downwards can be cited to show that the brahminical kings were more than tolerant in their attitude towards Buddhism. In fact, the Hindu kings extended their support to all the religious orders which were popular in their realm. They were like Aśoka, who was solicitous of all sects and declared: 'Truly, if a person extols his own sect and disparages others sects with a view to glorifying his sect owing merely to his attachment to it, he injures his own sect very severely by acting in that way. Therefore restraint (or 'concord') in regard to speech is commendable, because people should learn and respect the fundamentals of anothers *dharma*.'[1] This doctrine of tolerance, first promulgated by the great Emperor, was actually practised in India, in spite of occasional lapses.

As MM. Kane has pointed out: 'According to the theory of Dharmaśāstra, the king is not only the head of the civil administration and the fountain of justice, but he is also the final controlling authority in preserving religious and spiritual institutions, he is to see that people follow the *dharma*, to punish them for breaches of religious and spiritual codes and to see to the admini stration to them of appropriate penances. In short he is also the Defender of the Faith.'[2] That is, of all the 'faiths' practised in his kingdom. This seems to have been the position taken up by Aśoka who declares: 'The Dharma-mahāmātras of mine are occupied with various kinds of activities which are beneficial both to ascetics and householders. And they are occupied with all religious sects. I have arranged that some of them will be occupied with the affairs of the *saṁgha*. Likewise, I have arranged that some of them will be occupied with the *brāhmaṇas* and the Ājīvikas. Similarly I have arranged that some of them will be occupied with the Nirgranthas. In the same way I have arranged that some of them will be occupied specially with the affairs of the different religious sects. My Dharma-Mahāmātras are occupied not only with the communities referred to above, but also with all other sects not mentioned specifically.'[3]

It may be assumed that later monarchs also took the same view of their duty, and actively interfered into monastic affairs when the conduct of the

[1] *RE*, XII, see also *MRE*, II and *RE*, VIII.
[2] Kane, op. cit., II, p. 965.
[3] *PE*, VII.

monks or nuns gained wide notoriety. The deserted monasteries observed by Hiuen Tsang may have been due to their closure by the governments because their residents had become dissolute.

An advantage enjoyed by the early Buddhists was the medium of their expression. Buddha preached in the local dialect, and so did his early followers. Gradually the position hardened. The Theravādins adopted Pali with the same veneration as the *brāhmaṇas* had for Vedic Sanskrit, though possibly by the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier, Pali had become unintelligible to the mass of the people. S.N. Dasgupta states that he has 'not been able to discover any old Hindu writer who could be considered as being acquainted with Pali.'[1] Later, the Buddhists adopted Sanskrit as the language of their religious texts. Thus the advantage of influencing people through the medium of their own dialect was lost, or, one might say, given up.

The Jainas also began to write their religious and philosophical texts in Sanskrit from about the 6th century AD, but they did not neglect Prakrit, the language of their scripture. Siddhasena Divākara (*c.* AD 533) was probably the earliest Jaina scholar to write in Sanskrit, but he also cultivated Prakrit. One of the most famous Prakrit authors was Haribhadra Sūri, who flourished in the middle of the 8th century; he also wrote many Sanskrit commentaries on Jaina Āgamas. Among Haribhadra's two famous Prakrit works are the *Samarāditya-kathā*, and the far more interesting *Dhūrtākhyāna*, the most sophisticated satire on Pauranic religion ever written. Other well-known Jaina Prakrit writers were Uddyotana Sūri, the author of the *Kuvalayamālā* (AD 788), and Dharmadāsa Gaṇi, who wrote the *Upadeśamālā* in AD 857. There were many others.

Similarly, a large number of Jaina poets embellished the Apabhraṁśa literature with their works. The earliest works of this nature are the *Paumacariu* and the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* of Svayambhūdeva, which are the Jaina versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* respectively.

The Apabhraṃśa literature was mainly produced in western India, Maharashtra, and Karnataka, where the Jainas secured a strong base. Gujarat produced a galaxy of Jain scholars culminating in Hemacandra. With a solitary exception, all the historical chronicles of Gujarat were written by Jaina monks.

In contrast, the only Buddhist Apabhraṃśa (or Old Bengali) work discovered so far is the *Caryāpada*. The fifty songs of *Caryāpada* present the esoteric ideas of Vajrayāna, and, though it is easy to follow their outward or literal sense, a commentary is necessary to understand their inner meaning. The only commentary on the *Caryāpada*, discovered so far, is in Sanskrit!

We shall presently discuss the effect of the Turkish invasion on Buddhism. It is, however, necessary to recall that south India as a whole was never conquered by the Turks. Yet Buddhism disappeared as completely from south India as from north India. In the south, the main opponents of the Buddhists

[1]Dasgupta, op. cit., pp. 83-4, The Jaina texts were written in Prakrit, but some form of rakrit being always used in Sanskrit drama, it was never forgotten.

and the Jainas were the Vaiṣṇava Aḷvār and the Śaiva Nāyanmār saints, who between them created the Tamil devotional literature. They succeeded in banishing Buddhism, and, to a great extent Jainism also from Tamil country, but the Jainas were able to make a stand in Karnataka. Jaina contribution to Kannada literature began as early as the sixth century with Samantabhadra, followed by Pūjyapāda, and Kaviparameṣṭhi. From about AD 850 to 1150, Jaina predominance in Kannada literature is clear. The greatest among the Jaina authors were Pampa I or Ādi Pampa, Ponna, and Ranna.[1] They wrote on the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras, but they also selected themes from the *Mahābhārata*: Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijaya*, also called the *Pampa-Bhārata*, and Ranna's *Sāhasa-Bhīma-Vijaya*, also called the *Gadā-yuddha*, are the two great epics of early Kannada literature.

Thus did the Jaina saints and poets closely associate themselves with the life and thought of the people around them. That is how they received royal patronage. Indeed the Jainas never isolated themselves from the mainstream of national life. The Buddhist teachers on the other hand seem to have cloistered themselves in their monasteries, and directed their entire attention to the elucidation of abstruse points of metaphysics and logic. Their scholarly activities may have brought them international renown, but it was at the expense of popularity at home. Nor would the scholarly monks greatly care for popular support so long they could live comfortably in the richly endowed monasteries. When these were demolished, the monks had no place to turn to.

Buddhism and Society

In refutation of the claim made by some modern scholars that Buddha was a great social reformer, we may quote the remarks of Prof. Satkari Mookerji: 'It is, however, a mistake which has become a confirmed belief among the modern social reformers to suppose that the Buddha was a social reformer. It is true that he stood against the Brāhmaṇa's claim to superiority. But this was inspired by his own caste bias, if not pride. Of course, he did not hesitate to confer ordination on men of inferior castes. But he did nothing to interfere with the social system of his time.

'It is again a superstition to presume that the Buddha was a democrat or an advocate of socio-political equality. He was a perfect stranger to these modern ideas, and the political ideal of a *cakravartin* (emperor) ruling over the whole of India was dearest to his heart. So far as the Order was concerned, it was more or less organized on the basis of equal rights subject to the abbot. And so long as he lived he maintained his supremacy in the Church.'[2]

It is interesting to note that most of the famous Buddhist intellectuals were recruited from among the *brāhmaṇas*. Buddha's famous disciples were Sāriputra, Maudgalāyana, and Mahākāśyapa, all *brāhmaṇas*. Similarly, the

[1]For details of Pampa and Ranna see A.K. Majumdar, *Bhakti Renaissance*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1979, pp. 86-7.

[2]S. Mookherjee, Buddhism in Indian Life and Thought in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, I, 2nd ed., 1958, p. 586.

greatest among the Buddhist philosophers, namely, Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti, and Dharmatrātā were *brāhmaṇas*. Only one abbot of Nālandā is known to have been a *śūdra*. He was Rāhulabhadra, a disciple and successor of Āryadeva. Rāhulabhadra is said to have been immensely rich, a reminder that the Buddhist monks did not always give up their wealth when they took to ascetic life. The early training of a *brāhmaṇa* boy helped him to endure the rigours of an ascetic life. It is not surprising that it was the barber Subhadda, who had been received in the Order in his old age, thus addressed the lamenting brethren after Buddha's *nirvāṇa*: 'Weep not, neither lament. We are well rid of the Great Samaṇa. We used to be annoyed by being told "this becomes you, this becomes you not." But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like that we shall not have to do.'[1]

One of the weaknesses of Buddhism was that the lay devotees had to rely on the Dharmaśāstras for their personal law as well as for the conduct of their affairs. Buddha's doctrine was primarily meant for the ascetics, and though he admitted lay devotees, he did not promulgate for them a set of social rules parallel to the Vinaya rules for the monks and nuns.

For the lay devotees, Buddha recognized the spiritual merits of donation and benefactions to monks and nuns, and the building of monasteries. These were acclaimed as pious acts, and were declared in Buddhist literature, like the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas* as the conditions for achieving blessed life in heaven. For the lay devotees, heaven and not *nirvāṇa* was the goal. Thus while in Aśoka's edicts, *nirvāṇa* is not mentioned even once, in R.E. VI the Emperor declares: 'And whatever effort I make is made in order that I may discharge the debt which I owe to all living beings, that I may make them happy in this world, and that they may attain heaven in the next world.' There is hardly any difference between this attitude and that of the Karmakāṇḍa, though the means of attaining heaven were entirely different. However, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas substituted gifts, pilgrimages, and fasting as alternatives to Vedic sacrifices, and assumed an unassailable position *vis-a-vis* the Buddhists.

As Coomaraswamy has said: 'In comparing Buddhism (the teaching of Gautama, that is) with Brāhmanism, we have then to understand and take into account the difference of the problem sought to be solved. Gautama is concerned with salvation and nothing but salvation: the Brāhmanas likewise see in that *summum bonum* the ultimate significance of all existence, but they also take into account the things of relative importance; theirs is a religion both of Eternity and Time, while Gautama looks upon Eternity alone . . . We must compare the Buddhist ethical ideal with the (identical) standard of Brāhmanhood expected of the Brāhman born; we must contrast the Buddhist monastic system with the Brāhmanical orders; the doctrine of Anattā with the doctrine of Ātman, and here we shall find identity. But if the exponents of Buddhism insist on confining the significance of Buddhism to what is

[1] *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, *SBE*, XI, p. 127.

taught by Gautama, we must point out at the same time that it stands for a restricted ideal, which contrasts with Brāhmanism as a part contrasts with a whole; Buddhism might well have been accounted by Vijñana Bhikshu as a "seventh *darsana.*"[1]

Moral Degeneration

Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, himself a Buddhist monk, has stated in a paper on Vajrayāna: 'The monasteries and temples were gorged with riches due to the pious offerings made by the multitudes. The life of the monk became more comfortable than that of the layman. The discipline weakened, and many unfit persons entered the community. The easy life associated with the culture of a sensual art under the cover of cultured paintings, meditation, gods and goddesses must have inclined the minds towards sensuality. Already from the *Kathavatthu* (XXIII. 1) we know that the Andhaka School was disposed to permit *Maithuna* (copulation) for a special object; it was introduced in the mystic cult. Coming to the south, the practice of *mantras*, psychical practices, and a certain indulgence in the pleasures of sense were united; the Vajrayāna was complete.'[2]

Buddha allowed the raising of monasteries with the best of intentions, but gradually these became the shelters for large number of loafers. As we have seen, Aśoka had to evict them. But the evil was not over. In reply to Milinda's question as to why men join the *saṅgha*, Nāgasena replied that, 'some have joined the *saṅgha* for the reason that sorrow may perish, and no further sorrow may arise . . . some have left the world in terror at the tyranny of kings; some have joined to be safe from being robbed, some harassed by debts, and perhaps some to gain a livelihood.' It is impossible to say as to what might have been the percentage of the latter types of monks, but one may guess that it was not inconsiderable. It is also clear from Nāgasena's reply that all the monks and nuns had not given up their worldly possessions. Some of them are known from records to have donated *stūpas*, and Rāhulabhadra, the rich *śūdra* abbot of Nālandā has been mentioned above.

But by far the greater problem was the conduct of the immoral monks and nuns. A passage from the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛccha*, denouncing the moral of the monks has been quoted above. This is corroborated by two songs of the *Therīgāthā* (920-948, 949-980), while the song of Isidāsī, also in the same text (400-447) takes it as a matter of course that a girl became nun in consequence of some misfortune. Nuns with bad morals are found from the beginning. In the Vinaya texts, the laity are often found criticizing them severely saying: 'Nuns are to monks as wives or mistresses.' The Chabbaggīya Bhikkhus and the Chabbaggīya Bhikkhuṇīs are often accused of having misbehaved with each other.[3] Verily did Buddha say to Ānanda: 'Under whatsoever doctrine

[1]Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 217.

[2]Rāhula Sāṇkṛtyāyana, Vajrayana and the Eighty-four Siddhis, *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 225 (1934), quoted by Kane, op. cit., V, pp. 1022-023.

[3]H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, II, p. 259, quoted in M. Talim, *Woman in Early Buddhist*

and discipline women are allowed to go forth from household life into homeless state that religion will not last long.'

Moral laxity was, however, not a peculiarly Buddhist vice. In the *Nijutti* to the *Daśaveyaliya* we find the following humorous dialogue, which, as Winternitz remarks, 'points to the fact that at the period of these old commentaries there must already have been [Jaina] monks of very dubious character.'[1] The dialogue is:

'O Monk, your cloak has so many folds.'
'Yes, it serves me as a net when I catch fish.'
'You eat fish?'
'I eat them along with my brandy.'
'You drink sweet brandy.'
'O yes, with the harlot.'
'What, you go to harlots?'
'After I have crushed my enemies,'
'You have enemies: then?'
'Only those whose houses I rob.'
'You are a thief, then?'
'Only because of the game of dice.'
'How, are you a gambler?'
'Am I not, after all, the son of a slave mother?'

In Sanskrit literature the heretical monks and nuns are often described as disreputable characters, and the nuns are depicted as go-betweens in love affairs. Actually the monks and nuns of all orders are derided in Sanskrit literature. The brahminical reaction to them is given by Medhātithi (*c* AD. 825-900) on Manu 2.1. Medhātithi states that such practices as smearing the body with ashes, carrying human skulls, going about naked [i.e., Jaina], or yellow robes (*kāṣāya*, i.e., Buddhists) are adopted by worthless people (*buddhi-pauruṣa-hīnānām*=those are devoid of intelligence and manliness). On Manu 2.6, Medhatithi criticizes the Śākyas, Bhojakas, Kṣapaṇakas, Jainas and the Pañcarātrikas.[2] Later explaining the word *nāstika* in Manu 2.11, Medhātithi says that the term includes Buddhists, Cārvākas etc. Indeed mendicancy, even if it was religious mendicancy, was censured in ancient India.[3] According to the Dharmaśāstra rules, only a *brāhmaṇa* could beg, but that too under

Literature, Bombay, 1972, p. 76.

[1]Winternitz, op. cit., p. 485.

[2]Śākyas were Buddhists. Bhojakas, according to Monier-Williams, were 'a class of priests (or Sun-worshippers supposed to be descended from the Magas and by intermarriage with women of the Bhoja race).' Kṣapaṇakas meant religious mendicants in general and the Digambara Jainas in particular. For the Pañcarātrikas see A.K. Majumdar, *Caitanya, His Life and Doctrine, A Study in Vaisnavism*, Bombay, 1969, pp. 9-30. It is interesting to note that in this passage Medhātithi has quoted Buddha as saying: '*paśyāmy=ahaṁ bhikṣukāṇāṁ divyena cakṣuṣā sugatiṁ durgatiṁ ca.*' Later in the same passage, Medhatithi denounces the Nigranthas and the Pāśupatas.

[3]*Mahābhārata*, 12.161.10-19, see also A.K. Majumdar, *Economic Background of the Epic Society*, p. 38.

certain conditions.[1] Śaṅkarācārya could not find any old text in support of religious mendicancy, and had to rely on a single sentence from the late *Jāvālopaniṣad* in order to establish his order of monks.

It is possibly necessary to reiterate that Buddhism was not the only religion which degenerated due to the depravity of the monks. This crisis overtook almost all the orders of all religions both inside and outside India. Those orders which could not reform themselves succumbed, and Buddhism in India was one of them. But as we shall see, it did not get a chance to recover.

Influence of Tantra

It is sometimes assumed, somewhat mechanically, that early or pristine Buddhism was corrupted by the Mahāyāna doctrine, which degenerated into Vajrayāna, which in its turn gave birth to Sahajayāna etc., gradually sinking to a level of degradation from which it could not be rescued and died a natural death in India. It is true that under the influence of *tantra*, Buddhism deviated from its early path and degenerated. The problem is how far was *tantra* responsible for the virtual disappearance of Buddhism from India.

The fact is that though tantric Buddhism disappeared from Bengal, equally objectionable forms of brahminical *tantra* persisted till recently, and there do not seem to be any valid reasons for holding that the Buddhist *tantras* were more vulnerable than the brahminical *tantras*. *Tantra* may have been very repugnant to Indian mind, but then why did Theravāda Buddhism disappear from India? Tantric form of Buddhism flourished in Tibet till Dalai Lama fled and took refuge in India.

Vivekananda's withering criticism of Buddhist *tantra* has been quoted by MM. Kane with the remark that the passage 'is strongly-worded (but not unjust).'[2] Vivekananda also denounced in equally vigorous language the practice of *vāmācara tantra* in Bengal during his time.[3] Vivekananda has also said: 'Under the sway of kings who took up Buddhism and preached broadcast the doctrine of Ahimsā, the performance of Vedic Yāga Yajñas became a thing of the past, and no one would kill any animal in sacrifices for fear of the king. But subsequently among Buddhists themselves—who were converts from Hinduism—the best part of Yāga Yajñas were taken up and practised in secret. From these sprang up the Tantras. Barring some of the abominable things in the Tantras, such as the Vamacara etc., *the Tantras are not so bad as people are inclined to think*. There are many high and sublime Vedantic thoughts in them. In fact, the Brahmana portions of the Vedas were modified a little and incorporated into the body of the Tantras. All the forms of our worship and the ceremonials of the present day, comprising the Karma Kanda, are observed in accordance with the Tantras.'[4]

[1]Kane, op. cit., II, pp. 133-34.

[2]ibid, V, p. 1030.

[3]For denunciation of Buddhist *tantra*, see *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Birth centenary edition, III, Calcutta, 1963, pp. 216 and 264-65; for condemnation of *vāmācāra tantra* in modern Bengal see ibid, pp. 340-41.

[4]ibid, p. 458; emphasis added.

Instead of saying that Buddhism perished due to *tantra*, it would probably be nearer the truth to say that Buddhism persisted through *tantra*.

Turks and the Buddhists

The *coup de grâce* to Indian Buddhism was delivered by the conquering Turks in the 12th century. For, example, it appears from the testimony of a Tibetan pilgrim called Dharmasvāmin, who studied at Nālandā, that the Buddhist monks re-assembled there even after the destruction of the main buildings and the library by Bakhtyar Khalji. But Iltutmish (AD 1210-1236) was infuriated at the reassemblage of the Buddhist scholars and ruthlessly massacred the Buddhists.[1] Navadvipa, however, was allowed to develop.

The Turks destroyed many Hindu temples also, and today there hardly exists any large temple in north India except in Orissa which was never conquered by the Turks. There is also no reason to believe that during the early days of their conquest, the Turks spared the Jainas. But while the Turks persecuted and humbled the brahminical Hindus and the Jainas, they seemed to have singled out the Buddhists for extermination. The only reason that can adequately explain the Turks' attitude is that they had been persecuted by the Central Asian Buddhists.

It is not possible to go into the details here; briefly speaking, the trouble started when the Seljuk Turks were uprooted by the Buddhist Kara Khitais in 1141.[2] Then Kuchlug, the Naiman prince, ravaged Kashgar for two or three years (1211-13 or 1214) and famine forced the inhabitants to accept his authority. Their submission was followed by cruel religious persecution. Kuchlug, like most of the Naimans, was a Nestorian Christian, but under the influence of his Kara Khitai wife, a zealous Buddhist, he forced the Muslims to abjure their faith in favour of either Buddhism or Christianity. The chief *imām* of Khotan having protested was crucified on the gate of his *madrasa*.[3]

King Muhammad of Khwarzm had declared *jihād* (holy war) against Chengiz Khan, because the Mongols were either Buddhists or Nestorian Christians. The result was disastrous. In AD 1220, Chengiz completely conquered the Khwarzm empire, destroyed Bukhara and Samarqand, and massacred the population. Great mosques were defiled or destroyed and libraries burnt.

In AD 1256, a sort of Buddhist Council was held in the court of Chenghiz Khan's grandson, Mongka, who used to say: 'All the religions are like the five fingers of the same hand; but Buddhism is the palm of the hand of which the other religions are fingers.'[4]

Mongka's younger brother, Hulagu, is said to have been a Buddhist, being particularly devoted to Bodhisattva Maitreya.[5] His army generals were either

[1]S. Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 582.
[2]René Grousset, *L' Empire des Steppes*, Paris, 1948, p. 215.
[3]ibid, pp. 295-96.
[4]ibid, p. 342.
[5]ibid, pp. 431-32.

Samanists, Buddhists, or Nestorians.[1] In 1258, Hulagu conquered Baghdad, and brutally killed the last Abbasid *Khalīfā*, al-Mustā'sim (AD 1242-1258). Hulagu then put to flame the greater part of Baghdad, including the great mosque, and destroyed the tombs of the Abbasid *khalīfās*. It is needless to add that most of the citizens of Baghdad were either massacred by Hulagu's soldiers or perished in the flames.

Another brother of Mongka was Kublai Khan (1260-1294), the famous emperor of China. Kublai and most of his successors were greatly devoted to Buddhism, two of his sons being named Kamala and Ānanda. Kublai received with great pomp a relic of Buddha sent by the king of Ceylon, and later sent Marco Polo to fetch the famous tooth-relic from Ceylon. Usually Kublai treated all his subjects equally well, irrespective of their race or religion. However, he once prohibited the slaughter of animals according to Islamic rites (*zibh*), which was in fact the re-imposition of a rule promulgated by Chenghiz. Later, under the influence of a Nestorian Christian called Isa, Kublai opposed the propagation of Islam in China.[2]

It is difficult to say whether the Indian Buddhists were aware of the current affairs in Central Asia, but it is certain that the Turks knew what their co-religionists had suffered at the hands of the Buddhist Turco-Mongols. This would explain the extirpation of the Indian Buddhists by the Muslim Turks. Possibly no quarter was given to the Buddhists, and their only, and a preferable, alternative to 'death or Islam' was to abjure Islam in favour of a brahminical faith. So far as the lay devotees were concerned, there was little difference between the two in the 13th century.

Decay of Buddhism

Decay of Buddhism was due to various factors some of which have been discussed above. Of these the most potent factor was the isolation of the Buddhist intellectuals from the mainstream of national life. The rapid development of the brahminical cult religions like Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, and Śakti-ism was due mainly to the devotional literature developed in the New Indo-Aryan languages. But the Buddhist intellectuals failed to realize that metaphysics and logic were no substitute for devotional fervour. They showed no inclination to descend to the mass level, and made no attempt to attract the common man. Having lost mass support, they were unable to withstand the vindictive persecution of the Muslim Turks. Their moral fibre was enfeebled by long exposure to various debilitating tantric practices, and the survivors felt it prudent to forsake their faith rather than their lives.

In changing their faith, the Buddhists were aided by the trend in the neo-brahminical doctrines, which had long been eager to embrace Buddhism within its fold. Buddha was accepted as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu by Kṣemendra

[1]ibid, p. 429.

[2]ibid, pp. 362, 364, 366, and 368. Chenghiz Khān's second son was Chagtai (1227-1242). His descendants embraced Islam in the beginning of the 14th century. Babur was born in this dynasty.

in his *Daśāvatāracarita* which was finished in the Laukika era 41 (=AD 1066). The more well-known identification of Buddha with Viṣṇu is in the famous *Daśāvatāra-stotra* of Jayadeva in the *Gītagovinda* written at the end of the 12th century. These are, however, not the earliest attempts at establishing an identity. Jayadeva's list of the incarnations corresponds to that given in a Puranic verse quoted in a 8th century inscription from Mamallapuram.[1] Hindus never attempted to identify Mahāvīra with one of their deities.

There are even earlier references. The *Yoga-Vāśiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa*, a philosophical work on extreme idealism, written probably during the early half of the 7th century, refers to Buddha and his creed several times, sometimes in a deprecatory manner. However, it states (*Nirvāṇa*, *Pūrva*, XXII. 16): 'I remember, O Sage, the return of one hundred Kali ages, and one hundred incarnations of Hari in the form of Buddha as the son of Śauka (Śākya).'

Elsewhere (*Upaśama*, LXXXVII. 18-21) the *Yogavāśiṣṭha* states: 'He was the *śūnya* of the *śūnyavādins*, Brahmā of the Brahmāvadins, *vijñānamtāra* of the Vijñānavādins, *puruṣa* of the Sāṁkhyas, Īśvara of the Yogins, Śiva of the Śaivas, Kāla of the *kālaikavādins* (those who hold that time is the only reality), *ātman* to those who know *ātman*, *anātman* to those who deny *ātman*, *madhyama* to the Mādhyamikas and everything (*Sarvam*) to those who are even minded (*su-sama-cetasam*).' The *śūnyavādins* are probably the Sautrāntikas, and the 'even-minded' the Sarvāstivādins. The references to the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools are clear. Evidently an attempt was being made to syncretize the four schools of Buddhism with the prevalent sectarian creeds and find a synthesis in Vedānta.

The final seal of approval on Buddhism was stamped by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (AD 1533-1623), the last great exponent of Advaita-Vedānta. Commenting on the *Gītā* (XVIII. 18) he stated: *Buddha-vākye'pi prāmāṇya-prasaṅgāc=ca. Īśvara-vacanatve samāne'pi Buddha-vākyaṁ na pramāṇaṁ Veda-vākyaṁ tu pramāṇam iti Subhagā-bhikṣuka-nyāya-prasaṅgaḥ* (Buddha-*vākya*, that is Buddhism raises the problem of authoritativeness. Validity [of both] being equal, [to assert] that Buddha-*vākya* is not authoritative but Veda-*vākya* [alone] is authoritative [would invoke] the application of the maxim of Subhagā and the beggar.').

The maxim is: a man had two wives, Subhagā and Durbhagā. One day a beggar came to their house and Durbhagā drove him away. When Subhagā came to learn of this incident, the beggar had gone away and she called out loudly for him. The beggar returned and said: 'I went away because the other lady had asked me to do so.' Now, if Subhagā were to say, 'I am the lady of the house; the other lady has no right in the house,' the beggar would not agree, for being co-wives they had equal rights, though Durbhagā was unkind and Subhagā kind. Hence, according to this maxim, both the doctrines are authoritative, and it cannot be said that the Veda-*vākyas* only are

[1] *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 26, p. 5, quoted in *EI*, XXIX, p. 179.

valid and Buddha-*vākyas* are invalid, though the former are superior to the latter.

Thus was Buddhism finally and grudgingly admitted into the citadel of brahminical orthodoxy as the 'repugnant' (*durbhagā*) co-wife or the 'poor relation' of the 'prosperous' or 'the esteemed' Vedic religion.

Legacy of Buddhism

Sir Charles Elliot in his monumental work, *Buddhism and Hinduism*, has quoted with approval the view of Hardy 'that Buddhism did not waste away in India until rival sects had appropriated from it everything they could make use of.' Professor Satkari Mookerjee adds that 'Buddhism may not exist in India as a sect; that is because it has permeated the entire religious and philosophical thought of India and percolated into the deepest recesses of the religious mentality of the present day Hindus. The consequence is that it will not be incorrect to say that every Hindu is a Buddhist, in spite of all outward appearance to the contrary.'[1] Similarly, A. K. Coomaraswamy says: 'It is perfectly true that the more deeply we penetrate Buddhist and Brāhmanical thought, the less is it possible to divide them,' and concludes: 'In all essentials Buddhism and Brāhmanism form a single system.'[2]

Buddha is often accused of having preached a doctrine of unrelieved pessimism. This is true to the extent that he perceived the inherent misery of human existence. But what is overlooked is that his doctrine was meant to show a way out. Almost all the schools of Indian philosophy agree with Buddha on this point.

Buddha's persuasive teachings and compelling dialectics read as irresistibly fascinating today as they sounded to the select band of charmed listeners more than 2500 years ago.

Buddhism in India Today

It has been stated above several times that Buddhism disappeared from India. Such a statement is generally valid but not absolutely correct. Buddhism lingered in Bengal, but Abu'l Fazl failed to notice it, because at the time he wrote, the Mughals had not conquered eastern Bengal (now Bangladesh) where the Buddhists lived. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, mentioned above, came from east Bengal (Koṭālipāḍā, Faridpur District).

According to the 1931 census, there were 4,40,769 Buddhists in India (excluding Burma) of whom 33,0563 lived in (undivided) Bengal (Dacca Division: 12,417, and Chittagong Division: 2,33,242=2,45,659). The number of Buddhists in rest of British India was 1,95,110. According to the 1931 Census, the number of Buddhists in Jammu and Kashmir was 38,724 which increased to 40,696 in 1941 showing a rate of growth of 5.22%, the average rate of growth during 1901 to 1941 being 3.8%. In 1951 no census was taken in Jammu and Kashmir, and the number of Buddhists in rest of India was

[1]S. Mukerjee, op. cit., p. 575.

[2]Coomaraswamy, op. cit., pp. 212 and 219.

1,80,823. During the following decade there was a spectacular growth in the number of Indian Buddhists due to the large scale conversion of Harijans under the leadership of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar.

The result of this conversion is best studied from the Census Report of 1971. As the Buddhists are now more numerous than the Jains, their number is also given.

	Buddhists		*Jains*	
	Population	Percentage to total population	Population	Percentage to total population
1961	3,200,333	0.73	2,027,248	0.46
1971	3,812.325	0.70	2,604,646	0.47

The 1971 Census reveals that there are Buddhists in every State of India in varying numbers, the largest concentration being found in Maharashtra, which accounts for 85.62% of the total Buddhist population of the country. The Census Report adds: 'It is well-known that the neo-Buddhist movement during the decade 1951-1961 saw a large scale adoption of Buddhism particularly by the Scheduled Castes population in Maharashtra. The Buddhist population which was only 2,487 in 951 in Maharashtra shot up phenomenally to 2,789,501 in 1961. Though this tempo was not maintained in 1961-71, Maharashtra still accounts for the largest proportion (85.62 per cent) of the Buddhists in the country and none of the remaining States individually accounts for even 5 per cent of the total Buddhist population. The other States and the Union Territories accounting for about 1 per cent or more of the Buddhist population are West Bengal (3.19 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (2.15), Arunachal Pradesh (1.61), Jammu and Kashmir (1.52), Assam (1.19), Tripura (1.11), Uttar Pradesh (1.04), and Himachal Pradesh (0.94). . . .

'Though Maharashtra has over 85 per cent of the total Buddhist population of the country, Buddhists constitute only 6.47 per cent of the total population of the State. In Arunachal Pradesh the Buddhists account for 13.13 per cent of total population of the territory. The only other States and Union Territories in which the proportion of Buddhists to total population exceeds the National average of 0.70 per cent are: Tripura (2.72), Jammu and Kashmir (1.26), and Himachal Pradesh (1.04).

'Taking individual districts, there are two districts viz., Lahul and Spiti (61.53 per cent) in Himachal Pradesh and Ladakh (51.82) in Jammu and Kashmir in which the Buddhists constitute more than half of the total population of the respective districts.'

Regarding the growth rate of the Buddhist Population, the Census Report remarks: 'The proportion of Buddhists to total population fell from 0.73 per cent in 1961 to 0.70 in 1971. Over-all growth rate of Buddhist population in the country during the decade is only 17.20 per cent, which is much less than the general growth rate of 24.80 per cent. In the previous decade (1951-1961)

the Buddhists recorded a phenomenal growth rate of 2267.01 per cent. The large scale adoption of Buddhism by Scheduled Castes during that decade, under a neo-Buddhist movement, appears to have contributed to this extra-ordinary growth rate .... It is possible that certain converts from Scheduled Castes to Buddhism preferred to return their religion as "Hindu" finding that as Buddhists they were not entitled to certain concessions available to Scheduled Castes.'[1]

[1] *Census of India*, 1971, Series I, India, Paper 2 of 1972, Religion, p. 22.

CHAPTER X

SĀDHANĀ

YOGA, TANTRA, AND HAṬHA-YOGA

Sādhanā

THE word *sādhanā* means 'accomplishing,' or 'a means of accomplishing' anything, while the word *sādhya* means 'to be effected or accomplished'. The methods by which persons attain their *sādhya* or gain ultimate realization is also known as *sādhanā*.

The earliest form of *sādhanā* is not known, the earliest *sādhya* is also unknown. The Vedas may have begun as nature worship, but as they have been handed down to us, they are classified into two groups, the Karmakāṇḍa and the Jñānakāṇḍa. As explained above, the former consists of the ritualistic part (Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas), while the latter consists of the metaphysical parts (Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads). The main object of the Karmakāṇḍa was to enable a man to attain heaven by performing certion prescribed rituals, which are set forth in minute details. The Upaniṣads attempt to describe the Ultimate Reality or Brahman as perceived by the seers, but do not say as to how to realize Brahman. One of the derivative meanings of the word *upaniṣad* is 'secret doctrine' or 'mystical knowledge,' and in the Upaniṣads there are certain topics which were not considered fit for public discussion. An example is afforded by the dialogue between Yājñavalkya and Ārtabhāga in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (3.2.13) described above.

The *Chāndogya* (1.1.10) says that 'what indeed one performs with knowledge (*vidyā*), faith (*śraddhā*), and with *upaniṣad* (*upaniṣadā*) that indeed becomes more effective (*vīryavattaraṁ*).' The word *upaniṣad* in this passage has been rendered as 'mystic doctrine' by R.E. Hume, and as 'meditation' by Swami Swahananda, but according to Śaṁkara, the word here means *yoga* (*upaniṣadā yogena yuktaś=c=ety=arthaḥ*).

Śaṁkara's explanation seems to be the correct one.[1] A person had to obtain *vidyā* from his preceptor, the *guru*, have faith, *śraddhā*, in it, and then realize the highest principle through *yoga* which involved the suppression of the lower activities. At the *Kaṭha* (2.3.10.11) says :

[1]The word *śraddhā* may have a technical meaning here. *Ṛgveda* X. 151.5 prays to Śraddhā in the morning to become *śraddhā-maya:*

Faith in the early morning, Faith
At noonday will we invocate,
Faith at the setting of the Sun,
O Faith, endow us with belief.
Tr. by R.T.H. Griffith.

When cease the five
[Sense-] knowledge, together with the mind (*manas*)
And the intellect (*buddhi*) stirs not—
That, they say, is the highest course.
This they consider as *yoga*—
The firm holding back of the senses.
Then one becomes undistracted.
Yoga, truly, is the origin and the end.[1]

Madhusūdana Sarasvatī quotes these two verses at the end of his commentary on *Gītā* 6.26, and adds that the basis of these verses is '*yoga* is the cessation of the mind-staff,' the well-known aphorism of Patañjali (*etan mūlakam eva ca yogaś=citta-vṛtti-nirodhaḥ iti sūtram* ; YS: 1.2).

The *Śvetāśvatara* (2.8-10) gives more details both as to the rules and the results of the *yoga*. It states that a person should hold his body steady with the three [upper parts, that is, head, chest and neck, see *Gītā* 6.13] erect, and, having his movements checked, he should breath through his nostrils with diminished frequency. He should sit in a pleasant, clean, level spot, free from pebbles, fire, and gravel, and disturbing noises, and should practise *yoga* in a hidden retreat (*guhā*=cave). The *Śvetāśvatara* (2.11-13) then describes the results of *yoga*, which will be discussed later in connection with *vibhuti*.

The sacrificial rituals, the *yajñas* and *homas* of the Karmakāṇḍa, were performed to yield specific results, such as attaining heaven and enjoying celestial pleasure for a very long period. But the *sādhanās* and the *yogas* mentioned in the early Upaniṣads were not undertaken with a view to gaining worldly benefits or celestial pleasures. *Sādhanā* was meant exclusively for the seekers of Brahma-*jñāna* (the knowledge of the Absolute), who spurned all that material life had to offer. As Maitreyī said to Yājñavalkya, her husband : 'What should I do with that through which I may not be immortal ? (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 2.4.3). In the course of his reply, (2.4.5) Yajñavalkya said : 'Lo, verily, it is the *ātman* that should be seen, that should be hearkened to, that should be reflected on (*mantavya*), should be meditated upon (*nididhyāsitavya*).'

The aim of the Upaniṣadic seers seems to have been to acquire a thought system through intuitive experience. The result of their endeavours was the attainment of that unified knowledge which is free from all discord, and is without any contradiction (*avādhita-jñāna*).

Here a few words may be said on the validity of intuitive knowledge *vis-a-vis* modern scientific knowledge on the basis of the observations made by Dr. Raja Ramanna, ex-Director, Bhabha Atomic Research Institute.

Mathematically it can be demonstrated that if one starts asking questions about oneself there can never be answers to all of them. Dr. Rajendra Bhandari of the Raman Research Institute, (quoted by Dr. Ramanna) 'attributes a role to the observer in determining the nature of observed phenome-

[1]Tr. by R.E. Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*, 2nd ed., 1958, pp. 359-60.

non, which is far more prominent than hitherto considered necessary or desirable in physics...' Phenomena and the observer are inextricably mixed in this view. 'It introduces "levels of perception" as a new element in the description of physical reality. *Each of these levels of* perception is characterized by a set of concepts and assumptions which determine the totality of states that can be "seen" by an observer at his level. With a change in the level of perception, he sees a qualitatively different universe.....

'We have argued that a totally concept-free observer cannot see any phenomena, for such an observer sees a universe without any structure. The implication is that it is the observer who imposes a structure on this universe by virtue of his conceptual framework.....

'Perception, according to Dr. Bhandari, is the necessary information through concept that is required before one asks a set of questions about a particular problem and thereby acquires information. The paradoxes or incompleteness of understanding of the universe around us may only be due to the fact that our level of perception is restricted certainly...Can we evolve something higher ? *The reality in physics is complete to the extent that our perception allows us.* As we evolve not necessarily in the Darwinian sense, a higher reality may become clear to us—shades of Shankara! An insect's level of perception is low and the world may present many paradoxes to it, the human being may be little better. Does Advaita show a better way and is its freedom from mathematics an advantage since all mathematics is circumscribed by our present level of perception? It may also be a disadvantage as philosophical arguments tend to be woolly and with much hot air, and words by themselves do not increase levels of perception![1]

Very true, hence the importance and necessity of *sādhanā* to proceed along the evolutionary levels of perceptions. *Sādhanā* leads a man away from the blind alley of mathematics, and makes him free from the pitfalls of logical disputations. As the *Mahābhārata* (6.6.11) says:[2]

acintyāḥ khalu ye bhāvā na tāṁs=tarkeṇa yojayet
prakṛtibhayaḥ paraṁ yat tu tad acintasya lakṣaṇam

(Do not apply reasoning to what is inconceivable. The mark of inconceivability is that it is above all material causes.)

Even the protagonists of the Nyāya school admitted that intuitive knowledge was beyond the reach of ratiocination. For example the *Bhāṣā-paricheda* (65-6) states:

viṣayī yasya tasy=aiva vyāpāro jñāna-lakṣanaḥ

[1]Dr. Raja Ramanna, Physical Reality: Is There Any Other? *Bhavan's Journal*, XXII, no. 14, February, 1, 1976, pp. 31-7; ibid, no. 15, February 15, 1976, pp. 26-31; the quotation is from February 1, pp. 28-31, emphasis added. The article was originally delivered as a lecture by Dr. Ramanna at the Centenary Celebration of the Theosophical Society, Madras on December 29, 1975.

[2]All reference to the *Mbh.* are to the critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

yogajo dvividhaḥ prokto yukta-yuñjan abhedataḥ
yuktasya sarvadā bhānaṁ cinta-sahakṛto'paraḥ

(The connection based on knowledge is with regard to that alone which is the object of cognition. [Supernormal connection] due to *yoga* is stated to be of two kinds according to the division [of *yogins*] into those who have attained concentration and those who are striving for it. A *yogin* who has attained concentration always has knowledge of [of everything] while the other type is aided by meditation.)

Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana, the author of the *Bhāṣāpariccheda*, also wrote a commentary on the text in which, while commenting on the two verses mentioned above, he states: '[There is] a particular virtue arising from the practise of *yoga*, of which the Vedas, the Purāṇas, etc. speak. Since the *yogins* belong to two classes according as they have attained concentration (*samādhi*[1]) or are striving for it, the resulting virtue (*dharma*) is also of two kinds . . . . A *yogin*, who has attained concentration, can always through his mind, supported by the virtue arising from concentration, have knowledge of everything [in the universe] including ether, atoms etc. A *yogin* of the second class, however, needs the help of particular meditations.'

Here *yoga* and *sādhanā* have been used as synonymous terms. What emerges from these authoritative sayings is that 'knowledge' gained through *sādhanā*, that is intuitive knowledge, is beyond the purview of epistemology, being beyond the range and comprehension of physical vision or mentation. *Sādhanā*, therefore, may be called a practical science of realization of the Absolute.[2]

At a remote age in our long history, the seers perceived that hedonism is not happiness; happiness must be all inclusive and eternal. In the *Chāndogya* (7.23.1), Sanatkumāra says: *yo vai bhūmā tat sukhaṁ n=ālpe sukham asti, bhūm=aiva sukhaṁ bhūmā tv=eva vijijñāsitavya iti.*' (Verily, a Plenum is the same as Pleasure. There is no pleasure in the finite. Plenum alone is Pleasure. But one must desire to understand the Plenum (*bhūman*[3])

Then Nārada asks Sanatkumāra: 'Sir, I desire to understand Plenum.'

Sanatkumāra replied: 'Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else—that is Plenum. But where one sees something else —that is finite. Verily, the Plenum is the same as the immortal; but the finite is the same as the mortal.'

'That Plenum, sir—on what is it established?'

[1]Pañcānana Śāstrī, in his sub-commentary, explains *yoga* (in the present context) as *samādhi*, and further points out that it is of two kinds, namely *samprajñāta* and *asamprajñāta*, which seems to be the correct interpretation. English tr. by Swami Madhavananda.

[2]The literal meaning of the word *sādhaka* is not 'worshipper', but 'one who has reached his goal' or *sādhya*. The *sādhya* differs according to personal inclination and capacity of the *sādhaka*. In a derivative sense, however, *sādhya* means a deity in general.

[3]Śaṁkara explains *bhūma* as *mahat*, *niratisaya*, and *bahu*. He explains that 'small' (*alpa*) always hankers for 'more' (*adhika*) because of desire (*tṛṣṇā-hetutvāt*), and adds '*tṛṣṇā ca duḥkha-bījam*' (Thirst i.e., desire is the seed of misery.) Here he comes very near to Buddha, who also said that *tanhā* (*tṛṣṇā*) is the seed of all afflictions.

'On its own greatness; unless indeed not on greatness at all.' (24.1)

Empirical knowledge is a relation between the knower and the object of knowledge brought about by the instrument of knowing. But this threefold division (*tripuṭi*) ceases at the threehold of cognition of the higher forms of existence which is obtained by a process other than thought, for this process commences only when thought is eliminated. This higher knowledge can neither be apprehended by intellect, for, being the content of consciousness, the intellect is essentially synthetic. As Gauḍapāda says in the *Māṇḍukya-kārikā* (3.46):

yadā na līyate cittaṁ na ca vikṣipyate punaḥ
aniṅganam anābhasaṁ nispannaṁ brahma tat tadā

(Where the *citta* (mind-staff) does not fall into a state of oblivion, nor is distracted [by desire], nor is unsteady nor, gives rise to appearances (sense-images), then it verily becomes Brahman.)

The early Upaniṣads record the strivings of the collective soul of India. The Vedic sacrifices were gradually replaced by other forms of rituals, and new deities replaced the old Vedic gods. But the message of the Upaniṣads remained the perennial source of spiritual regeneration. It has been said that 'the racial dharma of the West is the conquest of dense matter.[1]' India's racial *dharma* was the realization of *atman* (self): withdrawl of the self from the material earth-plane and its projection towards and its union with the non-material Absolute—who is beyond Prakṛti (matter), who is beyond thought. That was salvation or liberation from the painful cycle of births and deaths.

In course of time some descriptive aspects of *sādhanā* were formulated in the texts on *yoga* and *tantra*, which form the practical sciences of realization (*sādhanā-śāstra*). These texts, particularly Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtra* (YS), are the formulations of the results of experiments extending over ages. These texts are of general applicability, but competence, constitution, and aptitude vary from one person to another. Therefore aspirants have to tread the path as indicated by their preceptor or *guru*.

We shall presently discuss *yoga*, but a few words may be interposed here to explain the nature of *tantra*.

Definition of Tantra

The word '*tantra*' occurs in the *Ṛgveda* (X. 71. 9), but there it means 'a loom,' and has been used in the same sense in the *Atharvaveda* (X. 7. 42), and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 5. 5. 3). Pāṇini (V. 2. 70) derives the word '*tantraka*' (a cloth that is recently taken away from a loom=an unbleached cloth?) from *tantra*. The *Kāśikā-vṛtti* (on VII.2.9.) derives the word from the root '*tan*,' which means 'to spread,' though some later writers have derived the word from *tatri* or *tantri* meaning 'origination' or 'knowledge,' and also from '*trai*' (to save). Later writers have used the word *tantra* in various senses, and it is difficult to determine as to when the word came to

[1]Dion Fortune, *The Mystical Qabalah*, reprint 1957, London, p. 10.

denote more or less exclusively a class of religious texts and practices, a sense with which we are familiar today. The *Kāmikāgama*, a tantra text defines the word thus :

tanoti vipulān arthān tattva-mantra-samanvitān
trāṇaṁ ca kurute yasmāt tantram=ity=abhidhīyate[1]

(It spreads [dilates upon] many matters including the principles of reality and *mantras*, and rescues [from bondages of the world], therefore it is called *tantra*.)

Veda and Tantra

It may appear as if the Veda and *tantra* were two distinct frameworks of Hinduism, but there are indications that some features peculiar to *tantra* were developed even in the Vedic age. Later, as Swami Vivekananda has said : '...the Brahmana portions of the Vedas were modified a little and incorporated into body of the Tantras. All the forms of our worship and the ceremonials of the present day, comprising of the Karma Kanda, are observed in accordance with the Tantras.'[2]

Tantra is usually described as '*śruti-śākhā-viśeṣaḥ*,' that is, a particular branch of the Vedas. One of the oldest Tantra texts available in manuscript, claims that *tantra* is the culmination of the esoteric science of the Vedānta and the Sāṁkhya.[3] Tantra unites the ultimate reality of Brahmaṇ or Śiva and the validity of the world as the manifestation of His Śakti. Śiva, therefore, teaches His Consort first the Vedānta, then the twenty-five categories of Sāṁkhya, and last the Śiva-tantra. The *Piṁgala-mata*, which also is a very old text, says: 'The *tantra*, first communicated by Śiva, came down through tradition. It is Āgama with the characteristics of *Chandas* (Vedas).' The later *tantra* texts reiterate the same claim, on which Dr. P.C. Bagchi has remarked:

'The claim of the Tantras to be regarded as the Śruti, however preposterous it might appear, is perfectly logical. Our knowledge of the Śiva Tantras being limited, our judgement in this matter has often been guided by the later heterodox Tantras. In fact, a good deal of the heterodox element has been introduced into the Tantras from time to time, on account of the general community of purpose in the esoteric practices of all grades.'[4]

There are also other indications of the close link between *tantra* and the Vedas. The Karma-kāṇḍa, or the ritualistic part forms the bulk of the Vedas. The rituals—*yajñas* or *homas*—were performed with a view to gain long, happy, and prosperous life,—either in this or the next world,—or to

[1]For various meanings of *tantra* see, *HDK*, V, pp. 1031-032; *The Cultural Heritage of India*, edited by H.D. Bhattacharya, 2nd ed., 1956, p. 211; and U.K. Das, *Śāstramūlak Bhāratīya Śaktisādhanā*, II, Santiniketan, 1373, Bengali Year, pp. 1006-007.

[2]*Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, III, Birth centenary edition, 1963, p. 458.

[3]Quoted by P.C. Bagchi in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, IV, p. 212.

[4]ibid, p. 212; see also P.C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, Calcutta University, 1939, p. 106 ff.; U.K. Das, op. cit., I, p. 58.

destroy enemies etc. The Vedic people believed in the power and efficacy of the *mantras* to produce good and bad results. Of their faith in the power of mantras several examples are found in the *Ṛgveda* itself.[1] The *Ṛgveda* also contains *mantras* or charms against poison (I. 191), for the destruction of enemies (X. 126), for the discomfiture of the co-wife (X. 145), for bringing back the dead (X. 58), and for destruction of the demons (VII. 104).

For the accomplishment of these objects, the correct pronunciation of the words and proper metrical recitation of the verses were essential. The basic idea was that the *mantras* possessed inherent power of bringing down the gods and oblige them to perform the desired acts, which are also the fundamental bases of *tantra* rituals. Both the Vedic and tantric rituals are aimed at the attainment of certain supernatural power or gaining control over some supernatural forces through the performance of esoteric rituals which may appear to the uninitiated unbelievers as senseless. The *Saḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, for example, says: 'If one wants to assure victory to one's army, one should go away from the camp, cut some herbs at both ends, and throw them at the direction of the enemy uttering the *mantra* : "*Prāsahe kas tvā paśyati* (Prāsahā, who sees you?)..."Thus the enemy disappears and is dissipated.'[2]

The *Saḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* belongs to the *Sāmaveda*, but, so far as *tantra* is concerned, the *Atharvaveda* is the most important of the four Vedas. According to the *Rudra-yāmala*, the *Atharvaveda* is the quintessence of all virtues and is endowed with *śakti* (*sarva-varṇasya sāraṁ hi śakty=ācāra-samanvitam*). It then adds that from the *Atharva-veda* arose the *Sāmaveda* of *tamo-guṇa*, from the *Sāma* the *Yajus*, of *sattva* and from the *Yajus* the *Ṛgveda*, predominantly *rajas*.[3]

As is well-known, the first seven chapters of the *Atharvaveda* are mainly devoted to the attainment of various mundane objects, such as long life, recovery from illness, getting rid of evil spirits, obtaining wealth, increasing prosperity, destroying enemies, penances, safety and prosperity of the kingdom etc. The sixteenth Kāṇḍa of the *Atharvaveda* consists of various *mantras* for securing prosperity and averting evils by the performance of expiatory rites (*svastyayana*). It also contains charms for winning the love of a man or of a woman, and also for destruction of rivals in love.

As Dr. R.C. Hazra has said: '. . . . It can hardly be denied that various Tantric Vidyās and more particularly the Tantric Mantras, like the Vedic ones, are not in every case new creations made by individuals authors, but have long traditions behind them. The frequent references to Āgamas and Tantras as authorities, and the mention of a good number of them by name show that a rich Tantrik literature had developed before the rise of the Devī-purāṇa, and that this work derived its Vidyās and Mantras from these Āgamas and Tantras. As a matter of fact the Devī-purāṇa expressly says with regard

[1]For example see *Ṛgveda* X. 105.8. 'We shall destroy with the help of the *ṛk-mantra* those who are not in possession of the *ṛk-mantra*.'

[2]Quoted by Dr. P.C. Bagchi, op. cit., p. 214.

[3]Quoted by Dr. U.K. Das, op. cit., I, p. 60.

to a particular "Mahāvidyā" called Pada-mālā (or Mantra-mālā) that after extracting this Vidyā from a "crore of works" (*koṭi granthāt*) Śiva spoke it out to Vīreśa (Nandin) in the Mūlatantra. The Devipurāṇa even connects this Vidyā with the *Atharvaveda* by calling it "*atharva-pada-dīpani.*" So, the history of the Vidyās and more particularly of the Tantric Mantras (both of which are replete with incorrect forms based on or influenced by Prakrit) goes far back to the pre-Christian days.'[1]

The *tantras* have also incorporated some Vedic *mantras*. For example, *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* 5.198 (*haṁsaḥ śucisad*) is the same as *Ṛgveda* IV.40.5 and *Katha* 2.2.2., with the addition of the *bīja hrīm* at the beginning. Again, while sanctifying the meat, the *Mahānirvāṇa* (5. 209) employs the well-known saying of the *Ṛgveda* I.22. 20-1, *tad Viṣnoḥ paramaṁ padam. The Rudra-yāmala* states that through *tantra* one can reach the same goal as one would through the Vedas, [but] all [namely], *brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas,* and *śūdras* have the right [to practise *tantra*].

The main element of *tantra*, including Buddhist and Jaina *tantra*, is Śakti. In the *Ṛgveda*, the word *śakti* has been used about a dozen times, though not as a separate creative principle, and sometimes *śakti* is a part of the poet, priest, or sacrificer. The word *śakti* has been used five times with Indra, but sometimes the word *māyā* is used with regard to Indra instead of *śakti*. For example: 'O Indra! I long for your great friendship and powers (*śaktiḥ*) .... understand that you are our great protector; I proclaim your ancient and recent deeds,—O Indra endowed with powers (*śaktivaḥ*)! ....' 'Indra assuming many forms by his powers (*māyābhiḥ*) repairs [to many sacrifices], ten hundred horses are yoked to his chariot.' Indra is, however, more frequently qualified in the *Ṛgveda* with the word *śaci*. But as MM. Kane has pointed out: 'It cannot be said that in the *Ṛgveda* "Śaci" is the wife of Indra (as it is said in later mythology), since the plural is more frequent than Śaci in the singular, and since Aśvins also are called "Śacipati" once .... The ideas associated with the words "Śakti" and "Śaci" are those of creation, protection, valour, and bounty.'[2]

[1]Regarding the date of the *Devī-purāṇa*, Dr. R.C. Hazra states: '*Thus it is highly probable that the Devī-purāṇa, as we have it now, comes down from the sixth century AD and most probably from its latter half ....*' R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, II, Calcutta, 1963, p. 77, emphasis by the author. However, he adds: 'So, *it is very likely that in the present text of the Devī-purāṇa there are chapters (or parts thereof) and verses which were composed much earlier than the sixth century AD.*' ibid, p. 78, emphasis by the author. Still later Dr. Hazra states: 'Consequently the period of origin of the hybrid Sanskrit of the Devī-purāṇa has to be pushed further back, probably up to, or even beyond the time of first composition of the oldest Buddhist hybrid text, viz., Mahāvastu, the nucleus of which is believed to have "originated as far back as in the 2nd century BC, even though it was enlarged in the 4th century AD, and perhaps still later, by additions and inter-polations." The early origin of the language of Devī-purāṇa is supported by certain facts ibid, p. 146, The quotation on the date of the Mahāvastu is from M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 247. For the quotation in the text see ibid, pp. 145-46.

[2]*HDK*, V, p. 1043.

Another word used frequently in the *Ṛgveda* is *vāk*. According to MM. Kane, 'Vāk becomes the principle of all energy.,'[1] Later, we shall see the importance of *vāk* in *tantra* philosophy.

More important for our present purpose are the female goddesses mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. Just as Devī or Śakti are associated in the *tantra* literature with Śiva, similarly Indrāṇī, Varuṇānī, Agnāyī, and Rodasī are associated with Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, and Maruts respectively as wives. For example *Ṛgveda* 1.22.12 states: 'I invoke Indrāṇī, Varuṇānī, and Aganāyī for my welfare and for drinking soma.' And again (5.46.8): 'May the women, the wives of gods, partake of the offering, viz., Indrāṇī, Agnāyī, the brilliant (wife) of the Aśvins, Rodasī; may Varuṇāṇī listen (to our laud); may the goddesses (*devīḥ*) partake (of offerings) at the time (appropriate) for women.'[2]

Though it may not be possible to directly link these Ṛgvedic goddesses with tantric *śakti*, it is possible to correlate Ambikā of the *Yajurveda* with Durgā. 'According to the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā, Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā, and the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa, this Ambikā, sister of Rudra, was the autumn season (*śarat*) personified. The two Saṃhitās further tell us that as Rudra followed his sister Ambikā, who was identical with autumn (*śarat*), his work of killing reached its climax in this season. The Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa, on the other hand, says that it was with his sister Ambikā appearing as Śarat that Rudra carried out his work of killing. So, commenting respectively on Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I. 6.10.4 and Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā 3.57, Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara describe Ambikā as a cruel deity (*himsikā, krūra-devatā*) like Rudra and say that Ambikā helped Rudra in his slaughter by appearing as Śarat and creating fever and other diseases .... it appears that the custom of worshipping Durgā mainly as war-goddess in autumn owed its origin much more to her identification with the cruel and destructive deity Ambikā than to the suitability of this season for war expeditions, because it was quite natural for the warriors to believe that by propitiating Durgā with worship and animal sacrifice they could escape death and also create havoc on their enemies.'[3]

'The earliest works mentioning Umā are the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka and the Keṇa-upaniṣad. In the former work Umā as well as Ambikā is associated with Rudra who is called Ambikā-pati (Ambikā's husband) and Umā-pati (Umā's husband), and in the latter she is called Haimavatī (daughter of, or belonging to, Himavat). The Taittirīya-āraṇyaka mentions Durgi (i.e. Durgā) also, but calls her 'kanyā-kumārī' (Virgin). So, according to the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka Umā and Durgi (i.e. Durgā) were different .... In the Muṇḍako-paniṣad (I.2.4) "Kālī" and "Karālī" are given as the names of two of the seven tongues of Agni. These references indicate that towards the end of the Vedic period, some female deities of non-Vedic origin began to be associated with the Vedic gods in various ways ....

'.... So, Uma was already recognised as a Hindu deity. This well-esta-

[1]ibid, p. 1044.
[2]Tr. by P.V. Kane, ibid, p. 1044.
[3]R.C. Hazra, op. cit., II, pp. 22-3.

blished position of Umā tempted the Śaiva authors of later ages to regard her as the Prakṛti and Māyā of Śiva, and to look upon other goddesses as the different forms of Umā. The Vaiṣṇava authors, on the other hand, picked up Vindhyavāsinī, the most prominent among the female deities of the Vindhya, and connected her with Viṣṇu by taking her to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu's Yoga-nidrā (or Yoga-māyā) . . . .'[1]

In the *Kenopaniṣad* (4.1-2) mentioned above, Umā Haimavatī tells of Brahman to the gods Agni, Vāyu, and Indra. The *Śvetāśvatara* (1.3) says: 'They (*brahma-vādins*) endowed (lit. followed) with meditation and abstraction (*dhyāna-yog-ānugata*) saw the self-power of God (*dev-ātma-śaktim*) hidden in his own attributes (*guṇa*, i.e., *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*'). Again, the *Śvetāśvatara* (6.8) says: '. . . . His high power (*parā-śakti*) is revealed to be various indeed . . . .', and this passage is quoted by Saṁkara on *Brahma-sūtra* (Br. S.) 2.1.24. In the *sūtra* itself Brahman is said to be endowed with all powers, hence Saṁkara concludes: '*tasmād ekasy=āpi Brahmaṇo vicitra-śakti-yogāt kṣīr-ādi-vad vicitra pariṇāma upapadyate* (Therefore Brahman, although one only, is, owing to its manifold powers, able to transform itself into manifold effects; just as milk is.)[2]

Māyā-śakti is further described in *Śvetāśvatara* 4.1.9, and 10.

However, as MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has pointed out: 'The Supreme Reality of the Āgamas would thus seem to differ in a sense from the Brahman of Vedānta. Though both are of the nature of Intelligence there is a fundamental distinction between the two. The Absolute of the Tantra is endowed with Power which is held to be identical with itself and by virtue of which it is described as the Free Agent (*svatantra karttā*). Freedom to act forms the essence of Caitanya. In other words, according to the Tantric viewpoint, Śiva and Śakti are the aspects of one and the same reality. But in the current non-dualistic school of Vedānta, which as in this [Tripurā] Tantra is described as the nature of Pure Consciousness, is no better than an actionless locus (*Adhikaraṇa*) on which the Power, which is attached to It mysteriously and is neither identical with nor distinct from It, plays. It is conceived as a *pīṭha* or passive background in relation to the active power operating on it. The Śakti, called Māyā in the Vedānta school, is not thus of the nature of Brahman but is material (*anirvacanīyā*), though it is held to be, of course mysteriously, subservient to it. But as conceived in the Tantra, Śakti or Pure

[1]ibid, pp. 24-5.

[2]Tr. by G. Thibaut. For Śaṁkara's position regarding Brahman and Śakti, see Br. S. 2.1.14, where he says that omniscience, omnipotence etc. are not really predicable of the Supreme Being. It is after and through the operation of Cosmic Nescience that these are attributed to Him. Since His essence is knowledge itself, it is only by a metaphor that he may be called 'all-knowing.' Hence MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has said that 'the central teaching of Śaṅkarācārya . . . [is] the denial of the reality of Śakti (Power) and with it of personality and self-consciousness of the Absolute.' MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, Burdwan, 1966, p. 28. Here it may be added that on Br. S. 2.1.18 Śaṁkara says: 'Hence it follows that power (*śakti*) is identical with the Self of the cause and that the effect is identical with the Self of that power (*śakti*).'

Freedom is absolutely non-material. The term Cit Sakti used to denote this power implies its spiritual essence.'[1]

We shall deal with this aspect of Śakti in Tantra philosophy later. Here it is sufficient to say that the conception of Sakti, even as a female goddess, is non-Vedic.

According to the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (Bh.P) (11.27.7) worship may be of three kinds, namely Vedic, tantric, and mixed (*miśra*). As for the tantric modes of worship, there is a wide-spread belief that it involves various disgusting practices including sexual promiscuity. This adverse view is true only for certain tantric rites in vogue among the votaries of *vāmācāra*, which will be described later. Here it is pertinent to point out that there were Vedic rites also which were equally obnoxious. For example, the cremation rites as prescribed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XII.5.2.14) includes the 'taking out the omentum (*vapā*) of the *anustaraṇī* she-animal; he should cover therewith the head and mouth [of the deceased] .... Taking out the two kidneys (*vṛkkau*) of the animal he should deposit them into the hands [of the deceased], the right kidney in the right hand and the left kidney in the left hand .... He puts the heart [of the animal] on his heart .... Having deposited the whole animal limb by limb [on corresponding limbs of the dead body] and having covered it with its own hide he recites ....'[2]

In the Aśvamedha ceremony, 'the crowned queen lies down by the side of the dead horse, and both are covered by the adhvaryu .... and she unites with it. Then .... the hotṛ abuses the crowned queen in obscene language and she returns the abuse along with her one hundred attendant princesses and the brahmā priest and the favourite wife enter into a similar obscene abuse .... the four principal priests and the chamberlain enter into an obscene abusing dialogue .... with the queens along with their female attendants.'[3]

As for drinking, there was the Sautrāmāṇī sacrifice, which had to be performed after a Rājasūya and also at the end of the piling of the fire-altar (*agnicayana*). Detailed instructions are given. Vedic literature also contain detailed instructions on the preparation of wine—actually spirits—from fermented rice and barley. Some of the peculiar conditions and features were that the ingredients had to be purchased from a eunuch in exchange for lead, wool, and thread, and that hairs from lion, tiger, and wolf were to be thrown into the fermenting mixture. According to the rules, the priests only smelt the remnants of the wine offered, which was called *prāṇa-bhakṣa*, which was then drunk by a *brāhmaṇa* hired for the purpose, or poured over an ant-hill. Later, however, the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice gained notoriety as providing an excuse for drinking, and milk was substituted for wine.

Sexual intercourse was involved in two Vedic rituals: the Mahāvrata and

[1]MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, pp. 222-23.

[2]Tr. by MM. P.V. Kane, *HDK*, IV, p. 208. The *anustaraṇī* animal was to be struck behind the ear and killed, ibid, p. 209 fn.

[3]*HDK*, II, part 2, pp. 1234-1235.

the Gosava. In the former, intercourse took place between a man and a woman, who were strangers to the sacrifice, in a screened shed.[1] The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (V.I.5) states: 'There is intercourse of creatures and a conversation between a student and a courtesan.' The *Śāṅkhyāyana Śrautā Sūtra* (XVII.6.1) states that the intercourse should take place between a *śūdra* female and an *ārya* male, while Āpastamba cited by Sāyaṇa says that the partners should be a *magadha* (a bard born of a *kṣatriya* mother and a *vaiśya* father.[2])

The following statement of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (II.3.8) also reminds one of *tantra*: 'The blood in the woman is the form of Agni, therefore one should despise it not. The seed in the man is the form of Āditya, therefore one should despise it not . . . .' This passage is followed by five verses, and, while commenting on the third verse, Sāyaṇa cites from the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (IV. 27), '*khaṭ phaḍ jahi, chindi bhindhi handhi kaḍ*' as examples of 'harsh words' referred to in a verse. Sexual imagery is also employed in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* I.2.4.

A very strange rite was the Gosava. 'The *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* II.7.6 briefly describes it. One who desires *svārājya* may perform it, and Āpastamba (XXII.12.12-20, and XXII.13.1-3) states that for a year thereafter he should be *paśuvrata* (act like cattle), i.e., drink water like them and cut grass (with his teeth) and approach his mother etc. (probably only as a make-believe).'[3]

Sexual imageries are used in the *Chāndogya* 2.13.2 and 3.17.3, of which the latter is liable to lead to serious misunderstanding if taken literally.[4] The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 1.4.3 and 4.3.21 also employ sexual imageries, while 6.4.20-22 prescribe the *mantra* to be uttered during copulation when the couple desired a son.[5]

Usually '*gāyatrī*' means the hymn addressed to Savitṛ given in the *Ṛgveda* III.62.20 and *Sāmaveda* II.8.12. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* X.27.1 also reproduces the same Gāyatrī, but then it gives *gāyatrī* hymns in honour of Rudra, Gaṇeśa, Nandin, Kārttika, Garuḍa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Narasiṁha, Sūrya, Agni, and Durgā (X.1.23 and X.1.34).[6] Some of these *gāyatrīs* are found in *tantra* works which is not surprising, but their inclusion, particularly hymns addressed to non-Vedic deities, in an *Āraṇyaka* cannot be explained.

These examples may serve to indicate the existence of a tenuous link between the Vedic and the tantric rites, but it should be remembered that they are not as conspicuous a feature of the former as of the latter. However,

[1] ibid, p. 1244.

[2] *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* tr. by A.B. Keith, reprint, 1969, p. 277 and fn. 15.

[3] *HDK*, II, part 2, p. 1213 fn. 2644.

[4] 'When one laughs and eats and practises sexual intercourse—then he joins in the Chant and Recitation.' *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, 3.17.3, tr. R.E. Hume. See below section on Vāmācāra.

[5] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanisad*, 6.4.21 contains the well-known *mantra: garbhaṁ dhehi Sinīvāli*. The entire chapter (6.4) which comes at the end of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* consists of incantations and ceremonies for procreation.

[6] For the Gāyatrī hymns in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, and the corresponding tantric Gāyatrīs, see U.K. Das, op. cit., II, p. 843.

it will be seen later that even in *tantra* drinking and sexual union was restricted within a particular group,—the *vāmācāris*,—and their practice was condemned by other tantric groups. But human nature being what it is, these practices gained wide notoriety. Licentious people used to indulge in wild orgies for which they sought to receive religious sanction from *tantra* texts, and the entire system, including the *tantra* philosophy, was undeservedly branded as immoral.

One of the most attractive features of the tantric religion was that it was meant for everyone, irrespective of sex and caste. The abomination of untouchability is least rigorous in Assam and Bengal, the two strongholds of *tantra*. This also implies that the evil rites also permeated the lower castes, who were immune from Vedic influence. Even among the *brāhmaṇas*, the Vedas had restricted circulation, for the Vedic texts could be understood only by the most erudite, and were never available in writing. The examples which have been cited above are few and far between, and it needs some amount of study to trace them. On the other hand, the *tantras* were written in simple Sanskrit, and the impugned passages were easily located. The result is that, today the Vedic literature is associated,—and rightly—with remarkable purity of sentiment, while the *tantras*,—somewhat erroneously,—are ascribed as the products of baser human instincts.

As for the possible motives for the debased tantric practices, MM. Kane says: '. . . . Masses of common people were being drawn towards Buddhism. The founders of Hindu Tantrik cults wanted to retain them within the Hindu fold. As common people drank wine and ate meat, they were told that they would attain higher spiritual levels while indulging in meat and drink provided they followed Tantrik gurus and practices. The idea was that Śakti was all and was for all; *bhoga* (enjoyment) need not be given up, as man is part of Devī or Śiva. Bhoga should be sublimated, that is all that is required in Kaulaśāstra [Tantra]. The Tantrikas substitute a yoga of enjoyment (*bhoga*) for the yoga of abstinence and asceticism. When indulging in left-hand path practices the sādhaka is supposed or held to be destroying the egoistic elements of the soul.'[1]

Antiquity and Origin of Tantra

MM. Kane has discussed in detail the meaning of the word *tantra* as used in ancient Sanskrit texts,[2] and the same need not be repeated here. His conclusion is: 'It is difficult to determine the exact time when the word *tantra* came to be employed in the sense in which it is used in the so-called literature nor is it possible to decide what people first introduced *tantra* principles and practices or where they first arose.' We may point out that in a solitary verse the *Mahābhārata* (12. 208. 20) recommends *tantra* as a method of attaining Brahman. The purport of the verse, however, is not very clear, and it seems that *tantra* is here taken as a form of *yoga*, for which, as will be

[1] *HDK*, V, p. 1077.
[2] ibid, pp. 1031-033.

shown later, there is some justification. In another verse, the *Mahābhārata* (12.178.15) speaks of ten *prāṇas* (breaths), which is a characteristic tenet of *tantra*.

The slender evidence presented by these two verses tempt one to conclude that *tantra* in a rudimentary form was evolving during the period when the *Mahābhārata* was receiving its present form, but the problem of dating these verses is forbiddingly complicated, and cannot be attempted here.

A related problem is the determination of priority between Brahaminical and Buddhist *tantras*. The opinions of scholars are divided, but the probability seems to be in favour of the Brahminical *tantra*. MM. Kane after discussing the various authoritative views have rightly concluded : 'It is clear from the works of Bāṇa as detailed later on that worship of Caṇḍikā with wine and flesh was prevalent in India long before 600 AD, that Śrīparvata was famed for its tantrik *siddhis*, that Śivasaṃhitās existed, that japa of mantras a crore of times in a cemetery was supposed to confer *siddhis*, that the 14th of the dark half of a month was deemed the proper tithi for japa and black magic. Therefore, it is most likely the Śākta or Tāntrik doctrines were taken to China and Tibet from India and not vice versa.'[1]

MM. Kane's view is supported by the verses of the *Mahābhārata* quoted above and some other evidence. An inscription issued in AD 424 refers to Matṛs (Mother Goddesses) and *tantra*.[2] The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (6.7.70), which was probably composed between AD 300 to 500, speaks of the whole world as Viṣṇu, the highest Brahman, who is endowed with Śakti. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (5.1.83-5) states that he, who worshipped morning and evening daily Durgā under the names of Āryā, Vedagarbhā, Ambikā, Bhadrā, Bhadrakālī, Kṣemadā, and Bhāgyadā has all wishes fulfilled. It further states that Durgā, worshipped with wine, meat and various other food fulfils all the wishes of men. Here the word *tantra* is not used, but the passage clearly indicates Śākta worship. Though Śākta and *tantra* are interrelated, the *Vāyupurāṇa* (104.16) enumerates the Śākta among six systems of philosophy :

brāhmaṁ śaivaṁ vaiṣṇavaṁ ca
sauraṁ śāktaṁ tath=ārhatam
saḍ=darśanāni c=oktāni
svabhāva-niyatāni ca

It is interesting to note that the *Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti*, (11.143) which must be anterior to the *Vāyupurāṇa*, forbids a householder to enter the places (*sthāna*) of Śaiva, Baudha, Skanda, and Śākta cults. It, therefore, seems that the conception of *śakti*, which is the basis of *tantra*, is earlier than regular *tantra* cults. However, according to Dr. P.C. Bagchi, the Āgama to Śiva-tantra texts were probably written during the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, while the Yāmala literature came into existence between the

[1]ibid, p. 1040.
[2]J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 72.

6th and the 9th centuries.[1]

The *Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa* (YV, *Upaśama* 50. 71) mentions *tantra* twice in a manner which indicates that by this time (7th to 8th century AD) *tantra* was widely prevalent. First Vasiṣṭha says to Rāma: 'Unless and until you drive away this wicked goblin of your heart (*citta-piśāca*) from your body (*ātma=gehāt*=abode of your self) by means of discrimination (*viveka*) and dispassionateness (*vairāgya*) and your power of *mantras* and *tantras* you cannot expect to attain the final consummation (*ātma-siddhi*).' Later (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 123.3) in reply to Rāmacandra's question as to whether the liberated (*jīvan-mukta*) *yogins* acquire any extraordinary power, Vasiṣṭha said: 'Many (persons) have by their consummate knowledge of *mantra, tantra*, and by *tapas* (*mantrasiddhais=tapasiddhais=tantrasiddhais=ca*) have attained the power of aerial flight etc., but what is extraordinary in these? (Since birds etc. have similar power.)'

It is evident that by this time *mantras* and *tantras* had become associated with supernormal powers. It is peculiar, however, that the *Amarakośa*, which was written probably before AD 700, that is practically during the period in which the YV was written or shortly before, explains *tantra* as a 'principal matter or part,' '*siddhānta*' (i.e. doctrine or *śāstra*), 'a loom,' or 'paraphernalia.' But it does not state that *tantra* means a certain class of religious works. 'Therefore,' MM. Kane concludes, 'the inference is not altogether unjustifiable that in its time works bearing the peculiar character of what are called Tantras were either not composed or had not at least attained great vogue.' (*HDK*, V. p. 1031) The evidence of *Amarakośa*, however, is not conclusive. For Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (12th century AD) gives various meanings of *tantra*, but does not state that it meant a class of religious literature, though by his time *tantra* was extremely popular.

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* mentions *tantra* in several verses. In 11.11.37 it mentions *Vaidikī* and *tāntrikī dikṣā*. In 11.27.7 *Śrī*-Bhagavān says that *vaidika, tāntrika*, and *miśra* (mixed) are the three modes of worshipping Him. Later (11.27.26 and 49) verses recommend both Vedic and tantric rituals for worshipping Him.[2] According to most scholars, the Bh.P. was written about

[1] 'Although a chronological scheme is not possible in the present state of our knowledge of the Tantras, it appears to me that the Tantras of the Āgama type were prevalent during the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, from the Kuṣāṇa period down to the end of the Gupta period.' 'The Yāmala literature with its supplement may therefore be reasonably supposed to have come into existence at least between the sixth and ninth centuries.' P.C. Bagchi, Evolution of the Tantras in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, IV, pp. 216. The Āgamas are ritualistic texts and lay down that only a *brāhmaṇa* is eligible for *sādhanā*. While the *Brahma-yāmala* (the only extant *yāmala*) contains the tradition that one of the persons to whom the text was orally transmitted was a *śūdra*. The Āgamas are confined to Śiva worship only, but the Yāmalas introduce a large number of gods and goddesses.

[2] *evam kriyā-yoga-pathaiḥ pumān Vaidika-tāntrikaiḥ*
arcayann=ubhayataḥ siddhiṁ matto vindaty=abhīpsitām 11.27.47. It seems that *kriyā* here means the Vedic rites, and *yoga* is related to *tantra*,

AD 800 to 900.[1] Almost at the same period Medhātithi on Manu 2.1, strongly condemned certain Śaiva practices such as besmearing the body with ashes etc, and states that non-Vedic religion (*bāhya-dharma*) was introduced by foolish and evil-minded persons and, after being in vogue for some time, they disappear. He then adds that it was 'due to greed that people induces others to have recourse to charms and *tantra*' (*lobhena mantra-tantrādiṣū pravartayanti*).[2] Apparently Medhātithi was stigmatizing *tantra* as transitory fad.

It is usually held that Medhātithi flourished during the ninth century AD. In that case, it has to be assumed that the orthodox anti-Śākta attitude reflected in the *Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti* had hardened into an anti-*tantra* attitude by the 9th century. It is also obvious that this attitude was limited within the circle of Vedic orthodoxy, for the popularity of *tantra* seems to have progressively increased in spite of orthodox criticism which persisted throughout the centuries. For example, King Vallālasena (*c.* AD 1158-1178) of Bengal rejected the authority of the *Devi-purāṇa* because it was a tantric work. As subsequent history shows, Vallālasena's antipathy towards *tantra* had little effect in Bengal.[3] In Assam too, *tantra* had become very popular from quite an early period, and two inscriptions of Indrapāladeva (11th century AD) of Assam mention *tantra* among the subjects studied by him.[4]

Tantra Literature and Classification

There was a vast *tantra* literature which developed during the course of ages. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has divided the history of *Śākta-Tāntrika* culture into three periods:

1. Ancient or pre-Buddhistic, going back to pre-historic age;
2. Mediaeval or post-Buddhistic, rather post-Christian, extending to about AD 1200;
3. Modern, from AD 1300 till now.'[5]

No tantric literature of the ancient period is now available. It may be noted that the word '*tantra* literature' is being used here in a general sense. In its specific sense Tantra indicates Śākta literature, Āgama the Śaiva literature, and Saṃhitā the Vaiṣṇava literature, all of which have certain common characteristics hence their generic nomenclature '*tantra*.' Another class of

[1]Dr. R.C. Hazra gives the date of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* as between AD. 500 to 600, probably AD 500-550, *New Indian Antiquary*, I, (1938-1939), pp. 522-25; but see *HDK*, V, p. 899.

[2]Commenting on the same verse, Kulluka quotes Harita as saying: *śrutiś=ca dvividhā vaidikī tāntrikī ca*. This has led many scholars to assume that Kulluka following Vṛddha-Hārīta gave equal validity to Veda and *tantra*. But as MM. Kane has shown, here the word *tantra* has been used in a different sense, *HDK*, I, 2nd ed., 1968, pp. 129-30.

[3]Vallalāsena, in his *Dānasāgara* (p. 7, v. 67) calls it a '*pāṣaṇḍa-śāstra*.' The word *pāṣaṇḍa* usually means a Buddhist, but here it means tantric.

[4]Gauhati and Guakuchi copper-plates of Indrapāladeva; P. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, pp. 121 and 136.

[5]G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 177.

Śaiva-tantra literature is known as Yāmala. The difference between the Āgamas and the Yāmalas is that, while the former represent the Rudra or Sadāśiva tradition, the latter represent the Bhairava tradition, the Bhairavas being human teachers.

As we have seen, according to Dr. Bagchi, the Āgamas, numbering eighteen, were prevalent during the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, while the Yāmalas, which came into existence 'at least between the sixth and ninth centuries' represent the next phase of the development of *tantra*. Dr. Bagchi states: 'The religion of the Āgamas apparently developed through two channels, one exoteric and the other esoteric. The former was continued as pure Śaivism with greater emphasis on the devotional aspect of the worship of Śiva-Paśupati, with a view to attaining salvation. The latter was continued as Śaktism with greater emphasis on various Śakti cults, not so much to attain salvation as to gain ascendancy over other forces of nature, and to carry on experiments with them in order to gain a detailed knowledge of their working. Salvation was too small a gain for the latter. The later literature of pure Śaivism ceases to be called Tantra. Tantra proper became more Śaktic in character. This character of Tantra became definitely established by the tenth century.'[1]

Though the number of published *tantra* works is not large, they contain the names of a very large number of works. They also give different systems of grouping.

The *Sammoha-* (or *Sammohana-*) *tantra*, which, according to Dr. Bagchi, attained its final form in the 14th century, first deals with various traditions and *mantras* of Kālikāmata. After giving the names of nine Kālikās, it enumerates various cults named after other goddesses, namely, Jayā, Sundarī, Tārā, Kālī, Chinnā, Dhūmrā, Mātaṅgī, and Siddhavidyā, all of whom excepting Jayā and Chinnā were the deity of two cults, Kālī being the deity of three cults. The *Sammoha* also mentions twenty-four cults of the Vaiṣṇavas, two of the Sauras, and five of the Gāṇapatyas.

The *Sammoha* then divides the *tantras* geographically into four classes, namely,

1. Kerala, which prevails in all countries from Aṅga (Bhagalpur-Monghyr region, Bihar), to Mālava;
2. Kāśmīra, which prevails in all countries from Madra (the region between the Ravi and the Chenab in the Punjab) to Nepāla;
3. Gauḍa, which prevails from Śīlahaṭṭa (Sylhet in Bangladesh) to Sindhu;
4. Vilāsa which is found in all countries.

The *Sammoha* also divides the tantras into six *āmnāyas* (traditions) namely, *pūrva* (eastern), *dakṣiṇa* (southern), *paścima* (western), *uttara* (northern), *ūrdhva* (upper region), and *pātāla* (nether region).

Another classification is made according to the nature of the *sādhanā* into *divya*, *kaula*, and *vāma*, each subdivided into *hārda* (inner) and *bāhya* (outer).

[1]P.C. Bagchi, Evolution of the Tantras, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, IV, pp. 216, and 219.

In yet another classification, the *Sammoha* says that the country of Cīna possesses 100 principal and seven subsidiary *tantras*, Draviḍa twenty principal and twenty subsidiary, the Jaina eighteen principal and twenty subsidiary, the Kāśmīra 100 principal and ten subsidiary, and Gauḍa twenty-seven principal and sixteen subsidiary ones. In this connection Dr. Bagchi points out that 'these numbers may in some cases be fictitious, but they show that the writer had a vague idea that each class contained a large literature.'[1]

The *Sammoha* then gives the number of *tantras* belonging to the principal brahminical sects. These are:

i. Śaiva-tantras: 32 Tantras, 325 Upatantras, 10 Saṃhitās, 5 Arṇavas, 2 Yāmalas, 3 Ḍāmaras, 1 Uddāla, 2 Uḍḍīśas, 8 Kalpas, 8 Upasaṁkhyās, 2 Cūḍāmaṇis, 2 Cintāmaṇis, and 2 Vimarṣiṇīs.

ii. Vaiṣṇava-tantras: 75 Tantras, 205 Upatantras, 20 Kalpas, 8 Saṃhitās, 1 Ārṇavaka, 5 Kakṣāpuṭīs, 8 Cūḍāmaṇis, 2 Cintāmaṇis, 2 Uḍḍīśas, 2 Ḍāmaras, 1 Yāmala, 5 Purāṇas, 3 Tattvabodha-vimarṣiṇīs, and 2 Amṛtatarpaṇas.

iii. Saura-tantras: 30 Tantras, 96 Upatantras, 4 Saṃhitās, 2 Upasaṃhitās, 5 Purāṇas, 10 Kalpas, 2 Kakṣāpuṭis, 3 Tattvas, 3 Vimarṣiṇīs, 3 Cūdamaṇis, 2 Ḍāmaras, 2 Yāmalas, 5 Uddālas, 2 Avatāras, 2 Uḍḍīśas, 3 Amṛtas, 3 Darpaṇas, and 3 Kalpas.

iv. Gāṇapatya-tantras: 50 Tantras, 25 Upatantras, 2 Purāṇas, 3 Sāgaras, 3 Darpaṇas, 5 Amṛtas, 9 Kalpakas, 3 Kakṣaputīs, 2 Vimarṣiṇīs, 2 Tattvas, 2 Uḍḍīśas, 3 Cūḍāmaṇis, 3 Cintāmaṇis, 1 Ḍāmara, 1 Candrayāmala, and 8 Pañcarātras.

v. Bauddha-tantras (not quite clear in the text): 5 Avataṛṇakas, 5 Sūktas, 2 Cintāmaṇis, 9 Purāṇas, 3 Upasaṁjñās, 2 Kakṣapuṭīs, 3 Kalpadrumas, 2 Kāmadhenus, 3 Svabhāvas, and 5 Tattvas.[2]

It will be observed that this list does not include the Śākta-tantras, which were probably included in the Kālikāmata mentioned above.

Traditionally, the number of *tantra* texts is said to be sixty-four. The *Āgama-tantra-vilāsa* gives the names of the 64 *tantras* reproduced in the introduction to the fifth edition of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa's *Bṛhat-tantrasāra*. The same introduction gives another list of names of 54 Tantras from the *Vārāhi-tantra*, another list of names of 147 Tantras from a source the name of which is not given as well as a list of 74 Buddhist Tantras. Only a very few of these texts are available now even in manuscript.

It has been stated above that the *Sammoha* mentions three schools, namely, *divya*, *kaula*, and *vāma*. Something is known about the *kaula* school. According to a very old text, the *Kaula-jñānā-nirṇaya*, the manuscript of which has been dated to the 11th century AD, the Kaula class of *tantras* was introduced by Matsyendrānātha, though strictly speaking he was the founder of one of the Kaula schools called Yoginī-kaula of Kāmarūpa.

[1] ibid, p. 221.

[2] ibid, pp. 221-22. Dr. Bagchi's list is based on an old manuscript of the text found in the Nepal State Library.

Fourteen other Kaula schools are mentioned in the *Kaula-jñana-nirṇaya*. As Kaula stands for Śakti, all these schools must have been Śākta in character.

From the *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya*, it appears that the *Yoginī-kaula* of Matsyendra-nātha had something in common with the Buddhist *tantras* of the Sahajiyās. This is not surprising, since Matsyendra-nātha is honoured by the Buddhist mystics as the first of the Siddhas under the name of Lui-pā or Lui-pāda. Their fundamental doctrines are also similar. The Sahaja doctrine is : 'The ideal state of the *yogin*, a state in which the mind enters the vacuity, becomes free from duality, and rejects the illusory nature of the world.' The *Yoginī-kaula* also defines Sahaja as 'a state in which the mind attains mobility, becomes free from duality and illusion.' The two schools also agree on other important matters, such as disregard of outward purificatory rites, and denunciation of attempts to attain salvation by the study of scriptures, and by sacrifices, fasting, bathing, visiting holy places etc. Evidently, the *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya* represents an attempt at reconciling the Buddhist and brahminical *tantras* by accepting elements common to them.

According to another classification, the Śākta-tantras are divided into Kaula, Miśra (mixed), and the Samaya groups, containing sixty-four, eight, and five treatises respectively. Of these three groups, the Samaya is held to be the most important. The word '*samaya*' is derived from *saha* and *maya*, meaning [He is] with me. 'The reputed authors of the five Samaya texts or *saṃhitās* are the sages Vasiṣṭha, Sanaka, Śuka, Sanandana, and Sanatkumāra.[1]

Another classification of *tantras* is into three geographical groups : Viṣṇukrāntā, Rathakrāntā, and Aśvakrāntā (or Gajakrāntā), each group being assigned sixty-four *tantra* texts. According to the *Śaktimaṅgala-tantra*, the sway of Viṣṇukrāntā extends from the Vindhyas to Cattala (Chittagong in Bangladesh), that of Rathakrāntā from the Vindhyas to Mahācīna including Nepāl, while rest of India from the Vindhayas to the oceans are under Aśvakrāntā. The *Mahā-siddhasāra-tantra*, however, while agreeing with the *Śaktimaṅgala* as to the areas under Viṣṇukrāntā and Rathakrāntā, assigns to Aśvakrāntā the region between the river Karatoyā (Dinajpur District, West Bengal) to Javadvīpa (Java).[2]

These *tantra* texts claim divine origin, but there are others whose authors are known.

Gauḍapāda, supposed to be identical with the author of the *Māṇḍukya-kārikā*, wrote a *sūtra* work called the *Śrī-vidyā-ratna-sūtra*, on which a commentary was written by Śaṁkarāraṇya. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj points out that it is important as a work of Śākta literature but not of much value as a work of philosophy. The *Saundaryalaharī* is ascribed to Śaṁkara himself,

[1]See Lakṣmīdhara's commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī*, v. 31, which gives the names of all the texts.

[2]A. Avalon, *Tantrik Texts*, I, Introduction to *Tantrābhidhāna*, pp. II-IV; A. Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, II, Madras, 1952, p. 87; U.K. Das, op. cit., II, pp. 1014-015, 1062-063.

who also wrote the *Prapañcasāra*, a standard work on the subject.[1]

A more well-known work is Lakṣmaṇa Deśika's *Śaradātilaka*, which belongs to about the 11th century AD.[2] The *Śāradātilaka* has been profusely quoted as an authoritative *tantra* text by mediaeval Daharmaśāstra writers like Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Kamalākara, Nīlakaṇṭha, Mitramiśra and others.

The most famous *tantra* writer of mediaeval India was Abhinavagupta, whose literary activity lay between AD 980 to 1020.[3] Of him MM. Gopinath Kaviraj writes that 'he was verily the soul of Śākta culture. He was a pronounced Kaula, and his literary activities in the field of *Śaiva-Śākta-Āgama*, and in that of poetics and dramaturgy, gave it a unique philosophical value which has not yet been surpassed by his contemporaries or successors. His *Tantrāloka* is an encyclopaedic work of Śaiva-Śākta philosophy based on many earlier works. His *Mālinī-vijaya-vārttika*, *Parā-triṁśikā-vivaraṇa*, *Pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī*, and *Pratyabhijñā-vivṛtivimarśinī* are full of extra-ordinary learning and spiritual wisdom.'[4]

Abhinavagupta was closely followed by Gorakṣa alias Maheśvarānanda, the author of the *Mahārtha-mañjarī* and its commentary. Among other important authors were Puṇyānanda, whose *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa*, which deals with Śakti in Her creative aspect, is a standard work on the subject. Puṇyānanda's disciple Amṛtānanda's *Yoginīhṛdayadipīkā*, a commentary on the *Yoginīhṛdaya* section of the *Vāmakeśvara-tantra* is acclaimed as one of the most valuable *tantra* works. His other known work is the *Saubhāgya-subhagodaya*.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Parivrājakācārya is probably the earliest Bengali writer of *tantra*, but the most important Bengali tantric writer was Kṛṣṇānanda *Āgamavāgīśa*. He is usually supposed to be a contemporary of *Śrī*-Caitanya (AD 1486-1533), but there are good grounds for placing his *floruit* in the 17th century AD. His *Tantrasāra* or *Bṛhat-Tantrasāra* is the most comprehensive and popular *tantra* digest in Bengal. It prescribes the worship of many unidentifiable gods and goddesses, and many texts from which quotations are cited are now lost.

Another noted Bengali *tantra* writer was Pūrṇānanda *Paramahaṃsa Parivrājaka*, a disciple of Brahmānanda Giri, the celebrated author of the *Śāktānanda-taraṅgiṇī* and the *Tārārahasya*, in which the rituals of Śakti worship are given in detail. Pūrṇānanda was a voluminous writer and his works range from philosophical texts to books on tantric magic. Two of his works, namely, the *Śāktakrama* and the *Śrītattvacintāmaṇi* are dated Śaka 1493 (AD

[1]MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 180. He has discussed this point in his *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 135-36, and has given reasons for ascribing the *Prapañcasāra* to the great Śaṁkara. MM. Kane (*HDK*, V, p. 1049 fn. 1690) is doubtful about the authorship.

[2]*HDK*, V, p. 1060.

[3]P.V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Bombay, 1951, pp. 231-32.

[4]Gopinath Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 180.

1571), and Śaka 1499 (AD 1577) respectively. He was a *Rāḍhīya brāhmaṇa* from the village Katihali of the Netrakona subdivision of Mymensingh District of Bangladesh.

Śaṁkara *Āgamācārya* of Gauḍa wrote the *Tārārahasya-vṛttikā*; a number of digests is also attributed to him. His known date is La Sam 511 (AD 1630).

Navasiṁha, alias Ādyānandana flourished in Nepal. His known works are the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* and the *Kulamukti-Kallolinī*, in the former of which he introduces himself as the minister of king Bhūpālendra (AD, 1689-1694).

Among the *tantra* writers of Vārāṇasī, probably the earliest was Mahīdhara, who came from Ahicchatra and wrote the *Mantra-mahodadhi* in AD 1589. Śrīnivāsa *Bhaṭṭa*, originally of Kanchi who later settled at Vārāṇasī, was initiated by Sundarācārya or Saccidānanda-nātha of Jullundur, presumably the author of the *Lalitārcana-candrikā*. Śrīnivāsa wrote several *tantra* works, four of which he mentions at the end of his *Śivārcana-candrikā*. His son, Jagannivāsa, was a famous tantric teacher, and had as his disciple Devīsiṁha of Bundel (17th century), at whose request his son, Śivānanda, wrote the *Siṁha-siddhānta-sindhu*. Another son of Jagannivāsa, named Janārdana, wrote the *Mantra-candrikā*. About this time, Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa, also of Vārāṇasī, wrote a large number of small treatises on *tantra* and *purāṇa* criticizing *vāmācara*.

Nīlakaṇṭha of Mahārāṣṭra (not to be confounded with the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*) wrote several *tantra* and *purāṇa* works in the second half of the 18th century AD. But more famous was his early contemporary Bhaskararāya or Bhāsurānanda-nātha of Tanjore whose commentaries on the *Nityā-ṣoḍaśikārṇava* and the *Lalitā-sahasranāma-stotra*, and his *Varivasyārahasya* deal with the basic principles of *tantra* rituals and have been highly praised.

An interesting point may be mentioned here. Śrīnivāsa, mentioned above, after his initiation by Sundarācārya or Saccidānanda-nātha, adopted the name of Vidyānanda-nātha. Similarly, Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa, mentioned above, was known as Śivānanda-nātha, and as we have just seen Bhaskararāya was known as Bhāsurānanda-nātha. Though the significance of the name-ending *nātha* is not clear, it could neither be entirely fortuitous, and possibly indicates some tenous links with the Nātha saints.

The influence of *tantra* had become so pervasive by the 16th century AD, that even the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas accepted their authority. Sanātana Gosvāmin, in his commentary on the tenth book of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, has cited the authority of the *Trailokya-sammohana-tantra* and the *Rudrayāmala-tantra*. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* has quoted the authority of the *Gautamīya-tantra*, *Trailokya-Sammohana-tantra*, and the *Sanatkumāra-tantra*. Similarly Kṛṣṇadāsa *Kavirāja*, in his *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, had quoted from the *Bṛhad-Gautamīya-tantra*, *Yāmala-tantra*, and the *Sāttvata-tantra*.

Apart from the texts mentioned above, there is another class of *tantra* literature, namely the *purāṇas*. The *purāṇas* as a whole did not form a part of

the *tantra* literature, but some of the Śākta *upa-purāṇas* contain enough *tantra* materials to be classified as such. Chapters praising the Devī and on Her worship in different forms are found in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāmana*, *Varāha*, *Kūrma* and a few other *purāṇas* like the *Bṛhaddharma*, while the *Devī*, the two *Kālikās*, *Mahābhāgavata*, *Devībhāgavata*, *Bhagavatī*, *Caṇḍī* (or *Caṇḍikā*), and the *Devī-rahasya upa-purāṇas* are definitely Śākta.

The origin of the Śākta-purāṇas is as obscure as that of the Mother worship in ancient India. It is known that the worship of Mother goddess was prevalent in most countries between Persia and Greece, but there is no trace of it in the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, except for Ambikā in the *Atharvaveda*. Hence it has been concluded that it was a non-Vedic custom, which slowly penetrated the Vedic people. It seems, however, that importing racial factor will obscure the religious issue. As we have shown elsewhere, the Vedic rites were extremely expensive, so that alternative means of gaining heaven had to be discovered.[1] Secondly, the *śūdras* had no right of performing the Vedic sacrifices. Here was the strong-point of *tantra*. Anyone, including women and *śūdras*, could perform a tantric rite. A factor in mounting expenses of Vedic worship was the fees which had to be paid to the priests. In *tantra*, priests are not only unnecessary, but in certain late *purāṇas*, their employment is forbidden:

purohitaṁ samānīya yadi pūj=ādi kārayet
tasya sarv-ārtha-hāniḥ syāt kruddhā bhavati Kālikā[2]

(If a person has (his) *pūjā* performed by a priest, then all his wealth is destroyed (and) Kālikā becomes angry.)

It was also getting difficult for ordinary people to understand Vedic Sanskrit, and as days went by classical Sanskrit too was not easily intelligible to them. To help such people the *Śiva-dharmottara* says :

Saṁskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpataḥ
deśa-bhāsādy-upāyaiś=ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ[3]

(That person is regarded as a [religious] preceptor who enlightens the disciple with Sanskrit and Prakrit [that is, with refined and vulgar languages] and by means of local dialects etc. according to the latter's capacity.)

After discussing this aspect of the problem Dr. Hazra concludes : 'From what has been said above it is evident that the type of un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit, found in the Devī-purāṇa, Pauṣkara-saṃhitā etc., had a very early origin, with which the Buddhists had nothing to do in any way. As a matter of fact, the popular religions current among the Hindus in early days were recorded in this type of Sanskrit..... It appears that even in the pre-Pāṇinian period a kind of grammatically incorrect Sanskrit. . . .had come into being among the less cultured sections of the Vedic and allied population as a result of the

[1]A.K. Majumdar, *Economic Background of the Epic Society*, Calcutta, 1977, pp. 195-97.
[2]U.K. Das, op. cit., II, p. 822.
[3]Quoted in R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, II, p. 180.

contact of the Vedic language on the one hand, and the early Prakrits and the Apabhraṣṭa forms current in the lower strata of the society, on the other. . .'[1]

The *tantra* matters contained in the *purāṇas* does not add significantly to the vast literature consisting of *tantra* texts. But the tantric *purāṇas* have their own importance. The language of the *Devī-purāṇa* for example definitely establishes the antiquity of *tantra*. Secondly, the *purāṇas* give a glimpse of the social surroundings in which *tantra* flourished. For example, the *Mahābhāgavata*, which cannot be dated later than the 12th century AD, shows that the most powerful sects in those days were the Śaivas, Śāktas, Vaiṣṇavas, and Sauras, all of which were seriously influenced by *tantra*.[2]

There were attempts to blend Vedic and tantric principles, but Vedic authority is upheld, and grossly non-Vedic practices are condemned. The *Devī-bhāgavata*, for example, condemns the Āgamas of the Vāmas, Kāpālikas, Kaulakas and Bhairavas and adds: 'In the Purāṇas there are certain matter which though derived from the Tantras, have been regarded as *dharma*, but one must not follow them [blindly]. If the Tantra does not go against the Veda, it is undoubtedly to be regarded as authoritative, but if it goes clearly against Śruti, it must not be taken as an authority.' As Dr. Hazra concludes, the author of the *Devī-bhāgavata* 'tried his level best to popularize the Vedas as authorities in all matters and to make the members of the Vedic fold immune from the Tantric influence as far as possible, though he went so far as to prescribe the '*yantra*' (diagram) as a medium even in Vedic worship, to furnish the mantras of different deities with tantric bījas and to glorify these bījas . . . . . ' with various stories.[3]

There are reasons to believe that of the Śākta *upa-purāṇas*, the *Devī*, *Mahābhāgavata*, and the *Devī-bhāgavata* were composed in Bengal, while the *Kālikā* was composed in Kāmarūpa. This was the region where tantricism was most deep-rooted and widely prevalent.

Yoga and Tantra

The relation between *yoga* and *tantra* can but be ill-defined. The *yoga* techniques are indispensable parts of *tantra*, and as we shall see *haṭha-yoga* is a blend of *tantra* and *yoga*. A convenient and working assumption would be that all *tāntrikas* are also *yogins*, but all *yogins* are not *tāntrikas*. The philosophy of the two schools are distinct from each other, and there are some peculiar *tāntrika* techniques which a *yogin* will never adopt. The great discovery of *yoga* was *prāṇāyāma*, while that of *tantra* was *ṣaṭ-cakra-bheda*.[4]

[1]ibid, pp. 181-82.

[2]ibid, p. 282.

[3]ibid, pp. 334-36.

[4]We are speaking of the developed form of tantricism. But there was probably a time when the two systems were unified to a great extent. This is indicated by Alberuni's reference to the *Kitāb Pātanjal* which is different from the *Yogasūtra*. After discussing the salient features of the *Kitāb Pātanjal*, Dr. S.N. Dasgupta writes, 'From this we can fairly assume that this [*Kitāb Pātanjal*] was a new modification of the Yoga doctrine on

The *yogins* attempted to dissociate Puruṣa from Prakṛti, while the *tantrikas* attempted to awaken the Śakti or Kuṇḍalinī. Thus while the *yogins* have a negative attitude towards life, the *tāntrika* attitude is wholly positive. Yet the *yoga* techniques have been accepted as of the highest importance by all the Hindu (using the word in its broadest sense) *sādhakas*. Therefore, before proceeding further it is necessary to discuss the fundamentals of *yoga* but not the Yoga philosophy which is better studied along with the Sāṁkhya philosophy. It may be stated here that *tantra* accepts some of the Sāṁkhya principles.

YOGA

Antiquity of Yoga

For our present purpose, the word '*yoga*' will mean the system prescribed by Patañjali in his *Yogasūtra* (YS). The date of Patañjali is uncertain, and we shall discuss it later. The *yoga* system must have existed long before Patañjali, just as Sanskrit as a language, after several thousand years of development, found Pāṇini to codify its grammatical rules.

The *Chāndogya* (8.15) seems to contain reference to *pratyāhāra* (to be explained later), when it states : *sarvendriyāṇi ṣampratisṭhāpya* (having withdrawn all the senses). The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (1.5.23) appears to refer to *praṇāyāma* when it states : *tasmād=ekam eva vrataṁ caret prāṇyāc=c=aiv=āpānyāc=ca* (therefore a person should observe one vow [namely] inhalation and exhalation). The *Kaṭha* (1.2.12) says : 'The wise man (*dhīra*) reflecting on God (*devam=ātmānam*, Śaṁkara) by means of *yoga*, by concentrating the mind on the inner spirit becomes free from joy and grief,' which reminds one of *Gītā* 6.23. The *Kaṭha* again (6.10.11) states :

When cease the five
[Sense-] knowledges, together with the mind (*manas*)
And the intellect (*buddhi*) stirs not—
That, they say, is the highest course.
This they consider as Yoga—
The firm holding back of the senses.
The one becomes undistracted.
Yoga, truly, is the origin and the end.[1]

the basis of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* in the direction of Vedānta and Tantra, and as such it probably stands as the transitional link through which the Yoga doctrine of the sūtras entered into a new channel in such a way that it could be easily assimilated from there by later development of Vedānta, Tantra, and Śaiva doctrines.' S.N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 235.

[1]Tr. by R.E. Hume. In a footnote Hume (p. 360) states as explanation of 'Yoga truly is the origin and the end': 'Perhaps of, "the world" of beings and experience—here too, as in Māṇḍukya 6, where the phrase occurs. That is: "the world" becomes created for the person when he emerges from the Yoga state, and passes away when he enters into it. Or perhaps the translation should be "an arising and a passing away," i.e. is transitory-according to Saṅkara.'

Madhusūdana *Sarasvatī* ends his comments on *Gītā* 6.26 with these two verses from the *Kaṭha* and states that 'the basis of these two verses are "yoga is restraining the mind-staff (*citta*) from assuming various forms (*vṛttis*)", which is Patañjali's second aphorism.

At the end, the *Kaṭha* (6.18) says :

Then Naciketas, having received this knowledge
Declared by Yama, and the entire rule of Yoga,
Attained Brahma and became free from passion, free from death
And so may any other who knows this in regard to the Soul (*Ātman*)

The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (2.4), while speaking of *vijñānamaya ātmā,* speaks of '*yoga ātmā*' of which the sense is not clear. Śaṁkara in his commentary explains the words as *yogo yuktiḥ samādhānam,*' where *samādhāna* probably means 'deep contemplation'.

The *Śvetāśvatara* (2.8-13) deals with *yoga* in great details as the following translation will show, and refers to *āsana, prāṇāyāma,* as well as the first signs of the successful practice of *yoga* :

Holding his body with the three [upper parts][1] erect,
And causing the senses with the mind to enter into the heart,
A wise man with the Brahma-boat should[2] cross over
All the fear-bringing streams. (8)
Having repressed his breathings in the body, and having his movements checked,[3]
One should breathe through his nostrils with diminished breath[4]
Like the chariot yoked with vicious horses,
His mind the wise man should restrain undistractedly.[5]
In a clean level spot,[6] free from pebbles, fire and gravel,
By the sound of water and other propinquities
Favourable to thought, not offensive to the eye,
In a hidden retreat from the wind, one should practise *yoga.* (10)
Fog, smoke, sun, fire, wind,
Fire-flies, lightning, a crystal, a moon—
These are the preliminary appearances
which produce the manifestation of Brahma in Yoga. (11)
When the five-fold quality of Yoga has been produced,
Arising from earth, water, fire, air, and space,[7]
No sickness, no old age, no death has he
Who has obtained a body made out of the fire of Yoga. (12)

[1]Head, chest, and neck, see *Gītā,* 6.13-15.
[2]*Brahma-uḍupa,* here Brahma stands for *praṇava* mentioned in YS, 1.27.
[3]*Saṁyukta-ceṣṭaḥ,* see *Gītā,* 6.17.
[4]YS, 2.49-51.
[5]*Kaṭha,* 1.3.3-6; YS, 2.52-55; 3.12.
[6]*Gītā,* 6.10-12.
[7]That is, the five cosmic elements.

Lightness, healthiness, steadiness,
Clearness of countenance and pleasantness of voice,
Sweetness of odour, and scanty excretions—
These, they say, are the first stage in the progress of Yoga.[1]

The *Brahmasūtra* (Br. S.2.1.3) states, *etena yogaḥ praty-uktaḥ*, which means 'thereby *yoga* (*smṛti*) is refuted,' that is, by the reasoning adopted for the refutation of the Sāṁkhya system. In 2.3.39, the Br. S. says, *samādhy=abhāvāc=ca*, meaning' and on account of the impossibility of meditation.' Śaṁkara's commentary on 2.1.3 makes it quite clear that what is refuted is Sāṁkhya philosophy which is common to *yoga*, and not the *yoga* practices, while on 2.3.39 he speaks of 'the meditation (*samādhi*) 'taught in the Vedānta texts.' Commenting on Br. S. 1.3.33, Śaṁkara quotes YS. 2.44, and states : 'And that *yoga* does, as *smṛti* declares, lead to the acquirement of extraordinary powers, such as subtlety of body, and so on, (*aṇim=ādy-aiśvarya-prāpti-phalaḥ*) is a fact which cannot be set aside by a mere arbitrary denial (*na śakyaate sāhasa-matreṇa prtyākhyātum*).' Śaṁkara then quotes as his authority the *Śvetāśvatara* 2.13 quoted above. On Br. S. 2.4.12, while explaining 'five functions of the mind' (*pañca-vrttir-manovat*), Śaṁkara seems to prefer YS. 1.6 to *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 1.5.3, following the principle '*paramata-pratisiddhiṁ anumataṁ bhavati*' (the opinion of other [systems] if unobjectionable may be adopted). This indicates that Śaṁkara was willing to admit that the YS. was anterior to the Br. S., but MM. Kane holds, 'for various reasons that the Vedānta Sūtra does not refer to the present Yogasutra, but to the Yoga doctrine that had developed even before the Kaṭha, Muṇḍaka, Śvetāsvatara, and other Upaniṣads.[2]

MM. Kane arrived at this conclusion on the basis of the long tradition that *yoga* was first propounded by Hiraṇyagarbha. The Mbh. 12.326.65 identifies Hiraṇyagarbha with Śrī-Bhagavān and mentions a *yoga-śāstra*. In 12.336.76, the Mbh. states that Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Vedāraṇyaka, and Pañcarātra are one, and are *aṅgas* (limbs) of the Ekāntina religion. In the next chapter (12.337.59-60), however, it is said that, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra, Veda, and Pāśupata were various opinions, of which Sāṁkhya was promulgated by Kapila and Yoga by Hiraṇyagarbha who 'was the ancient knower of Yoga [and] no one else [knew it]'. However, 12.327.64-66 states that the foremost knowers of Yoga and Sāṁkhya are the seven sages, namely, Sana, Sanatsujāta, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra, Kapila, and Sanātana. These chapters, however, belong to the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata*.[3]

[1]YS, 3.46-51. The translation of the *Śvetāśvatara* is by R.E. Hume. There is an elaborate commentary on these passages in a commentary which is ascribed to Śaṁkara. But both MM. Gopinath Kaviraj and MM. Kane have adduced reasons for rejecting Śaṁkara's authorship of the commentary. It may be mentioned that in the present work Śaṁkara invariably means Ādi Śaṁkara.

[2]*HDK*, V, p. 1390.

[3]For a discussion of the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata*, see A.K. Majumdar, *Caitanya, His Life and Doctrine*, Bombay, 1969, pp. 9-20. MM. Kane states that 'in the

The claim of Hiraṇyagarbha as the propounder of *yoga* is supported by later texts. As MM. Kane points out : 'In the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā (XII. 32-33) it is stated that Hiraṇyagarbha first propounded two Yogasaṃhitās, one was called "Nirodhayoga," and the other was called "Karmayoga," the first of which was again divided twelve-fold. The Bhāmatī on V.S.II.1.3 states that that sūtra does not totally negative the authoritativeness of the Yogaśāstra of Hiraṇyagarbha and Patañjali. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (II.13.42-44) appears to quote two verses from Hiraṇyagarbha .... Vācaspati in his commentary on Yogasūtra 1.1 states that Yogi-Yājñavalkya mentions that Hiraṇyagarbha was the propounder of Yoga .... Therefore, it is almost certain that V.S. refutes the doctrines of that Yoga system that was known to the Śāntiparva.'[1]

In support of the Mahāmahopādhyāya's view, it may be stated added here that according to the *Viṣṇudharma-purāṇa, yoga* was originally declared by Hiraṇyagarbha, and was divided into *para* and *apara*. According to Dr. Hazra, 'the date of the composition of the present Viṣṇudharma falls between 200 and 300 AD.'[2] It is also remarkable that, nowhere in the Mbh. is Patañjali's name mentioned, though Kapila is mentioned several times in connection with Sāṁkhya. Śaṁkara, in his comments on Br.S. 4.1.10, states that *padmāsana* etc. are recommended in the Yoga-śāstra, which may be the earlier text referred to in the Mbh., or the *Yoga-śāstra* ascribed to Yājñavalkya in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 3.110. The *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra* (1.8.23.3-6) quotes a verse which states that 'the total destruction of *doṣas* (taints) is due to *yoga* in this life ; a wise man after having expelled all *doṣas* that cause harm to all beings reaches *mokṣa* (peace).' 'The fifteen taints or faults such as anger, ecstatic joy, greed etc., which are destroyed by *yoga* as well as their opposite qualities are then enumerated. Hence MM. Kane concludes : 'This shows that long before the 4th or 5th century B.C., Yoga as a discipline of the mind had been well developed.[3]

Yoga in the Mahābhārata

Though Patañjali is not mentioned in the Mbh., it gives some details of *yoga*. When after losing his kingdom, Yudhiṣṭhira was distraught, Śaunaka, 'who was an expert in Sāṁkhya and Yoga,' spoke to the king and said that '*aṣṭāṅga* (eightfold) *buddhi*,' which was conducive to prosperity coupled with *śruti* and *smṛti* resided in Yudhiṣṭhira (3.2.14 and 17). Here *aṣṭāṅga-buddhi* undoubtedly stands for *yama, niyama* etc. Bhīṣma resorted to *yoga* when he

Anuśāsanaparva Sanatkumāra appears to be connected with Yoga as the founder just as Kapila was the founder of the Sāṁkhya'. In support he quotes, '*Sanatkumāra yogānāṁ sāṁkhyānāṁ kapilo hy=asi*'; *HDK*, V, p. 1391 fn. 2282. But I have not been able to trace this verse.

[1]*HDK*, V, p. 1391. This is corroborated by Śaṁkara's quotation from a *yoga-śāstra* on Br.S. 2.1.3.

[2]R.C. Hazra, op. cit., I, pp. 126 and 143. For definition of *yoga* in the *Viṣṇudharama*, see ibid, pp. 133-34.

[3]*HDK*, V, p. 1390.

decided to prolong his life up to the *uttarāyaṇa* (6.114.112), and so did Bhūriśravā when he decided to give up his life. Bhūriśravā first practised *prāṇāyāma*,[1] then fixed his eyes on the sun, and his mind on water, and established himself in *yoga*. (7.118.17-18).

Of the yogic terms, *pañca-vāyu*, namely, *prāṇa*, *vyāna*, *samāna*, *apāna*, and *udāna* are mentioned in 12.177. 24-5 and 12.193.16, while their functions are described in 12.178.2-16. *Vicāra* and *vitarka*, two graded forms of yogic concentration, are mentioned in 12.188.15, and the next chapter (12.189.4), refers to *sāṁkhya-yoga-kriyā* but the reference is probably to *karma-yoga* and *karma-sannyāsa*. There is probably a reference to the eight temptations of the *yoga-siddhi* in 12.199.21 as suggested by Dr. Belvalkar,[2] and, in the case of failure by other methods, *yoga-tantra* is mentioned in 12.208.20. Ten *nāḍīs* are mentioned in 12.178.15 and ten *dhamanīs* in 12.207.17. Apparently the ten *dhamanīs* feed the five sense-organs with *rasas* from *vāta*, *pitta*, *kapha*, *rakta*, *tvac*, *māṁsa*, *snāyu*, *asthi*, *majjā* and *deha* (12.207.16), but apart from the ten (principal) *dhamanīs* there are thousand *dhamanīs* which have the same function (12.207.17). From the centre of the heart extends the *mano-vaha śirā*, which extends all over the body, conveying thought-matter to all parts of the body (12.207.19, and 22-3). It is evident that in these verses *dhamanī* and *śirā* have been used in the sense of *nāḍī* to be explained later.

In Mbh. 12.231.3, Śukra requests Vyāsa to enlighten him on Sāṁkhya and Yoga, and the latter describes Yoga in the next chapter. Vyāsa's description is essentially on continence, and control of senses. In doing so, he practically agrees with the *Gītā* 16.2-3 (12.232.10) and Manu 2.99 (12.232.14). As a result of yoga, the *yogin* will perceive within himself the *atman* like a smoky fire, a bright sun, or like a flash of lightning (12.232.18) as in the *Śvetāśvatara* 2.11. The *yogin* smells fragrant scents, hears different sounds, and sees distant happenings. He has wonderful sensations of touch, is indifferent to cold or heat, and becomes as light as air. His intellect (*pratibhā*) develops, and covetable things appear before him, but he should not pay any attention to them. He should practise *yoga* thrice daily on the top of a hill, near a *caitya*, or under a tree .... He should live in a mountain cave, in a temple, or in a lonely room .... (cf. *Śvetāśvatara* 2.10). Six months of intense *yoga* practice would 'transcend the Vedas' (*śabda-brahm-ātivartate*, cf., *Gītā*, 6.44). Then it is stated :

api varṇ-āvakṛṣṭas=tu nārī vā dharma kāṁkṣiṇī
tav=apy=etena mārgena gacchetāṁ paramāṁ gatim

(Even a person of the lowest caste or a woman desirous of *dharma* [merit] can attain the highest goal by [following] this *mārga* (system) [i.e. *yoga*]. (12.232.21-32). It seems that this verse has some affinity with Manu 2.223.

[1] *Prāṇan prāṇesv=ath=ājuhot*, Mbh., 7.118.17, are the actual words used. See *Gītā*, 4.30.

[2] *Mbh.* Śāntiparvan, critical notes, pp. 2164-2165.

One of the main problems discussed in the Mbh. is the comparative merits of *karma*, that is Vedic sacrifices, and Sāṁkhya, which is equated with *jñāna*. In 12.233.1-2, in reply to Śukra's question whether there is *dharma* in both *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, Vyāsa says.

karmaṇā badhyate jantur=vidyayā tu pramucyate
tasmāt karma na kurvanti yatayaḥ pāradarśinaḥ (12.233.7)

(*Karman* binds a man [to the stream of life] ; by virtue of *vidyā* he is liberated ; therefore far-sighted sages do not perform *karman*). This verse has been quoted by Sāṁkara on *Bṛhadārāṇyaka* 2.4.1. He has also quoted 12.233.6 and 8 on *Gītā* 2.21 and 3.21 respectively.

However, in the next chapter of the Mbh., Śukra points out that in people's mind, these two doctrines, though Vedic, may appear contradictory. Hence he wanted to know as to how one could attain *mokṣa* in spite of having performed *karman* (12.234.10-11). In reply, Vyāsa first says that *brahmacārin*, householder, *vānaprastha*, and *bhikṣuka*, are all entitled to emancipation. This is followed by a long discourse on the servile attitude which a disciple must adopt towards his *guru* (preceptor) or his son (*gurau vā guru-putra va.* 12.234.16). The following chapters (235 to 238) contain descriptions of the appropriate duties of the four *āśramas*, while from Chapter 239, the exposition of Sāṁkhya doctrine begins. However, Vyāsa (12.242.23) implies that women are capable of knowing Brahman.

Chapter 12.245 is introduced by the commentator Vidyāsāgara as *yogo māhātmyam āha*, and the word *karmabhiḥ* in verse 1 is explained by him as *yogānuṣṭhāna*, and both Vidyāsāgara and Nīlakaṇṭha say that the term *karma* here implies *yama*, *niyama*, *dhāranā*, *āsana* etc. Vyāsa (12.245.5-6) states that whether the *yogins* be under the influence of *pradhāna*, or whether they be on the way to ascend above the *rajas*, consequent upon *karmans*, their self is always under control. It is then stated that, by following the precepts of *śāstra* and *yoga*, the man who controlled himself attained the stage like thunder (*vajr-opamany=api*), as explained (the *kāraṇa-śarīra*) which is indestructible even during *pralaya*. It is then stated that, whatever has been said on *samādhi* is according to Śāṇḍilya, while the last verse states that, he, who has detached himself from *pradhāna*, attains Brahman (12.245.12-4).

Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma to explain the characteristic differences between Sāṁkhya and Yoga (12.289.1) and in reply Bhīṣma begins by saying that Sāṁkhya is praised by the followers of Sāṁkhya and Yoga by the followers of *yoga*.[1] Bhīṣma then adds :

anīśvaraḥ kathaṁ mucyed=ity=evaṁ śatrukarśana
vadanti kāraṇaṁ śraiṣṭhaṁ yogāḥ samyaṁ=manīṣiṇaḥ (12.289.3)

(The *yoga*-knowing sages say that *yoga* is superior because how can an

[1]Bhīṣma actually says: '*sāṁkhyāḥ sāṁkhyaṁ praśaṁsanti yogā yogaṁ dvijātayaḥ*', which would mean that *yoga* was confined to the three upper castes, which seem to be contradicted by the *Mbh.* 12.232.32 mentioned above. But possibly here *dvijāti* has some other connotation and not meant literally.

anīśvara gain liberation.) According to V.M. Bedekar the purport of this verse is : 'The aspirant to *yoga* must be strong in body and mind, and must have mastery and control over himself. One who is weak and feeble-minded cannot attain emancipation by *yoga*.'[1]

Bhīṣma then states that the *yogins* rely on *pratyakṣa* (perceptualized conception), while the followers of Sāṁkhya rely on *śāstra* (rationalized conception) (12.289.7). From the following description, it appears that the *yogins* were expected to have the strength to overcome all sorts of passion, and endure extremes of physical privations, which, by inference, the followers of Sāṁkhya were not. The way of *yoga* is sharper than a razor's edge on which it is very difficult to tread (*kṣuradhārāsu niśitāsu* 12.289.54 ; cf. *Kaṭha*, 1.3.14).

The next several chapters are devoted to the exposition of Sāṁkhya doctrine, which is followed by a discourse by Vasiṣṭha to Karālajanaka, in course of which, Vasiṣṭha, after affirming that there is no difference between Sāṁkhya and Yoga says : *yad=aiva śāstram sāṁkhyoktam yoga-darśanam eva tat* (12.295.42). However, it is added : *asmimś=ca śāstre yogānāṁ punar=dadhi punaḥ saraḥ* (from the point of view of fundamental principles the Yoga is to Sāṁkhya what the crust of the cream is to curd, ; 12.295. 44).[2]

Later, Bhīṣma relates a conversation between Yājñavalkya and Janaka, in course of which Yājñavalkya says that Sāṁkhya *darśana* is *parisaṁkhyā* (enumeration), and that by their knowledge of enumeration the followers of Sāṁkhya attains *kaivalya* (12.303.20). He then states that he would now describe *yoga*. In the next chapter, Yājñavalkya begins by saying that, he has described *Sāṁkhya-jñāna*, and now he would describe *Yoga-jñāna*. Thère is no *jñāna* like Sāṁkhya, and no *bala* (strength) like Yoga. How-

[1]Śāntiparvan, critical edition, introduction, p. CCXLIV. In a footnote Mr. Bedekar adds: 'The word *anīśvara* in this verse has been subjected to various interpretations. The commentators of the *Mbh.* like Nīlakaṇṭha and Arjunamiśra and some modern scholars like E.W. Hopkins, Deussen, A.B. Keith, J.W. Hauer, and W. Ruben interpret the word to mean "Without God." According to them, the verse pointedly sets forth the essential difference between the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga, namely, that the Sāṁkhya is atheistic while the Yoga is theistic. The commentator Vādirāja interprets *anīśvara* as "having no power or knowledge." F. Edgerton ('The Meaning of Sāmkhya and Yoga,' *American Journal of Philosophy*, XLV, 1) interprets *anīśvara* as "the soul." These interpretations, however, do not appear to be convincing in the actual context and the tenor of the adhyaya in which the verse occurs. See V.M. Bedekar, "Theism is no differentia of Yoga" and "Dr. Edgerton's Interpretation of Anīśvara (*Oriental Thought*, V, pp. 12-24, and VI,pp. 45-50).'

We have accepted Mr. Bedekar's interpretation, for, apart from the very substantial reason advanced by him, it appears that those who interpret *anīśvara* as 'without God' are reading into the *Mbh.* much later development of the two systems. The *Mbh.* does not know the classical Sāṁkhya nor Patañjali's Yoga, but the value of the yogic practises were realized. In introducing *Mbh.* 12.289.3 Arjunamiśra says that it is not rational to assert that a person can attain liberation through Sāṁkhya without *yoga-bala*.

[2]See Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary towards the end of the section.

ever, he equates the two systems, and practically repeats *Gītā* 5.5. The sages say that there are eightfold *yoga* in the Vedas, which may be *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa* (*sabīja* and *nirbīja*). Yājñavalkya then refers to *dhāraṇā* and *prāṇāyāma* (12.304.1-9), and later (12.304, 19) practically repeats *Gītā* 6.19.

In the following verses various examples are given to emphasize the need of extreme concentration, which enables a *yogin* to perceive Brahman as a roaring fire amidst darkness. At the end, after a long time, the *yogin* attains *kaivalya* (12.304. 19-27).

Nīlakaṇṭha introduces the next chapter (305) as '*kaivalya prāptim rāja-yoga-phalam uktva haṭha-yoga-phalam āha* (Having stated the *kaivalya*, which is the result of *rāja-yoga*, the result of *haṭha-yoga* is said'). But this *haṭha-yoga* is quite different from the *haṭha-yoga* known to us, except that in four verses at the end it is stated that the *yogin*, can by conquering the elements, gain immortality (12.305.18-21). The main interest of this chapter lies in its description of the destinies of the soul according to the passage by which it leaves the body at the time of death (12.305.1-7), and the evil portents which indicate death[1] (12.305.8-16).

Latter, (12.307.2), Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma as to which of the four processes, namely, *tapas*, *karman*, *śruti*, and *rasāyana-prayoga* (application of medicine) enables a man to escape decrepitude and conquer death. *Tapas* here most probably stands for *yoga*. Unfortunately Bhīṣma's discursive discussion does not answer the question, which, however, shows that medicines were used to prolong youth and life. However, Bhīṣma then relates the story of Sulabhā, who was not only versed in Sāṁkhya philosophy but was also an adept in *yoga*, for she withdrew her 'self' from her body and entered King Janaka's (12.308.16-7), to whom she explained her doctrine.

Definition of Yoga

The word *yoga* has been used in the *Ṛgveda* in various senses, such as 'acquiring what is not already possessed' (RV.1.5.3), and also as 'yoking' (RV. 1.34.9). In the former sense, the word is often used in the *Ṛgveda* with the word *kṣema* sometimes separately (VII. 54.3, VII. 86.8) or as a compound (X. 166.5), just as it has been used in *Gītā* 9.22. However, by the time of Pāṇini, the word *yoga* had attained its technical meaning, and he distinguished the root *yuj samādhau* (*yuj* in the sense of *samādhi*), from *yujir yoge* (root *yujir* in the sense of connecting). The *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini 3.2.142 remarks: *yuj samādhau divādi yujir yoge rudhādi*; *dvayor api grahaṇam* (*yuj* 'to concentrate' is Divādi and *yuj* 'to join' is Rudhādi; both are meant here). However, Dr. Dasgupta has pointed out that '*yuj* in the first sense is seldom used as a verb. It is more or less an imaginary root for the etymological derivation of the word *yoga*.'[2]

Patañjali used the word *yoga* as equivalent to *samādhi*, and this chapter will be mainly concerned with Patañjali's system. Still before proceeding

[1]See below the section under Haṭha-yoga.

[2]Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 226.

further, it has to be pointed out that the word has been used in different senses.

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (*Upaśama*, 78.8) states:

dvau kramau citta-nāśasya yogo jñanañca Rāghava
yogas=tad vṛtti-rodho hi jñānam samyag=avekṣanam

(Rāghava, there are two ways of extinguishing the mind-staff, namely, *yoga* and *jñāna: yoga* is withholding of mentation, and *jñāna* is proper perception [of self].[1]) It may be noted that Nīlakaṇṭha has quoted this verse on Mbh. 12. 289.9.

In YV (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 13.3-7), Vasiṣṭha says: 'Rāma, the means of crossing across *saṁsāra* is known as *yoga*; know that it (*yoga*), which is in the nature of composing the mind, is of two kinds: one of them is the acquisition of the knowledge of the 'self,' while the second consists of breath-control . . . [However], it is commonly accepted that *yoga* means controlling the breath. *Yoga* and *jñāna* produce the same result and either can take a person across the *saṁsāra* (circuit of mundane existence).'

Later, the YV (*Nirvāṇa, Uttara*, 37.1) says: *icchā-viṣa-vikārasya viyogaṁ yoga-nāmakam* (*Yoga* is the dissociation [of the mind] from the modifications of poison like desires). This definition agrees to a great extent with *Gītā* 6.23., and to some extent with *Kaṭha* 1.2.12.

Regarding the difference between the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga, the YV (*Upaśama*, 87. 19) says: *puruṣaḥ sāṁkhya-dṛṣṭināmīśvaro yoga-vādinām* (*Puruṣa* of the Sāṁkhya system and *Īśvara* of the Yoga system).

In the *Gītā*, the word *yoga* has been used in various senses, but being well-known, these need not be discussed here. The Bh. P. XI. 20. 6-8 says that there are only three types of *yoga*. Of these *jñāna-yoga* is for those who have renounced all worldly ties. For those who have not done so, and still desire [various objects in this life or in the next] *karma-yoga* is recommended. *Bhakti-yoga* is for those, who have developed respect for the Lord's words; such persons should perform *karma* [*pūjā* etc.] only so long as respect for the Lord's words is not kindled in them.

Later in the same chapter, the *Bhāgavata* (XI. 20. 17-21) says: 'He destroys his self (*atmahā*) who, having easily obtained this human body which is difficult to get, and having his preceptor as the pilot, does not strive to cross the ocean of this world and sail towards me. Let a *yogin* withdraw himself from actions if he has distaste for them, and then, controlling his senses, let him concentrate his mind on *ātman* by constant practice. If the mind strays, then, while bringing it under control, the *yogin* may fulfil some of the dictates of the mind. The natural propensities of the mind should never be given full

[1]Vasiṣṭha then gives a long explanation of *yoga* as a means of control of breathing. In the next two chapters he describes *jñāna* as investigation of 'self,' as distinct from ego. In *Upaśama*, 78,47-8, Vasiṣṭha says: 'Human life is wrapt (or enclosed) in desire; and liberation is the release (*mokṣa*) of the mind from these; . . . . breathing is the manifestation of mental activity . . . .'

play; by controlling his mind and sense-organs, and by his intellect permeated with *sattva*, the *yogin* should bring the mind under his control. As a horseman breaks his horse [by first letting it have its way and the gradually imposing his will on the horse] similar control of the mind is known as the *parama-yoga*.' These passages of the Bh. P. may be compared with *Gītā* 6. 24-26, and *Kaṭha* 1.3. 3-5.

Later, the connotation of the word *yoga* changed, and according to *tantra* the word meant the union of the *jīva* with *ātman*: *aikyaṁ jīv=ātmanor=ahur=yogaṁ yoga-viśāradaḥ*.[1] The *Mahānirvāṇa* 14. 122 says:

yogo jiv-ātmanor=aikyaṁ pūjanam sevak-eśayoḥ
sarvat brahm=eti viduṣo na yogo na ca pūjanam

(*Yoga* [establishes] union between *jīva* and *ātman*; *pūjā* between the worshipper and the deity. [For] the learned one [who perceives] Brahman everywhere neither *yoga* nor *pūjā* [is necessary].

Like the *tāntrikas* the Sahajiyās gave the highest importance to *yoga*, and their texts declare '*yoga-mārgāt paro mārgo nāsti nāsti śrutau smṛtau*,' and '*yoga-śāstraṁ pathen=nityam kim anyaiḥ śāstra-vistaraiḥ*,[2] ('Vedas and the Dharma-śāstras do not prescribe anything higher than *yoga*,' and 'if one reads the *yoga* text daily, what need has he for other texts'). Their *yoga*, however, meant a process by which they could remove the difference between *jaḍa* (inert matter) and *caitanya*, which, in their terminology, meant the body and the 'intelligent soul'.

Thus *yoga* seems to have been redefined, as *tantra* evolved from *yoga*, as a distinct process of spiritual realization. But the definitions can be reconciled. As MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has remarked: 'But what is Yoga? What is the secret of the great power which is universally attributed to it? What are the natural stages through which the life of a Yogin must, of necessity, pass before it can attain to consummation and realise its community with the essence of the Universal Life and even transcend it? Before these questions are taken up for discussion it should be borne clearly in mind that what ordinarily passes for Yoga in the world around us can hardly be described as such in the real sense of the term. Even if it be not a travesty of the great science it is at least a faint resemblance, mostly artificial, of a rudimentary aspect of the complex psycho-physical discipline which in itself represents only a fragment of the true way to Yoga proper. It is unfortunate that ordinary people, including most of the educated persons of the present day (both of the West and of this country), have all their knowledge of the subject derived from this source. And the effect of this corrupt and vitiated knowledge on their mental outlook has been what might be expected. To understand a subject properly, specially when the subject is of an intricate and extremely delicate character, it is necessary that the mind should be dispossessed of all its pre-conceived notions and predilections and held in

[1]For details see U.K. Das, op. cit., II, p. 970.
[2]Quoted by MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 88.

readiness in an attitude of passive but self-conscious receptivity.

'Yoga is really the establishment of identity, at least of communion, between the individual self (*jivātman*) and the Universal Self (*paramātman*), which pre-supposes a corresponding relation on the lower planes of existence viz., between the mind and the individual self, between the senses and the mind, and between the object and the senses. The individual cannot realise its eternal affinity with the Universal or merge itself in it, unless it can get over the influence of the mind with which it falsely identifies itself. In the same way, the absorption of the mind in the quiet awareness of the Self is not possible so long as, through concentration and consequent self-effacement, it has not got rid of the distracting power of the senses over it. On the lowest level, similarly, the senses cannot calm down and attain to unity with the mind until they are free from the action of the objects of the world outside. All the principles are thus found to be arranged in a concatenated series. In the lowest stage of spiritual perfection, therefore, Yoga may be described in a language which would represent it as the withdrawal of the senses from the external world and their convergence in the mind. Ascending a step higher up, one would find it in the suspension of the modalities of the mind itself and its consequent unity, as it were, with the individual self, from which it appears as distinct only through its workings. When the mind ceases to be active its distinctness as an entity vanishes altogether. But the final and culminating perfection of Yoga does not manifest itself even at this stage, which represents the standpoint of Patañjali and his school. For, with the individual left as separate from the Universal and the Supreme, the higher function of Yoga cannot be stated to have been fulfilled. As soon the artificial barrier raised between the higher and the lower self is demolished, the Pure Self emerges as a radiant and eternally self-aware existence of joy in which the two aspects of its being appear as united in an eternal embrace of ineffable sweetness. This is Yoga in the truest sense of the word.'[1]

Yoga and Tantra

The fundamental principle of Patañjali's yoga is the control of mind by controlling the breath. If breathing is stopped, the mind stops working. Therefore, the frequency of breathing should be gradually diminished. The *yogin* should watch his breathing and should breath as few times as possible, progressively diminishing his rate of breathing, and automatically increasing his capacity to suspend it without feeling any physical discomfort. 'That the autonomic system could be controlled through the slender connection with the nervous system was a great discovery of the Yoga system, and it still retains its title to the sole possession of the technique to bring that about.'[2]

[1]G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, pp. 116-17.

[2]H.D. Bhattacharya, Yoga Psychology, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, III, 2nd ed., p. 80. The last part of the sentence may not be quite correct, for the Qabalists had and still have their own system of breath control. But their system is neither well-known nor popular.

A *tāntrika*, as stated above, must be a *yogin*, that is, he must gain complete mastery over his mind by controlling his breathing. But thereafter, the *tāntrika* will go further in quest of Kuṇḍalinī-śakti, the divine energy, which is latent in every human being. The static Kuṇḍalinī has to be converted into a dynamic force of such magnitude that She can pierce the six plexuses (*cakras*), and unite with the 'pure intelligence' which dwells inside one's cranium.

As stated above, the dates of the beginning of the *yoga* or the *tantra* system are not known. Both the systems may have had their origin at about the same period, though the fully developed *tantra* system is much later than Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*. Secondly, there is no precision about *tantra* as there is about Patañjali's *yoga*. Therefore, unlike *tantra*, Patañjali's *yoga* system leaves no scope for misunderstanding. This is due to Patañjali, and we must now turn to his celebrated *Yogasūtra*.

Patañjali and His Commentators

The *yoga* system, as stated above, existed in a developed form before Patañjali. However, the great importance of his contribution may be judged by the explanation of his name by the commentators: *patantaḥ añjalayaḥ yasmai* (for whom the hands are folded as a mark of reverence). He was indeed worthy of his name. He not only collected the different forms of *yoga* practices, but arranged them systematically, and defined the terms precisely. Patañjali did not create a system, but only systematized the observable data as he had them, or, one might say, realized them by experience. Throughout the aphorisms, there is a stamp of final authority. The fourth chapter of the *Yogasūtra* is slightly discursive, and Dr. Dasgupta has suggested that it may have been a later addition.[1]

That Patañjali was not the originator of the *yoga* system is not a new discovery. Vācaspati, in commenting on YS 1.1 ascribes *yoga* to Hiraṇyagarbha on the authority of Yogi-Yājñavalkya whom it is difficult to identify with the great *smṛti* writer.[2] However, neither Patañjali nor his earliest commentator, namely, Vyāsa, says anything about the origin of Yoga. Vācaspati was writing in the 9th century AD, when it had become an almost established rule to invoke divine origin for a scientific treatise. This tendency is observable in the political field also. The great dynasties like the Mauryas and the Guptas did not claim any divine origin, but later almost all the royal dynasties claimed divine origin. It seems to us most probable that up to the time of Patañjali, *yoga* system was handed down from preceptor to disciple, as indeed even today certain *yoga* practices, like *prāṇāyāma*, although mentioned by Patañjali, has to be practised under the supervision of a competent teacher. There may have been a *Yoga-śāstra*, but apparently it was not satisfactory. Hence Patañjali arranged the *yoga* practises systematically in the form of easily remembered aphorisms. He believed in the Sāṁkhya system of philos-

[1] S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 230.
[2] *HDK*, V, p. 1408.

ophy, and grafted *yoga* to Sāṁkhya. Patañjali's adherence to the Sāṁkhya system is not surprising, for, at a certain period of our ancient history, Sāṁkhya doctrine became so dominating, that the Śāntiparva of the *Mahābhārata* only discusses Sāṁkhya, and never mentions Vedānta. However, as we have seen, the Mbh. observes some link between Sāṁkhya and Yoga. Patañjali imparted to these links the hardness and durability of steel.

The main controversy regarding Patañjali's date revolves round the question of the identity of the author of the *Yoga-sūtra* and that of the *Mahābhāṣya*. On this Dr. Dasgupta states: 'So far as I have examined the *Mahābhāṣya*, I have not been able to discover anything there which can warrant us in holding that the two Patañjalis cannot be identified .... I am also convinced that the writer of the *Mahābhāṣya* knew most of the important points of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga metaphysics .... There is also this external similarity, that unlike any other work they both begin their works in a similar manner (*atha yogānuśāsanam* and *atha śābdānuśāsanam*)—"now begins the compilation of the instructions of Yoga" (*Yogasūtra*)—and "now begins the compilation of the instruction of words (*Mahābhāṣya*)." ' Hence Dr. Dasgupta concludes that 'since there is no evidence which can stand in the way of identifying the grammarian Patañjali with the *yoga* writer, I believe that we may take them as being identical.'[1] MM. Kane, after examining most of the currently authoritative theories regarding the identity of Patañjali, agrees with Dr. Dasgupta.[2]

Several commentaries have been written on the *Yogasūtra* of which the earliest and the most important is by Vyāsa, who was different from the author of the *Mahābhārata*. His date is not known, but since he quotes a verse from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (on YS 1.28), he may be assigned to the 4th century AD. Vācaspati Miśra (AD 841) wrote a sub-commentary called the *Tattvavaiśāradi* on Vyāsa's commentary or *bhāṣya*. Among other commentaries are the *Rājamārtaṇḍa* or the *Bhojavṛtti* by the Paramāra emperor Bhoja (12th century), the *Yogavārttika* by Vijñānabhikṣu, and the *Chāyāvyākhyā* by Nāgeśa (17th century). Of these commentaries, the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* is the most important and popular. Several commentaries on the YS. have been written in the modern age, of which the most important is by Swami Vivekananda.

Varieties of Yoga

The word *yoga* is applied to many matters in an extended sense. For example, the *Gītā* is described as a *yoga-śāstra* at the end of each chapter (which was probably done by Śaṁkara). The *Gītā*, as is well known, deals with Karma-yoga, Bhakti-yoga, Jñāna-yoga, and Rāja-yoga.

The YV (*Upaśama*, 55.7) describes a state called *turīyātīta* in which the pure intellect identifies itself with all objects, but this stage can be reached in deep *samādhi*. The saint Uddālaka, having reached this stage, decided to give up his body. He then entered a cave, and sitting in a lotus posture on a seat of dried leaves, shut the nine organs or sense-apertures. He then compressed

[1] S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, pp. 232 and 238.
[2] *HDK*, V, 1395-398.

all the senses (like touch etc.) into the single sense of perception, closed [the channel of his] vital breath, and with erect head, fixed the tip of his tongue to his palate, and sat with blooming countenance. By the stopping of his breath and his intellectual cognizance of the unity of the self he reached the state of bliss, [where he dwelt for a time] till his soul left his body. (YV, *Upaśama*, 55.14-29).

It may be stated here that there are three stages of consciousness, waking, sleeping, and dream. Beyond these is the *turīya* or the fourth stage, and according to the YV, the fourth stage is reached by constant practice of *yoga*. The soul of the *yogin* who reaches the fourth stage is full of joy, with his mental faculties at rest. He is in raptures, and giddy with delight, and looks upon the whole creation as an exhibition of play and pageantry. He is free from sorrow and fear, has passed beyond the errors and troubles of the world, and spurns all worldly objects. But having reached this state, the *yogin*, after some time, becomes joyless, and hankers for a higher state of felicity, even though he is released from the chain of rebirth, and transformed to an essence of supreme ecstacy and pure fervour, and becomes like a mass of salt in water. This is known as the *jīvan-mukta* stage. Beyond this stage is the *turīyātīta* stage or the stage of the *videhamuktas* (YV, *Upaśama*, 70.20-33; 71.1-5).

These stages are known to Vedānta, and are not discussed by Patañjali. However, as the YV says, these stages are also attainable by *yoga*, of which a short account is also given as noted above.

The YV again says (*Nirvāṇa*, *Pūrva*, 101, 59-60) that 'the intellect is ever active (lit. vibrating *sa-spanda*), hence it is called *cit* ; [but] words fail to describe the *turīyātīta* stage. It is the long study of scriptures, association with holy men, and by continuous practice of yoga (*abhyāsa-yoga*) that the intellect becomes free of impurities to shine like the rising moon.'

Abhyāsa-yoga is again mentioned in YV, *Nirvāṇa*, *Uttara*, 47.33., where it is stated that 'a man of discrimination gives away his wealth and begs for his vegetable food (*śāka*) ; and by habitual practice (*abhyāsa-yoga*) [of charity] he is ever ready to part with the flesh of his own body [as charity].' Here the term *abhyāsa* indicates constant repetition of an action, while earlier (*Nirvāṇa*, *Pūrva*, 11.1), the term indicated continuous concentration upon an idea, like 'I am Brahman, and everything is Brahman.'

The importance of the term *abhyāsa-yoga* is that, the word *abhyāsa* is used in YS.1.12, which is practically an adaptation of *Gītā* 6.35, The *Gītā*, however, uses the phrase *abhyāsa yoga* at least twice (8.8 ; 12.9), in the sense it has been used in the YV. Commenting on *Gītā* 6.35. Śaṁkara says that *abhyāsa* is the 'mental repetition of the same idea'; and he explains *vairāgya* as 'aversion to seen (i.e. felt) and unseen (i.e. not yet experienced) pleasure [induced by] habitual (*abhyāsād*) perception of their defects.' In the next verse (6.36), the *Gītā* says that, it is practically impossible to succeed in *yoga*, unless the mind is controlled, hence *abhyāsa* must be taken as a principal aid towards that end.

Commenting on *Gītā* 8.8, Śaṁkara explains *abhyāsa-yoga* as steady and immutable dedication of mind (*citta*) to a single idea [Kṛṣṇa or Brahman] to the exclusion of any other thought. This agrees with his definition of *dhyāna* on *Gītā* 13.24, where he describes it as detaching the mind (*manas*) from the sense-organs, and concentrating it on the inward consciousness like the continuous flow or dripping of oil (*taila-dhārāvat*).

Commenting on *Gītā* 12.9, Śaṁkara explains *abhyāsa-yoga* as 'repeated practice of attaching the mind to a single idea to the exclusion of all others.' This definition agrees with that of YV *Nirvāṇa, Pūrva* 11.1., while the others correspond to the other passages of the YV mentioned above.

The *Viṣṇudharama-purāṇa* describes the Kriyā-yoga. This Kriyā-yoga is said to have been described by Brahmā, from whom it came down to Prahlāda through Svārociṣa Manu, Ṛtacakṣus, Śukra and others. It includes the construction of images and temples of Viṣṇu with different materials, bathing of an image of Visnu with *ghī* and milk on different occasions, offering of various articles (including different kinds of cloth viz., *dukūla, paṭṭa, kauśeya, kārpāsika* etc.), and of select flowers and leaves (including those of Tulasī and Kāla-tulasī). This description of the Kriyā-yoga practically agrees with Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's explanation of *abhyāsa-yoga* given in his commentary on *Gītā* 12.9. However, the *Viṣṇudharma-purāṇa* also directs that a worshipper should contemplate on Brahman during worship and practice *yama, niyama* and the other means of attaining yoga, namely *āsana, prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, dhyāna,* and *samādhi.*[1]

The *Kriyā-yoga-sāra,* which claims to belong to the *Padma-purāṇa,* extols *kriya-yoga* over *dhyāna-yoga.* It consists of 1. worship of Gaṅgā, Śrī, and Viṣṇu; 2. donation ; 3. devotion to *brāhmaṇas*; 4. observance of the *ekādaśī-vrata*; 5. regard for the Dhātrī (Āmalaka) tree and Tulasī plant ; and 6. hospitality to guests.[2]

The *Brahmanāradīya-purāṇa* (Chapter 31) distinguishes between the *kriyā-yoga* and the *jñāna-yoga,* and gives a detailed treatment of *yoga,* with the names of thirty kinds of *āsanas.*[3]

The *Devī-purāṇa* describes the *Śaiva-yoga* in ten sections, in which the main topics dealt with are : 1. description of the nature of Śiva after the concepts of Puruṣa and Prakṛti of Sāṁkhya : 2. rules to be observed during the practice of *Śaiva-yoga*; 3. method of its practice, including the names of such *āsanas* as *padmaka, svastika, sthalika, jalika, pīṭhārdha, candradaṇḍa,* and *sarvatobhadra* ; 4. realization of Śabda-brahma and Para-brahma by forsaking the objects of enjoyment ; 5. method and results of meditation on

[1]R.C. Hazra, op. cit., I, pp. 126-27.

[2]ibid, pp. 269-70.

[3]ibid, p. 315. According to MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Kriyā-yoga,* which consists of *tapas, svādhyāya,* and *īśvara-praṇidhāna,* is not sufficient to destroy the impressions created by the nescience on memory. But the *kriyā-yoga* is not without its utility: it destroys the gross forms of the impressions, whereupon those assume subtle forms, which are destroyed by *prasaṁkhyāna* or the *jñānāgni* (fire of knowledge). G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti aur Sādhanā,* Patna, 1963, p. 388.

Oṁkāra ; 6. *Yoga-dvāra-darśana* ; 7. *upasarga-jaya, dhāraṇā* etc. The *Devī-purāṇa* (10.1.16) says : '*ati prasaṅgo jñāneṣu na kāryaḥ siddhim icchatā*' (one desiring success [in *yoga*] should not devote himself too much to the acquirement of knowledge).[1]

The *Māṇḍukya-kārikā* (3.39) speaks of the *Asparaśa-yoga,* which is said to be 'hard to be attained by all *yogins.* The *yogins* are afraid of it, for they see in it fear, where there is really fearlessness.' Commenting on it, Śaṁkara says that 'the *yogins* shrink from it, which is free from all fear, for they think that this *yoga* brings about the annihilation of their self. In other words, those *yogins,* who are devoid of discrimination, apprehend the destruction of their self (ego) and are afraid of it (Asparśa-yoga), which is in reality fearlessness.' Śaṁkara evidently implies, that when the ego sense is removed, the sense of duality disappears, hence there cannot be any fear. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj is of the view that *Asparśa-yoga* is a form of *asamprajñāta* or *nirvikalpa samādhi* mentioned by Patañjali.[2]

Rāja-yoga

The Yoga system of Patañjali is known as the Rāja-yoga, which means 'king among the systems of *yoga.*' This appellation is quite appropriate, for even today Rāja-yoga, or some of its variations, form the basis of all types of Hindu *sādhanā.* For example, Sadānanda in his *Vedāntasāra* (81) prescribes Patañjali's 'eight limbs' (*aṣṭāṅga*) as the means to attain *samādhi.* It is possibly not without significance, that the only Sanskrit text Swami Vivekananda translated was the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali.[3]

We are here concerned only with the technical aspects of *yoga* as given by Patañjali. According to him (YS. 2.29), yoga has eight limbs: *yama-niyama-āsana-prāṇāyāma-pratyāhāra-dhāraṇā-dhyāna-samādhayo'ṣṭāv-aṅgāni.* Therefore, Patañjali's system is sometimes referred to as the Aṣṭāṅga-yoga, or the 'Yoga of eight limbs.' It is interesting to note that the *Maitrī Upaniṣad* (6.18) gives a different order of priorities, namely, *prāṇāyāma, dhyāna, dhāraṇā, tarka,* and *samādhi.* The addition of *tarka* (rationalization) is possibly due to the difference in the outlook of practitioners of Rāja-yoga and Jñāna-yoga, but as Sadānanda's work quoted above shows, ultimately even the *jñana-yogins* adopted Patañjali's system.

We shall now explain the terms mainly according to Vyasa's commentary.

[1]R.C. Hazra, op. cit., II, p. 42 fn. 120.

[2]G. Kaviraj, *Bharatiya Saṁskṛti aur Sādhanā,* p. 383. A person becomes fearless when he overcomes the sense of duality. See *Taittirīya upaniṣad,* 2.4. In the following prose passage the *Taittirīya* says: *yoga ātmā,* which is explained by Śaṁkara as: *yogo yuktiḥ samādhānam* (*yoga* is 'union' or 'putting together'). R.E. Hume translates *yoga ātmā* as: 'contemplation (*yoga*) the body (*ātman*)' which is not very satisfactory.

[3]It is important to remember that Swami Vivekananda was a *vedāntin* not a *rāja-yogin,* which he practically admitted when he said: 'What little I know I will tell you. So far as I can reason it out I will do so; but as to what I do not know I will simply tell you what the books say.' Swami Vivekananda, *Rāja-Yoga, Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda,* Birth centenary edition, I, p. 134.

i. *Yama* (forbearance) has been defined as *ahiṁsā-saty-āsteya-brahmacarya-āparigrahā*. (2.30)

Ahiṁsā means not only non-violence or non-injury, but it also means absence of malice or mischievous intent at all times against all living beings (*ahiṁsā sarvathā sarvadā sarva-bhūtānām anabhidrohaḥ*). Vyāsa adds that the basis of *yama* and *niyama* is *ahiṁsā*.

Satya (veracity) means the conformity of mind and speech to what has been seen, concluded, and heard. Speech is intended to convey to others what the speaker feels. A speech is true if it is not intended to delude or deceive others, nor false if it is for universal good and not for destruction of life. For if a speech fulfils other requirements but still leads to loss of life, it is not *satya* but *pāpa* (evil), and such a statement being a fallacious substitute for veracity (*puṇyābhasa*) leads to hell. Hence truth must lead to universal good. If such *ahiṁsā* is not limited by *jāti* (class or rank), place, time, or compact it is known as *mahā-vrata* or the 'great vow (universal great moral duty).'

Steya is illegally taking away another person's property,—its negation or contradiction and want of greed is *asteya* (non-stealing).

Brahmacarya (continence) is the control of sexual urge. Explaining *brahmacarya* Swami Vivekananda says: 'A man who wants to be a perfect Yogi must give up the sex idea. The soul has no sex; why should it degrade itself with sex idea?'[1]

Aparigraha (non-coveting) means the non-appropriation of wealth by visualizing the faults of earning, maintaining, spending, and *himsa* (violence) inherent in it.

ii. *Niyama*: The YS.2.32 explains *niyama* (usually translated as 'religious observances') as *śauca-santoṣa-tapaḥ-svādhyāy-eśvara-praṇidhānāni*.

Śauca (purification) is of two kinds : internal and external. External purification consists in cleaning of the body by earth (i.e. detergents) and water, and eating of pure food. Internal purification is the cleansing of the mind of all impure thoughts. Swami Vivekananda says : 'A dirty man will never be a Yogi.'

Santoṣa is 'contentment,' that is, the state of satisfaction of mind when it does not desire beyond what has been obtained.

Tapas is 'austerity' or 'mortification,' that is, bringing the body, passions etc. into subjection by self-denial and discipline. It consists in the ability to withstand *dvandva*, that is, a pair of opposite conditions or qualities like hunger and thirst, heat and cold, sitting and standing, observing silence, and the observance of certain vows.

Svādhyāya is the study of *mokṣa-śāstras* (like Upaniṣads) or the inaudible muttering (*japa*) of *Praṇava* (the sacred syllaby *Om*).

[1]For translation of YS by Swami Vivekananda see ibid, p. 200 ff. For *brahmacarya* see G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti aur Sādhanā*, pp. 389-92. The *Praśnopaniṣad* 1.13 says: '. . . . Verily, they waste their life who join in sexual enjoyment by day; it is chastity [*brahmacarya*] that they join in sexual enjoyment by night., tr. by R.E. Hume.

Iśvara-praṇidhāna is the dedication of all work (*karman*) to the *parama-guru.*

To obstruct thoughts, which are inimical to *yoga* (like 'I shall kill him', 'I shall make a false statement to punish this man,' 'I shall rob him', 'I shall make love to his wife') contrary thoughts (like 'Burning in the roaring fire of *saṁsāra*, I have taken refuge in *yoga*; having given up *hiṁsā* etc., I am again adopting them, like a dog eating its own spew',) should be brought up. (YS, 2.33-34)

The YS, 2.35-45 then describes the merits which one attains by observing *yama* and *niyama*, which are as follows :

Even animals become peaceful before a man who is firmly established in the ideal of non-injuring others. Swami Vivekananda says: 'The tiger and the lamb will play together before that Yogi.'

By the establishment of truthfulness, the *yogin* sets the power of attaining for himself and others the fruits of work without the works. Swami Vivekananda says that if a *yogin* says to a diseased person 'Be thou cured,' he will be cured immediately.

By the establishment of non-stealing, all wealth comes to the *yogin.*

By the establishment of continence (*brahmacarya*). energy is gained. Swami Vivekananda says : 'Without chastity there can be no spiritual strength .... The spiritual leaders of men have been very continent, and this is what gave them power.'

When the *yogin* is established in non-receiving (*aparigraha*), he gets the memory of past life. Swami Vivekananda says: 'With every gift, he is likely to receive the evils of the giver. If he does not receive, the mind is purified, and the first power it gets is the memory of past life.... He sees that he has been coming and going many times, so he becomes determined that this time he will be free, that he will no more come and go, and be the slave of Nature.'

From internal and external cleanliness (*śauca*) arises disgust for one's own body, and for non-intercourse with others. There also arises purification of the mind (*sattva*), cheerfulness, concentration, mastery over the organs (*indriyajaya*), and fitness for the realization of the Self.

From contentment (*santoṣa*) is acquired superlative happiness. To illustrate this aphorism, Vyāsa quotes from the *Mahābhārata* (12.171.51) :

yac=ca kāma-sukhaṁ loke yac=ca divyaṁ mahat-sukham
tṛṣṇā-kṣaya-sukhasy=aite n=ārhataḥ soḍaśī kalām

(Whatever happiness is gained by enjoying all the desired objects in this world, and whatever great pleasures are obtainable in heaven, all those are not even one-sixteenth of happiness which accrues from the destruction of desires.)

The result of austerity (*tapas*) is perfection of the physical senses by the removal of impurity. Swami Vivekananda says: 'The results of mortification are seen immediately sometimes by heightened powers of vision, hearing things at a distance, and so on.'

By the repetation of the *mantra* (*svādhyāya*) comes the realization of the

desired deity (such as *devas*, *ṛṣis*, and *siddhas*), who help the *yogin*. Swami Vivekananda says : 'The higher the beings that you want to get, the harder is the practice.' It may be noted that Śaṁkara has quoted this aphorism (*sāvdhyāy-ādiṣṭa-devatā-samprayogaḥ*, YS.2.44) in his commentary on Br.S. 1.3.33.

By persevering devotion to Īśvara (*Īśvara-praṇidhānāt*, which Swami Vivekananda renders as 'by sacrificing all to Īshwara'), comes *samādhi*. Swami Vivekananda says : 'By resignation to the Lord, Samādhi becomes perfect.'

It may be stated here that, Manu (4.204) provided that 'a wise man should always practise the *yamas* but not the *niyamas* always; one who only practises *niyamas* and does not practise the *yamas* incurs sin (or falls into hell).' Manu does not enumerate the *yamas* and the *niyamas*, but Yājñavalkya (3. 312-13) enumerates ten *yamas* and ten *niyamas*. The *yamas*, according to Yājñavalkya, are: *brahmacarya* (celibacy), *dayā* (mercy), *kṣānti* (forgiveness), *dāna* (charity) *satya* (truthfulness), *akalkatā* (integrity) *ahiṁsā* (abstention from injury), *asteya* (non-stealing), *mādhurya* (sweetness of temper) and *dama* (restraint of external senses). The *niyamas* according to Yājñavalkya are: *snāna* (bathing), *mauna* (silence), *upavāsa* (fasting), *ijyā* (performance of sacrifice), *svādhyāya* (study of scriptures), *upastha-nigraha* (suppression of sexual urge), *guru-śuśruṣā* (serving the teacher), *akrodha* (absence of anger), and *apramādatā* (vigilance).

Several other definitions of *yama* and *niyama* are given by Manu's commentators, but those need not be considered here, as Yājñavalkya's definition is all inclusive. It is interesting to note that Yājñavalkya's definitions of *yama* and *niyama* were adopted by the *Śākta-upa-purāṇa*, the *Devi-purāṇa*. According to the *Devī-purāṇa*, however, *yama* and *niyama* included various *vratas*, a list of which is given.[1]

Āsana: According to the YS. 2.46, *āsana* or 'posture' is that which is stable (and steady), easy, and comfortable. However, the YS does not mention any *āsana* by name, though Vyāsa in his commentary mentions twelve *āsanas* and indicates by the word *ādi* that he knew of more *āsanas*, which are not mentioned but included in later Haṭha-yoga texts, to be mentioned later.

The importance of a fixed posture for the purpose of meditation was recognized quite early, and the *Śvetāśvatara* (2.8) recommends one to 'hold his body steady with the three [upper parts, namely, hand, neck, and chest] erect.' This agrees with the *Gītā* (6.13), where the word *āsana* (6.11) is used in the sense of a seat.[2]

The Br. S. 4.1.7 to 4.1.11 deals with *āsana*. Commenting on 4.1.7 (*āsīnaḥ sambhavāt*), Śaṁkara explains that a sitting posture is necessary, because a man is incapable of meditating "when he is going (i.e. walking) or running.

[1]R.C. Hazra, op. cit., II, p. 66.

[2]Here it may be mentioned that *Gītā* 6.13 taken literally would mean that one should try to observe the tip of one's nose. But Śaṁkara in his commentary points out that such is not the case. According to a famous *yogin*, 'tip of the nose' means the spot where the nose joins the forehead, and not the spot above the nostrils.

The mind of a standing man, again, is directed towards maintaining the body in an erect position, and therefore incapable of reflection on any subtle matter. A man lying down finally, is unawares overcome by slumber. A sitting person, on the other hand, may easily avoid these several untoward occurrences, and is therefore in a position to carry on meditations. However, Śaṁkara's reference to *Gītā* 6.11 in his comments on Br. S. 4.1.10 shows that he had in mind the prescription of the *Gītā* though he mentions the *padmāsana*, and refers to a *Yogaśāstra*.

It has been pointed out that in Āgama worship only *padmāsana* is used, since the *mantra* for consecrating the seat is, '*ādhāra-śakti-kamalāsanāya namaḥ*' (I bow to lotus-posture, the supporting power).[1] However, the *Brahmanāradīya*, a Vaiṣṇava *upa-purāṇa* written between AD 750 to 900, mentions thirty kinds of *āsanas* in its detailed treatment of *yoga*, which is divided into *kriyā-yoga* and *jñāna-yoga*.[2] As the *Brahmānāradīya* is very antagonistic to the *tāntrikas* and the Buddhists, it appears during this period, a sharp distinction was sought to be maintained between *tantra* and *yoga*.

The *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā* (1. 19-55) describes seventeen *āsanas*, including two varieties of *siddhāsana* and two of *padmāsana*, one of which is ascribed to Matsyendranāth. The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (2. 1-2) states that Śiva described eighty-four lacs of *āsanas* of which 84 are particularly beneficial, but of these only thirty-two are suitable for men. It then describes the thirty-two *āsanas*, many of which are described in modern books on *yoga*. At the end, the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* describes the *yogāsana*, which is a very simple sitting posture.

It is apparent that the first thirty-one *āsanas* described by the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* were in the nature of physical exercises, while a simple *āsana* was considered sufficient for *yoga* or concentration. This conclusion would explain as to why Patañjali did not give any instruction on *āsanas*.

According to the *yogins*, an *āsana* practised for a long time removes *rajo-guṇa* (passion) (*āsanena rajo hanti*)[3] by helping to overcome the tremors of the body and mental disturbances, which is also indicated by Patañjali (YS, 2.47).

Patañjali says (2.48) that when a person has perfect control or command over an *āsana*, he is not assaulted by dualities [like heat or cold].

iv. *Prāṇāyāma*: The word *prāṇāyāma* is derived from the root *an* (to breathe) with the prefix *pra*, and literally means the 'restraint or pause of *prāṇa*.'

The YS. 2.49 states: '[When the stability of *āsana* has been assured (or secured)] *prāṇāyāma* is the pause (lit. cutting off) in the movement of inhalation and exhalation'.

Swami Vivekananda says: 'Prana is not breath, though it is usually so translated. It is the sum total of the cosmic energy. It is the energy that is in each body, and its most apparent manifestation is the motion of the lungs.

[1] *The Cultural Heritage of India*, IV, p. 450, fn. 22.
[2] R.C. Hazra, op. cit., I, pp. 315 and 344.
[3] Gopinath Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti aur Sādhanā*, p. 396.

This motion is caused by Prana drawing in the breath, and it is what we seek to control in Pranayama. We begin by controlling the breath as the easiest way of getting control of the Prana.'

Prāṇāyāma consists of *pūraka* (inhaling), *recaka* (exhaling), and *kumbhaka* (holding the breath). Neither Patañjali nor Vyāsa use these terms. These three processes in breathing are referred to in YS. 2.50 as *bāhyavṛtti*, *antaravṛtti*, and *stambhavṛtti*, and Vyāsa explains the term as *praśvāsa*, *śvāsa* and the 'absence of either' as *prāṇāyāma* respectively. However, Bhoja explains *bāhyavṛtti* as *śvāsa* or *recaka*, and *stambhavṛtti* as *kumbhaka*. Patañjali further says that these three processes should be regulated by place, time, and number. By place is meant that the *prāṇa* is retained in some particular part of the body like the heart or the navel or the *mūlādhāra*; by time is meant the duration, while 'number' means the frequency of breathing during that particular period. Swami Vivekananda says: 'The result of this Pranayama is Udghāta, awakening the Kuṇḍalinī.' In his main work, he has instructed: 'In one Pranayama, repeat three Gayatris.'[1]

The *Gītā* 4.29 describes *prāṇāyāma* as cessation of breathing that is, *kumbhaka*, and uses the word *prāṇa* as inhalation and *apāna* as exhalation, The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (1.6.3.3), however, states: *praṇāpānau me pāhi samānavyānau me pāhy=udāna-vyānau me pāhi*. Commenting on this Sāyaṇa writes: 'There is only one air, which is known as *prāṇa* etc. due to its location in various parts of the body, and its various actions. Someone says it is due to the difference in place. *Prāṇa* is (located) in the heart, *apāna* in anus, *ṣamāna* in navel, *udāna* in the region of the throat, (while) *vyāna* is (distributed) all over the body.' This is stated in a verse which evidently Sāyaṇa has quoted from some authority. He then continues: 'Inhalation and exhalation are the functions of *prāṇa*, downward motion of the excreta of *apāna*, distribution of the sap (*rasa*) of the digested food throughout the body of *samāna*, and belching and hiccup of *udāna*. The function of *prāṇa* and *apāna* covers all the *nāḍīs*. At the time of articulation (*sandhi-kāle*), *vyāna's* function is to provide strength to the body.' Sāyana here relies on the *Chāndogya* 1.3.3 which states: 'But one should also reverence *vyāna* as an *udgītha*. When one breathes in—that is *prāṇa*. When one breathes out—that is *apāna*. The junction (*sandhi*) of *prāṇa* and *apāna* is *vyāna*. Therefore one utters speech without out-breathing (*apāna*).' The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 1.5.3, however, states: 'The *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *udāna*, *samāna* and *ana*, all these are really *prāṇa* (vital force).' It agrees with the interpretation of *prāṇa* given by Swami Vivekananda mentioned above.

The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (3.4.1. 3-4) again mentions the airs in connection with the parts of animals to be offered in a sacrifice and states: 'In front is *prāṇa*, behind *apāna* . . . just as an emperor appoints officials [saying], "Rule over so many and so many villages," similarly *prāṇa* appoints

[1]Swami Vivekananda, *Rāja-Yoga*, p. 191. Swami Vivekananda's translation of Gāyatrī is: 'We meditate on the glory of that Being who has produced this universe; may He enlighten our minds.' This is in conformity with Yājñavalkya, 1.22-3. See also *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 5.14.3.

the inferior *prāṇas* for performing different functions: *apāna* in the organ of excretion: *prāṇa* itself is located in the eye, the ear, the mouth, and the nose: between them is the *samāna*.'

In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 25.2-20), the bird Bhuśuṇḍa says to Vasiṣṭha: '*Prāṇa*, O Brāhmaṇa, is a vibrating energy (*spanda-śakti*) by its nature, constantly in motion, and pervades the inside of the upper part of bodies. The *apāna* also is a vibrating energy and is both inside and outside of the lower part of the bodies. It is good to perform *prāṇāyāma* both while awake and while sleeping, and now I shall tell you how it is to be done.

'*Prāṇa* extends from the lotus like heart to the crevices of the cranium; its effort to come out (by mouth and nostril) is termed *recaka*. The contact of *prāṇa* and body at the distance of twelve digits (*aṅgula*) [from the tip of the nose] is called *pūraka*. It is also called *pūraka* when effortlessly the breath passes from without, and entering the body fills the inside from the heart to the cranium.

'When the *apāna* has subsided, and *prāṇa* does not circulate in the heart, it is called *kumbhaka*, [this state is] felt by the *yogins*. Outside, twelve (digits) from where it takes rise (it, that is the vital air) exists as *recaka*, *pūraka* and *kumbhaka*. (The commentary explains that twelve digits from the tip, of the nose is indicated.) . . . . The air which is inhaled from the distance of twelve digits from the tip of the nose is by nature *pūraka*. As the outer part of a pot planted in the earth appears to sight, so the *apāna*, streching for twelve digits just opposite the tip of the nose in the air, is called *kumbhaka* by the learned.

'The air which extends up to the tip of the nose [from twelve digits outside it] is called external and primary (*bāhya* and *ādi*) by the *yogins*. There is another external *pūraka* which rises from the tip of the nose and extends up to twelve digits outside it. [The intervening period] when the *prāṇa* has subsided, and the *apāna* has not set in is the state of perfect equilibrium and is known as *kumbhaka*. The (breath) which (flows) inward before the rise of *apāna* is known as *bāhya* (external) *apāna*; (even its) reflection (i.e., meditation upon it) confers liberation.

'Another (breath which) arises twelve digits outside (the tip of the nose, and) has form (*rūpa*) and density (*pīvara*) is known as another *pūraka*.

'He, who knows these external and internal *kumbhakas* etc. and the nature of *prāṇa* and *apāna*, is never reborn. These eight (forms) of the natural (course of) winds of the body (*deha-vāyu*), to be contemplated day and night, have been said by me as a means of liberation.'[1]

In an earlier passage, the (YV *Upaśama*, 54.37-8), describing the results of *kumbhaka* says that, in *kumbhaka* one 'receives the light of the soul, which radiates in the form of flowers before one's mental vision.' Proceeding further

[1]We are using the Bangabasi edition edited by Pañcānan Tarkatīrtha in which the arrangement of the verses in this chapter differs slightly from the Bombay edition of 1918 by Wasudeva Laxman Sastri Pansikar with the Tātparyāya commentary.

the YV (*Upaśama*, 92.11) says: 'As long as you do not subdue the mind, you cannot get rid of desires; and unless you suppress your desires you cannot control your restless mind.' It then states (*Upaśama*, 92.25-7): 'The restraining of respiration also, is equivalent to the restraining of desires; hence you must practise this according to the direction of experts. The renunciation of desires reduces the mind to its negative aspect (*cittam gacchaty=acittam*, lit 'mind becomes non-mind'); having stopped the pulsations of *prāṇa* do whatever you like. The pulsations of mind are stopped by prolonged practice of *prāṇāyāma* (which is) taught by the *guru*.'

As MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has said: 'The vision of an external world as other than the Supreme Self is, in fact, a magic show of illusive character devoid of all reality. It is the action of Vāyu or Vāsanā on the sensory mechanism of organic existence which projects before it a world of illusion. The discipline of the first stage consists in the removal of this illusion. The control of Vāyu, at which all the processes of Haṭha Yoga aim, ends in securing a relative steadiness of the senses and therewith a comparative detachment from the world outside.'[1]

The names of five winds have been given above, namely, *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *samāna*, and *udāna*. To this, later literature adds five more, namely, *nāga* in belching, *kūrma* in opening the eye lids, *kṛkala* in digestion, *devadatta* in yawning and *dhanañjaya* in making loud sound.

It was also calculated that an adult breathes 21,600 times during twenty-four hours, that is, about fifteen times per minute. The *yogins* believe that by reducing the frequency of breathing, the span of life may be increased.

v. *Pratyāhāra*: *Pratyāhāra* is defined in YS, 2.54 as: 'When senses have no contact with (are withdrawn from) their objects (because the mind is restrained) and thereby resemble the state of mind itself, there is *pratyāhāra*.' Swami Vivekananda says: 'The organs are separate states of the mind-stuff. I see a book; the form is not in the book, it is in the mind. Something is outside which calls that form up. The real form is in the Chitta [mind-stuff]. The organs identify themselves with, and take the forms of, whatever comes to them. If you can restrain the mind-stuff from taking these forms, the mind will remain calm. This is called Pratyahara.'

Having described the five *aṅgas* (limbs) of *yoga* in the *Sādhanāpada*, Patañjali describes the remaining three *aṅgas* in the next chapter called the *Vibhutipāda* (chapter on super-normal powers). Here the first five *aṅgas* are called *bahiraṅga* (indirect aids to) *saṃprajñāta samādhi* while the last three are called *antaraṅga* (essential aids) to *saṃprajñāta samādhi*. In YS. 3.4, Patañjali uses the word *saṁyama* (*trayam ekatra saṁyamaḥ*) to mean *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇā*, and *samādhi* collectively. Vyāsa explains that the term *saṁyama* is a tantric terminology, and Vācaspati, in his commentary on *Vyāsa-bhāṣya*, explains the '*śāstra* from which *yoga* has been evolved is (called) *tantra*.'

vi. '*Dhāraṇā:* According to Patañjali (YS. 3.1), '*dhāraṇā* is holding the mind

[1]G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 118.

on to some spot or point.' The mind is to be concentrated on any internal part of the body such as the navel, the heart, the head, the light (in the eye), the tip of the nose, the tip of the tongue etc., or on external objects (such as the image of deities). Thus at this stage, there are three elements: the subject, the object, and the act of concentration.

The practice of *dhāraṇā* helps a person to focus his mind to a single point, and to hold it there.

vii. *Dhyāna: Dhāraṇā* leads to *dhyāna* (contemplation or meditation), which is the continuous flow (like a jet of oil) of the apprehension of an object unaffected by any other idea or apprehension. It is the act of turning the mind loose within determined limits acquired by constant practice over a considerable period.

The idea and practice of *dhyāna* is as old as the earliest Upaniṣad, for the Upaniṣads are the result of *dhyāna*. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 4.5.6 says: .... 'Verily, it is the soul (*ātman*) that should be seen, that should be hearkened to, that should be pondered upon, that should be reflected upon.' In a different context, the *Chāndogya* 7.5.3-7 points out the progressive importance of *manas* (mind), *saṁkalpa* (conception), *citta* (thought), *dhyāna* (meditation), and *vijñāna* (apprehension). The *Śvetāśvatara* 1.3. says that '*dhyāna-yoga* (cf., *Gītā* 18.52) enables one to have the vision of the *ātma-śakti* of the Lord (*deva*)'.

According to Patañjali (YS. 3.2), 'an uninterrupted flow of knowledge in that object is *dhyāna*.' Swami Vivekananda says: 'The mind tries to think of one object, to hold itself to one particular spot, as the top of the head, the heart, etc. ; and if the mind succeeds in receiving the sensations only through that part of the body, and through no other part, that would be Dharana; and when the mind succeeds in keeping itself in that state for some time, it is called Dhyana (meditation).'

According to the YV (*Nirvāṇa, Uttara*, 174.11), '*dhyāna* is like a flow of a current of consciousness; to be unconscious is to be inert. *Mokṣa* is neither stone-like insensibility, nor the fluctuations of the mind.'[1]

The YV (*Upaśama*, 56.31-2, and 41) also says: 'The mind which is fixed to its inward vision, and is inattentive to the external objects, thinks the populous city as a wilderness before it, whether it is awake or asleep, active or inactive. Those who are attentive to the inward mind sees the outer world as a vacuous space to him; and the populous world appears as desolate desert to him, owing to its being unworthy of his attention .... He who has his external and internal tranquillity, enjoys peace of mind, and views the world as inseparable from the soul, enjoys his quiet *samādhi* everywhere. But he, who perceives their difference and differentiates his ego from all others (that is, who sees his distinction from other beings), is ever subject to the tossing about, as by the rolling waves of the sea.'

Commenting Br. S. 4.1.8 (*dhyānāc=ca*), Śaṁkara defines *dhyāna* as *samāna-*

[1]Here *mokṣa* apparently means *samādhi*. We have translated *saṁsṛti* as 'flow,' though the word is usually rendered as 'the worldly life,' following the *Bhāgavata* 11.13. 28.

pratyaya-pravāha-karaṇam, that is 'continuous flow of the same idea.' Commenting on *Gītā* 13.24, Śaṁkara says that *dhyāna* is 'removal of the mind from all objects like sounds etc. from their respective organs like ears etc. ; intense concentration of the mind on *ātman*.' The examples of *dhyāna* given by him are 'the crane is thoughtful' (*dhyāyati bakaḥ*), 'a wife whose husband has gone on a journey is thoughtful' (*dhyāyati proṣita-bandhuḥ*). In the *Gītā* he quotes *Chāndogya* 7.6.1, and giving the example of the crane, compares *dhyāna* to steady flow of oil.

The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 6.7.91-2 says that *dhyāna* 'is the one pointed succession of the apprehension of the Lord's form, uncontaminated with any other idea (lit. desire) brought about by the first six *aṅgas* of *yoga*.'

According to MM. Gopinath Kaviraj's interpretation of the YS, *brahmacarya* is the foundation of *dhyāna*, and leads to *samādhi*.

Yājñavalkya gives a succinct account of the *aṅgas* from *āsana* to *dhāraṇā* and *dhyāna* in four verses (3. 198-200):

'(A *yogin*) should occupy a seat neither too high nor too low (cf., *Gītā*, 6.11), place his upturned heels on his thighs (*baddha-padmāsana*), and place the left palm (on the upturned) right (heel), his other (i.e. right) palm (turned upwards). He should slightly raise his face, and, having braced his body with his (raised) chest, close the eyes, and be free from *rajas* and *tamas* (i.e. free his mind from violent or wicked thoughts). He should not allow the upper and lower rows of teeth to touch, should hold his tongue firmly in the palate, and allow no shaking of the body, and cover the mouth. He should hold back the organs of senses from their objects, should perform *prāṇāyāma* of the two-fold or three-fold type, contemplate on the Lord that occupies his heart like a lamp, and fix his mind on that Lord by way of *dhāraṇā*.'

viii. *Samādhi* : *Samādhi*, or the state of super-consciousness, is the end of *sādhanā* and the goal of all Indian aspirants or *sādhakas*. Though Patañjali defines *samādhi* in the third chapter called the *Vibhutipāda*, it is in the first chapter called the *Samādhipāda*, in which *samādhi* is elaborately described and classified. Here we shall first deal with the definition of *samādhi* as given in the *Vibhutipāda*, and then discuss the various types of *samādhi* as given in the *Samādhipāda*. This arrangement will reverse Patañjali's order, but will help in understanding his work.

It has to be pointed out that though *samādhi* is the sequel to the other seven *aṅgas*, namely, *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇā*, and *dhyāna*, it is emphasized in the *Samādhipāda* that *samādhi* cannot be attained without non-attachment. This point is emphasized in several aphorisms (YS, 1.12-16). YS, 1.15 renders it clear that one should not have the slightest desire or attachment for women, food, drinks, wealth, nor for attaining heaven, nor even for the Vedic sacrifices. To such a man, it is pointed out, loss and gain are equally unimportant.

Another point to be noted is that Patañjali says that there are alternative means of attaining *samādhi*. These means will be discussed later, and it is sufficient to state here that one can attain *samādhi* through the development

of certain intellectual and mental qualities or by devotion to Īśvara (YS, 1.20 and 23). Patañjali also makes it clear (YS, 1.21) that 'success is speedy for the extremely energetic (or hotly impetuous)' and that 'success differs according as the means adopted are mild, medium, or intense' (YS, 1.22).

The fundamental point to be remembered is that, according to Patañjali, *yoga* is *citta-vṛtti-nirodha* (YS, 1.2),[1] that is *yoga* is 'restraining the mind-stuff (*citta*) from taking various forms' or, 'preventing the modifications of the thinking principle.' This can be attained through several processes, which Patañjali acknowledges, and mentions two. But he himself prescribes the eightfold *yoga* system, which is described in the subsequent chapters. The last three limbs, namely, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna*, and *samādhi*, are common to all the systems, and possibly for that reason these are defined in the third chapter to which we now turn.

A stage is reached during prolonged *dhyāna* (meditation) on an object, when the subject, object and their relation is obliterated, or lost; that stage is called *samādhi*. Patañjali (YS, 3.3) says : 'When that (object) gives up all forms (and) reflects only the meaning, it is *samādhi*.' One is so much identified with the object meditated upon, that one is not conscious (*svarupena śūnyam iva*) of contemplating upon an object (*dhyeyākāra-nirbhāsam*).

Swami Vivekananda says : 'That [*samādhi*] comes when in meditation the form or the external part is given up. Suppose I were meditating on a book, and that I have gradually succeeded in concentrating the mind on it, and perceiving only the internal sensations, the meaning unexpressed in any form —that sense of Dhyana is called *Samādhi*.'

The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (6.7.92) states that *samādhi* is the state 'when the mind grasps as a result of *dhyāna* the real nature (*sva-rūpa*) of the (Paramātman) in which there is absence of separate apprehension (*kalpanā-hīna*) [of the object to be meditated upon, the act of meditation, and the meditator].

Samādhi can be of two kinds: *saṃprajñāta* and *asaṃprajñāta*. *Saṃprajñāta* can be of four varieties depending on its basis, namely, *vitarka* (reasoning), *vicāra* (discrimination), *ānanda* (bliss), and *asmitā* (unqualified egoism) (YS, 1.17). All these types of *samādhis* have for their basis meditation and consequent cognition of some object ranging from matter to ego in ascending order of excellence and perfection.

i. In *vitarka-samādhi* the external gross objects (like an image consisting of five elements) are the objects of meditation. So long the *yogin* retains the cognition of the externalities, like the name of the image, the substance of which it is made etc., it is known as *savitarka*. When such cognitions are absent, it is known as *nirvitarka-samādhi*. But in both the cases, any other cognition than the image must not obtrude on the meditation.

Later (YS,1.42), it is said that in *savitarka-samādhi* sound, meaning, and resulting knowledge are mixed up. For example, the word *gauḥ* (cow): the

[1]'The bottom of the lake is our own true Self; the lake is the Chitta and the waves the Vrittis.' Swami Vivekananda on YS, 1.2.

object cow denoted by it, and the concept or idea 'this is a cow,' and the word are really three separate matters, but at the time of apprehension they are mixed up. When during *samādhi*, a *yogin's* consciousness is permeated by all these three aspects of the object of meditation, it is called *savitarka*.

ii. In *vicāra-samādhi*, the objects of meditation are the finer elements or the *tanmātras* (sound, touch, form, taste, and smell). So long the *yogin* retains the perception of his identity apart from the object of meditation it is *savicāra-samādhi*. When his identity is merged with the object of meditation, it is *nirvicāra* (without discrimination).

Later (YS, 1.43), it is stated that in *nirvicāra-samādhi* the memory is purified or devoid of qualities expressing the meaning (of the meditated object), that is, the subject object relation disappears.

iii. In *sānanda-samādhi*, both gross and fine elements are given up, and the object of meditation is the interior organ bereft of the qualities of *rajas* (activity) and *tamas* (dullness).

iv. In *sasmitā-samādhi*, the object of meditation is the mind and the ego in the *sattva* state, differentiated from all other objects.

The *Majjhimanikāya* speaks of four kinds of *samādhis*, namely, *savitakka, savicāra, vivekaja*, and *pitisukha*, of which the last *piti* (*prīti*) is the same as *ānanda*, and all these four seem to be akin to the four types of *saṃprajñāta-samādhi* described above.[1]

The main purpose of the *Yogasūtra* is not to teach the *saṃprajñāta-samādhis*, but the higher stage, the *asaṃprajñāta-samādhi*, (YS, 1.18 and 50-51) which is attained by the constant practice of cessation of all mental activities, and in which the *citta* (mind-stuff) retains only the unmanifested impressions. Successful attainment of this *samādhi* depends on extreme non-attachment or asceticism (*para-vairāgya*). It cannot be gained by having any object for meditation. Thus the *yogin* is unaffected by Prakṛti, and is not conscious of bliss or his personality. As the *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā* (4.109) says:

na gandhaṁ na rasaṁ rūpam
na ca sparśaṁ na niḥśvnaam
n=ātmānam na param vetti
yogi yuktaḥ samādhinā

(A *yogin* in *samādhi* does not apprehend smell, flavours, form, touch, or sound, nor is he conscious of himself or of others).

The YV (*Nirvāṇa, Uttara*, 174.14-15) says:

nirvikalpaṁ samādhānaṁ tad=anantaṁ ih=ocyate
yathā-sthitaṁ avikṣubdham āsanaṁ sarva-bhāsanam
tad-ananta-suṣupt-ākhyaṁ tat turīyam iti smṛtam
tan=nirvāṇam iti proktaṁ tan=mokṣa iti śabditam

(It is said that *nirvikalpa* meditation is illimitable, which stage is all illuminating without distraction. It is called eternal sleep, the fourth stage, *nirvāṇa*, (or) *mokṣa*.)

There is some difference between the *samādhi* of Rājayoga and *mokṣa* of

[1]For references see *HDK*, V, p. 1411 fn 2318,

Vedānta, but *nirvikalpa* and *asaṃprajñāta*, and *savikalpa* and *saṃprajñāta* are practically synonymous terms. The *asaṃprajñāta-samādhi* is also called *nirbīja* (YS, 1.51) (seedless) *samādhi*, either because in this type of *samādhi* there is no object of meditation, or all the *kleśas* (*avidyā, asmitā, rāga, dveṣa, abhiniveśa*, YS, 2.3) and *karmans* are destroyed (Vācaspati on YS, 1.18, see also YS. 2.10-11). In contrast *saṃprajñāta-samādhi* is *sabīja* with seed (YS. 1.46), for in this case the seed of *avidyā* etc. are not destroyed.

After *samādhi* comes *kaivalya*, the separation of *puruṣa* (soul) from matter (*prakṛti*), which leads to the state of perfect isolation or independence of the soul. There are three types of men: one type does not think about the self at all; the second type ponders, 'What was I? What is my essential nature? What am I now? How did I become like this? What and how shall I be in future?' The third type has perceived the difference between the soul and the mind, and he has rid himself of such thoughts (YS. 4.25). Then the mind becomes deflected towards discrimination and flows towards *kaivalya* (4.26). Even so the former mental impressions such as 'I', 'mine', 'I know', or 'I do not know' formed during the conscious intervals of super-conscious state may percolate due to the seed-like existence of the past impressions. These *kleśas* can be destroyed by the fire of knowledge. The mental impression created by (right) knowledge (*jñāna-saṁskāra*) being coextensive and conterminous are destroyed together (YS, 4.28) 'Even when arriving at the right discriminating knowledge of the essences, he who gives up the fruits, unto him comes, as the result of perfect discrimination, the Samādhi, called the cloud of virtue' (YS. 4.29).[1] When the yogin attains the *dharma-megha* (cloud of virtue) *samādhi*, all his *kleśas* and *karmans* come to an end. (YS. 4.30). Then also are terminated the successive modifications of the qualities (*guṇa*), and when the *puruṣa* has gone beyond the reach of the *guṇas*, he attains *kaivalya-mukti* (YS. 4.34). 'The resolution of the inverse order of the qualities, bereft of any motive of action for the Purusha, is Kaivalya, or it is the establishment to the power of knowledge in its own nature.' (YS, 4.33, tr. by Swami Vivekananda).

The state of *kaivalya* is the *summum bonum* of Rājayoga. But as the YV

[1]Tr. by Swami Vivekananda, YS. 4.28. Bhoja omits the *sūtra na c-aika-citta-tantram* .... which has been commented upon by both Vyāsa and Vācaspati, and forms the 16th *sūtra* of the *Kaivalyapāda*. Dr. S.N. Dasgupta points out that the most important reference for the Buddhist texts is to this *sūtra*, hence he concludes that 'it was probably a line of the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya*, as Bhoja, who had consulted many commentaries as he says in his preface, does not count it as a *sutra*.' S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit. I, p. 233 fn. MM. Kane, after noticing Bhoja, states that 'the form of the sutra in YS, IV. 16 makes one feel some doubt about its genuineness, but as it is explained by the *bhāṣya* and Vācaspati, one has to accept it as genuine.' *HDK*, V, p. 1394 fn. Among the editions and translations which we are consulting for this section, this *sūtra* has been accepted by Śrīmat Swami Santadās Vrajavidehī, and Pandit Kalivar Vidyāvāgīśa, but not by Swami Vivekananda, and J.R. Ballantyne and G. Sastri Deva. We have accepted the former, because we are mainly following Vyāsa's commentary as explained by Vācaspati. Therefore our numbering of the *sūtras* differ from that of the latters' by one.

(*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 68.14) says: 'There is nothing of the blessed divine knowledge in any of these, which is so very desirable to mankind. I vouch it freely that they (the *yogins*) are not knowers of God, be they angry at it or not as they may.' Later, Vasiṣṭha says (YV, *Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 69. 27): 'There is one thing, however, on which is based the bias of both systems (*Sāṁkhya* and *Yoga*), that is the suppression of the breath, and the restriction of the mind, which form the sum and substance of what they call liberation.' In reply Rāmacandra says: 'If it is suppression (of breath) which constitutes the liberation of these men, then I may as well say that all dead men are liberated as well as dead animals also.' (ibid, 69.28).

To this criticism Vasiṣṭha gives a long reply in course of which he says: 'Knowledge removes the desires, and the disappearance of desires destroys the mind; this produces the suppression of breath, and thence proceeds the tranquillity of the soul .... Learn this one lesson, that the restraining of the mind and suppression of breath mean one and the same thing, and if you succeed in restraining the one, you succeed in the restraint of the other also .... The mind is another name for desire, and this being extirpated and wanting, the soul comes to the discrimination of truth, which leads to the knowledge of the Supreme .... As the waving of the palm-leaf fan being stopped, there is cessation of circulation of air in the room, so the respiration of the vital breath being put to a stop, there ensues a total stoppage of the succession of our thoughts .... The breath is the vacillation of the mind, as the mind is the fluctuation of the breath, and these two go together for ever as the chariot and the charioteer .... If the functioning of the mind-stuff is stopped (even) for a moment, either by *sāṁkhya* (*jñāna-yoga*) or by *yoga* (Rāja-yoga), there is no more rebirth in this world. The word divine essence (*satva*) means the mind-stuff (*cetas*) devoid of nescience (*avidyā*), which being like a fried seed is unable to reproduce.' (ibid, 69, 35, 40, 41, 38, 46, 58, 59).[1]

The word *samādhi* is a general term with different connotations. So long we have been dealing with the *samādhi* of the *Yoga-sūtra*, and have seen that the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, which is an Advaita text, does not look very favourably upon the *samādhi* of Rāja-yoga. Still it admits: 'There are two methods of extinguishing the mind-stuff, *yoga* (i.e. Rāja-yoga) and *jñāna* (i e. Advaita Vedānta); of these *yoga* is the suppression of its (mind-stuff's) modifications, *jñāna* is through investigation.' (YV, *Upaśama*, 78.8) According to the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 28.89), the final state is self-realization, which it describes as 'the lotus (soul) being touched at dawn by the rays of the sun (Paramātman)' (*nirvikalpaṁ cidābhāsam prātaḥ padmaṁ raviṁ yathā*).

As Yājñavalkya (1.8) says: *ayam tu paramo dharmo yad yogen=ātma-darśanam* (realization of the self by means of *yoga* is the highest *dharma*).

[1]Tr. by V.L. Mitra (Calcutta, 1898) except the last two verses. For the renderings of *sāṁkhya* etc., we have followed *Gītā*, 2.39; 3.3; 5.4-5; 13.25. The YV has quoted a large number of verses from the *Gītā*, hence it is reasonable to assume that it should have borrowed some of its terminologies. Actually, these *Gītā* passages support the YV.

The *Uttara-gītā* (1.38) describes this stage as:
ūrdhva-pūrṇam adhaḥ-pūrṇaṁ madhya-pūrṇam yad=ātmakam
sarva-pūrṇaṁ sa ātm=eti samādhisthasya lakṣaṇam
(The man in *samādhi* is surrounded by *plenus* on all sides).

TANTRA

Having given a brief outline of *yoga* technique, we shall now discuss certain aspects of *tantra*.

Kuṇḍalinī

The most important aspect of *tantra* is Kuṇḍalinī. Swami Vivekananda, in explaining YS. 2.50 concludes: 'The result of this Pranayama is Udghata, awakening the Kundalini.'[1] He is undoubtedly right, but neither Vyāsa, nor Vācaspati, nor Bhoja refer to Kuṇḍalinī. Commenting on YS. 2.50, Vācaspati says that 'by repeated breathing (during *prāṇāyāma*) there follows repeated *udghāta*,' which Bhoja defines as 'impact on the head of air from the base of the navel' (*udghāto nāmā nābhimūlāt preritasya vāyoḥ śirasy=abhihananam*).

The awakening of Kuṇḍalinī may indeed have been the prime function of *prāṇāyāma*, since Swami Vivekananda says so, but it is important to remember that Patañjali nowhere refers to Kuṇḍalinī, nor as we have said, have his principal commentators, who do not refer to the six *cakras* either. On the other hand, all *tantra* texts concentrate on the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī and Her upward movement through the six *cakras*. Hence it is possible to hold that, conscious attempt to awaken Kuṇḍalinī is the distinguishing feature of *tantra* in contrast to *yoga*, which concentrated on the suppression of the modifications of the mind-stuff. Unless Kuṇḍalinī awakens, the mind-stuff may not be controlled; discussion of this point, however, is not possible in the present context.

It should be emphasized that a text should not be classified as a *tantra* merely because it refers to Kuṇḍalinī. The YV (*Upaśama*, 54.26), after describing certain yogic practices of a saint, states: 'He carefully caused the *prāṇa* to cover Kuṇḍalinī, (which) crossed the *cakras* like a river towards the sea.' The YV (*Nirvāṇa*, *Pūrva*, 80.36-52) then describes the Kuṇḍalinī:

'Shaped like a globule (and) ensconced properly in the pith of the body, is the *nāḍī* called the *āntra-veṣṭanikā* (which surrounds the entrails) sustained by one hundred *nāḍīs*. (This *nāḍī*) resembles the disc at the top of a lute with the lustre of a constellation, like the curved half of the letter *Om*, and placed like a circlet. It exists in all *devas*, *asuras*, men, beasts, fishes, fowls, and insects. It remains curved like a coiled snake in winter, until it unfolds itself (impelled) by the heat of the congealed rays which reach the *mūlādhāra* from the moon (located at the top of the head). It extends from the anus, and touches the centre between the two eyebrows, and is continually pulsating

[1]The word *udghāta* literally means 'the act of striking.'

due to breathing. Sheathed inside, like the soft pith of a banana tree, the primal energy vibrates like the strings of a *vīnā* in the *mūlādhāra*.[1] This is called Kuṇḍalinī on account of its curved shape; it is the primal energy which galvanizes all other energies. It is continuously breathing like an angry snake, (and) with its upturned mouth it sends up vibrations. When the *prāṇa* enters the heart (attracted by) Kuṇḍalinī, then is produced consciousness, which is the seed of all other (mental) faculties. As the Kuṇḍalinī vibrates like a swarm of bees on a lotus, the internal organs begin to function under her soft touch. Other organs (such as the eyes) are also expeditiously reached by the soft touch of Kuṇḍalinī. All the *nāḍīs*, inside the sheath of the heart, are connected with Her (Kuṇḍalinī), arise (from Her), and merge into (Her) like rivers in the sea. All efforts for outgoing and incoming (breaths) being due to Her, She is known as the seed of all consciousness.'

After listening to this description by Vasiṣṭha, Rāmacandra said:

'(Universal) consciousness (*cit-samvit*), which indwells every creature is, from the beginning of time, unlimited and unconfined; therefore, in what manner can it arise from the sheath of Kuṇḍalinī?' Vasiṣṭha replied: 'It is true, O sinless one, that *cit-samvit* is omnipresent, eternal, and all pervasive; still, sometimes, it occurs due to physical propensities.[2] Though it exists everywhere, it vibrates in the body, (just as) the rays of the sun fall everywhere it shines in water. Sometimes it is lost (as in minerals), in others it is discernible (as in men and gods), while in some others it is wasted (i.e. not sufficiently developed, as in plants). But it is seen that consciousness pervades every object . . . .'

The YV refers to Kuṇḍalinī in several other verses (*Nirvāṇa Pūrva*, 81.1ff., 82.7ff) and calls it a *śakti*. The importance of the YV is that it was written at least half a century before Śaṁkara (AD 780-832), so that it can be said that Kuṇḍalinī was known to the *yogins* at least as early as the seventh century. Secondly, the YV is a pre-Śaṁkara Advaita text, hence it is apparent that the aspirants for *mokṣa* in those days were conscious of Kuṇḍalinī-śakti, though the YV does not recommend one to concentrate on the worship of Kuṇḍalinī to arouse her as is done in the *tantra* texts.

What is Kuṇḍalinī? Its description is best given in the words of Swami Vivekananda: 'According to the Yogis, there are two nerve currents in the spinal column, called Pingalā and Idā, and a hollow canal called Sushumnā

[1]The *Tatparyāya* commentary points out that the word '*vīṇā*' here contains an allusion to *vāk*, namely, *parā*, *paśyanti*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī*, It then quotes the *Mantra-śāstra*

caitanyaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ śabda-brahm=eti yad=viduḥ
tat prāpya kuṇḍalī-rūpam prāṇināṁ deha-madhyagam

(The universal sentience, which is known as Śabda-Brahma, having adopted a curled form is located inside the body of living beings.) The commentary also quotes from the *Śambapurāṇa*.

[2]*bhūta-tan-mātra-vasāt* 80.50 cannot be properly rendered into English. V.L. Mitra translates: 'yet it is sometimes compressed in the form of a minute atom of matter in material and finite bodies,' which possibly gives an approximate sense.

running through the spinal cord. At the lower end of the hollow canal is what the Yogis call the "Lotus of Kuṇḍalinī." They describe it as triangular in form in which, in the symbolical language of the Yogis, there is a power called the Kuṇḍalini coiled up. When that Kuṇḍalinī awakes, it tries to force a passage through this hollow canal, and as it rises step by step, as it were, layer after layer of the mind becomes open and all the different visions and wonderful powers come to the Yogi. When it reaches the brain, the Yogi is perfectly detached from the body and mind; the soul finds itself free.[1]

According to the *tantra* texts, Kuṇḍalinī lies in the *mūlādhāra* like a snake coiled three and a half times. In form she is like a very fine fibre which glows like fire, The *tantra* texts contain elaborate descriptions of Kuṇḍalinī. According to these texts, all created forms are Kuṇḍalinī (*sṛṣṭi-rūpā*); She creates, sustains, and destroys the universe (*sṛṣṭi-sthiti layātmikām*). She is beyond the universe (*viśvātītā*), and is the personification of knowledge (*jñāna-rūpā*).[2] Sometimes Kuṇḍalinī is classified as *cit* (intelligence) and *acit* (non-intelligence) Kuṇḍalinī as *cit* may be dynamic or static. In Her static state no sign of energy is perceptible, which is possible in her dynamic state. When Śakti is static, Śiva is unmanifest. When She is dynamic, Śiva reveals Himself. *Acit-śakti* is known as the *parigraha-śakti* (energy that sustains), *upādāna-śakti* (material energy), or *līlā-śakti* (causal power). *Acit-śakti* has two forms: pure and impure. The pure *acit-śakti*, called *śuddha-sattva* and *vindu* or Mahāmāyā by the Vaisnavas and the Tantrikas respectively, is the matter out of which the 'pure world' is formed. The impure *acit-śakti* reveals the entire universe of Māyā.

Kuṇḍalinī or Mahā-kuṇḍalinī contains in Herself all the *tattvas* (elements) of creation and is the embodiment of this phenomenal world which is the result of many variegated action and efforts (*nānā-citra-kriy-odyaga-prapañcamaya vigraha, Siddhasiddhānta-saṁgraha*, 4.19). In Her state of slumber, She is completely merged in Her Self. Then She forsakes this state, and the result is the creation of world. Her expansion is creation, and contraction is dissolution, for which She is known as the origin (*mūla*) of the world. Her material form is visible in innumerable gross created objects, but beyond Her material form, She has a fine form and as such is omnipresent and all pervasive, and nothing is more extensive than Her, that is nothing extends beyond Her.

'By its self-limiting power, Reality "polarizes" itself into that which is conscious and that which is not, that which is existent and that which is not, and that which is "pleasant" and that which is not. The fundamental polarity of subject and object, *aham* and *idam*, is also evolved by it. By this process of polarization, that which is unmeasured becomes measured (*prameya*), the infinite is made finite, and the undifferentiated differentiated. By it, Reality,

[1]Swami Vivekananda, op. cit., p. 160.

[2]For references to this and other verses quoted from texts see U.K. Das, op. cit., II, pp. 932-1001.

which is absolute in itself becomes resolved, so to say, into a multiplicity of correlated centres of diverse natures, acting and reacting in diverse ways.'[1]

One of the fundamental principles of *tantra* is that whatever is found in the macrocosm (*Brahmāṇḍa*) is found in the microcosm (*piṇḍa*). The *jīvas* are finite centres of *śakti*, in other words they are correlated centres of diversity, their respective behaviours being determined by bonds (*pāśa*) in which the *jīva* is enmeshed. The *pāśas* have a pragmatic value, being the bases of behaviour pattern, but it should be the endeavour of every human being to cut the fetters of *pāśa*, and realize his self. To be free from *pāśa*, he must realize, that 'existence' is Śiva, and 'activity' is Śakti, and that the world is a *līlā* (sport) of Śiva and Śakti.

This Śakti or Kuṇḍalinī lies in a dormant state in human body. When She awakens, She reveals herself in the form of self-cognition, which is like a strong fire and is known as *cid-āgni* (fire of intelligence). This Śakti can be roused by diverse means: by the mercy of a *sad-guru*, by the grace of Īśvara, in course of time, by the most impetuous efforts, or by some other means. The basic factor in the awakening of the *śakti* is the establishment of equability and concordance between *prāṇa* and *apāna*, where *prāṇa* and *apāna* stand for the polarized currents of contrary forces, This resolution of contrary forces is due to the action of *samāna* air. There is a fire at the triangular base of *mūlādhāra*. When this fire contacts the harmonized *prāṇa* and *apāna*, the dormant Kuṇḍalinī awakens, and the *yogin's* mind and breath is merged into the flame of Kuṇḍalinī-śakti. Then the *yogin* has to bring under control each of the six *cakras* of his body with the help of this unified energy.[2]

The conception of Kuṇḍalinī is also found in Qabalah, the ancient system of Semitic mysticism. Dion Fortune writes: "When it is noted that Yod is identical with the Lingam in the Hindu system; and that Kether, Daath, and the Beautiful Path, Tiphareth, the Sixth Sephirah, are in a line on the Middle Pillar of the Tree, which equates with the spine in man, the microcosm; and that Kuṇḍalinī is coiled in Yesod, also on the Middle Pillar, we shall see that we have here an important key for those who are equipped to use it.[3]

'In Binah and Chokmah we have the archetypal Positive and Negative; the primordial Maleness and Femaleness established, while "countenance beheld not countenance," and manifestation was incipient. It is from these primary Pairs of Opposites that the Pillars of the Universe spring, between which is woven the web of Manifestation.'[4]

'Kether, pure being, is contacted when we win to realisation of the nature of existence without parts, attributes, or dimensions. This experience is aptly called the Trance of Annihilation, and those who experience it walk with

[1]Swami Pratyagatmananda, Tantra as a Way of Realization, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, IV, pp. 229-30.

[2]G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti aur Sādhanā*, p. 320.

[3]Dion Fortune, op. cit., p. 47, see also ibid, p. 48.

[4]ibid, p. 124.

God and are not, for God has taken them ; therefore is the spiritual experience assigned to Kether that of Divine Union, of which it is said that those who experience it enter the Light and come not forth again.

'In order to contact Chokmah we must experience the rush of the dynamic cosmic energy in its pure form; an energy so tremendous that mortal man is fused into disruption by it . . . The spiritual experience assigned to Kether is the vision of God face to face; and God (Jehovah) said to Moses: "Thou canst not look upon my face and live."

'But although the sight of the Divine Father blasts mortals as with fire, the divine son comes familiarly among them and can be invoked by the appropriate rites—Bacchanalia in the case of the son of Zeus, and the Eucharist in the case of the Son of Jehovah . . .'[1]

In Sanskrit terminology, contact with Kether would be *nirvikalpa* or *asaṃprajñāta-samādhi*, contact with Chokmah, the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī, while the results of the Bacchanalia and the Eucharist, which Dion Fortune calls 'a lower form of manifestation,' would be comparable with *savikalpa* or *saṃprajñāta-samādhi*. The systems of *yoga* and *tantra* are so devised, that practised under the supervision of a proper *guru* or guide, the *yogin* or *sādhaka* can establish contact with hidden power and forces and fall into a trance, and then break the contact and gradually return to normal life. The danger is for those who practise either *yoga* or *tantra* without the aid of a qualified guru.

Cakra

The *cakras*, as MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has said, 'are intra-organic centres of spiritual energy.' The word is usually rendered into English as 'plexus,' but it should be noted that the *cakras* are not network of fibres or vessels, which the word 'plexus' means anatomically. Indeed, the *cakras* are not susceptible to physical verification. Permitting ourselves the use of a familiar metaphor, the *cakras* represent the invisible halting terminals or stations of the equally imperceptible Kuṇḍalinī-śakti as She moves up in Her journey towards the *sahasrāra*.

Usually, it is held that there are six *cakras*, namely, *mūlādhāra*, *svādhiṣṭhāna*, *maṇipūra*, *anāhata*, *viśuddha*, and *ājñā*. The *mūlādhāra* is the lowest *cakra*. It is located at the base of the spinal cord roughly opposite the anus. The *svādhiṣṭhāna* is located behind the genitals, the *maṇipūra* behind the navel, The *anāhata* behind the heart, the *viśuddha* behind the throat, while the *ājñā* is located between the two eyebrows. Above the *ājñā-cakra*, at the topmost point of the cranium is the thousand petalled *sahasrāra*. *Tāntrika sādhanā* consists in awakening the dormant Kuṇḍalinī in the *mūlādhāra*, and lead Her by successive stages across the *cakras* to *sahasrāra*.

Each *cakra* consists of a specified number of petals and represents certain letters of the Sanskrit alphabet: *mūlādhāra* four petals, *va* to *sa*; *svādhiṣṭhāna* six petals, *ba* to *la*; *maṇipūra* ten petals, *da* to *pha*; *anāhata* twelve petals, *ka*

[1]ibid, p. 129.

to *tha*; *viśuddha* sixteen petals, vowels; and *ājñā* two petals *ha* and *kṣa*. Thus all the fifty letters of the alphabet are accounted for. The allotment of the letters of the alphabet to the *cakras* has deep and esoteric significance which cannot be discussed here. It is sufficient to say that, letters form words and words form *mantras*. Each letter on the *cakras* constitute a *mantra* by itself with a presiding deity.

Mūlādhāra is the basic *cakra*. The four petalled lotus of *mūlādhāra* is inverted, but when the Kuṇḍalinī awakens, the lotus turns upwards. The inversion of the lotus is due to the inclination of the *jīva* towards the pleasures of life. With the cessation of desires for worldly enjoyment, the lotus turns upwards. *Mūlādhāra* is the *pṛthvi-tattva* (the element of solidity), being the grossest form of manifest energy. The corresponding *tanmātra*, organ of perception (*jñānendriya*), and organ of action (*karmendriya*), are respectively, smell, nose, and legs. It is sometimes called the sacral or sacrococcygeal plexus or ganglion coccygeal.

Svādhiṣṭhāna is so called for more than one reason. The six petals of this *cakra* represent the six *ripus* or enemies of man, namely *kāma* (desire), *krodha* (anger), *lobha* (greed), *moha* (delusion), *mada* (conceit), and *mātsarya* (malice). *Svādhiṣṭhāṇa* is *ap-tattva* (the liquid element), and its corresponding *tanmātra* and the organs are *rasa* (liquidity), tongue, and hand.

Maṇipūra is so called because the lotus of this *cakra* shines like a jewel. It is also called the *nābhi-padma* (lotus of the navel). It is the locus of the *teja-tattva* (the element of heat), and its corresponding *tanmātra* and organs are form, eye, and anus.

Anāhata cakra is so called because when the Kuṇḍalinī reaches this *cakra*, the *yogin* can hear the *anāhata* or the 'eternal sound' emanating from Sabda-Brahma. It is the location of the *vāyu-tattva* (the element of gas or air), and its corresponding *tanmātra* and organs are 'touch,' skin, and the organ of generation. According to the *Gautamīya-tantra*, the *puruṣa* or the *jīvātaman* is situated in the *anāhata-cakra*, which is sometimes known as the cardiac plexus.

Viśuddha-cakra is so called because it is here that the *jīva* is purified by a vision of the *ātman* or self. It is the location of the *ākāśa-tattva* (element of space), and its corresponding *tanmātra* and organs are sound, ear, and speech. *Viśuddha-cakra* is the 'plane of knowledge.' It is sometimes called the laryngeal plexus.

Ājñā-cakra is so called because it concurs or coincides with the preceptor's orders. As the *Rudrayāmala* says : *ājñā-saṁkramaṇaṁ tatra guror=ājñ=eti kīrtitam*. *Ājñā-cakra* is the location of the mind, just as the five other *cakras* represent the five organs of perception and five organs of action.[1]

According to some authorities, each *cakra* has two *granthis* or knots, of which the names of only three are known, namely, Brahma-granthi, Viṣṇu-granthi, and Rudra-granthi. The Brahma-granthi is situated either in the *mūlādhāra* or in the *svādhiṣṭhāna*, while the other two are situated respectively in *anāhata* and *ājñā-cakra*.

[1]See *Gītā*, 15.7.

Above the *ājñā-cakra* is the Sahasrāra, which is not a *cakra* but *cakrātīta* (beyond *cakra*). It is situated at the top of Saṁkhinī-nāḍī, located on top of the head in a vacuum and not surrounded by any other *nāḍī*. The thousand petal lotus of Sahasrāra is brightened by all the fifty letters of the alphabet, and it is the essence of pure bliss. The thousand petals are arranged in twenty layers of fifty petals on each of which is a letter of the alphabet. On the pericarp of this lotus shines the full moon which diffuses rays dulcet as nectar. Within the orb of this moon is a triangle of lightning, which contains the most secret *śūnya* (vacuum) or *bindu*. Worshipped by all gods, this hidden *bindu* is the basis of *mokṣa*, and is also known as Parama-Śiva.

The Śaivas call the Sahasrāra 'the abode of Śiva' or 'Kailāsa' ; the Vaiṣṇavas call it 'the abode of Viṣṇu' or 'Gokula' ; those who worship Hari and Hara call it 'the abode of Hari-Hara' ; the worshippers of Devī call it 'the abode of Devī' ; while the *jñānins* (those who do not worship any deity) call it 'the abode of Prakṛti and Puruṣa.'

The *Saundaryalaharī* (35), ascribed to Śaṁkara, states: 'Thou art the *manas* (mind), *vyoma* (space), *marut* (air), *marutsārathi* (fire), *ap* (water), and *bhūmi* (earth). Beyond these there is no more (gross) manifestation for thee . . . .' Commenting on this verse, Lakṣmīdhara states that '*manas*' etc., represent and include the six *cakras*, and (p. 168) that Devī manifested Herself as these six *cakras* as well as the five elements. However, Acyutānanda, (p. 67) commenting on the same verse, refers to the six *lokas* with their presiding deities located in the six *cakras*, namely ;

Cakra	*Loka*	*Presiding Deity*
Ājña	Tapaloka	Parama-Śiva
Viśuddha	Maharloka	Sadāśiva
Anāhata	Janaloka	Maheśvara
Maṇipura	Suvarloka	Rudra
Svādhiṣṭhāna	Bhuvarloka	Nārāyaṇa
Mūlādhāra	Bhūloka	Brahmā

The method of awakening the Kuṇḍalinī, and her upward movement is the core of tantric *sādhanā*. For, according to their theory, the fulfilment of every form of *sādhanā* is attained by the release of the Kuṇḍalinī, whether the *sādhaka* is aware or not. By whichever process or *mārga*, a *sādhaka* aspires to effect his 'release,' he must cut himself free from the moorings of his 'nature,' which are attached to Prakṛti. As soon as his self is free from the tie of the three *guṇas*, Kuṇḍalinī awakens and rushes upwards loosening the *granthis* (knots). Ascent of Kuṇḍalinī from the lower to the higher *cakra* corresponds to the climb of the *yogin* from a lower to a higher plane. In this connection MM. Gopinath Kaviraj writes:

'*Jīvātman* is essentially Śiva. His apparent comatose state is due to delusion and nescience. The *jīvātman* in the form of Śiva lies in a deep slumber as a corpse (*śava*) in the *viśuddha-cakra*. Unless this dormant soul, that is Śiva in the form of a corpse, is awakened, it is extremely difficult to make

any progress towards self-realization. But except Śakti, there is nothing else which can arouse this Śiva. However, Śakti Herself, overcome by sleep, is lying inert in the *mūlādhāra-cakra*. Hence the most important and primary duty of the *sādhaka* is to awaken the dormant Śakti and, with Her help, to arouse Him to a state of consciousness. The five *cakras*, from *mūlādhāra* to *viśuddha*, are the centres of five physical elements. Śakti is coextensive and pervades everything, but everywhere She is asleep. She is one and indivisible, but her position is conditioned by her situation in the different *cakras*. The awakened Śakti in the *mūlādhārā-cakra*, arouses the Śakti in the *svādhiṣṭhāna-cakra*, and similarly Śakti in the third, fourth, and the fifth *cakra* is aroused. That is to say, when the awakened Śakti ascends along the *suṣumnā*, Her animation becomes brighter and more distinctive, and all the five *cakras* are released when in the final stage Śakti is fully awake. Then, not a trace of inertness remains anywhere. It is at this stage that Śiva awakens, when in the element of space [*ākāśa-tattva i.e. viśuddha-cakra*] Śakti is fully awake; and the *ātman's* slumber, which had existed from eternity, is broken. Then Śiva and Śakti, because both are awake, cannot exist without one another, that is, by mutual attraction rise higher to be united as a couple. This union of Śiva and Śakti takes place in the *ājñā-cakra*, between the two eyebrows . . . This is, however, imperfect or partial union (*khaṇḍa-milan*), not perfect union (*mahā-milan*). The route of perfect union is determined along the route from the *ājñā-cakra* to the Sahasrāra.[1]

The Buddhists locate three *cakras* along the spinal column. 'The first is the *maṇipūracakra* or the *nirmāṇacakra* situated in navel region, representing the *nirmāṇakaya* or the principle of material transformation; the second is the *anāhatacakra* or the *dharmacakra* situated in the cardiac region, representing the *dharmakāya* or the principle of non-dual cosmic existence; and the third is the *sambhogacakra*, situated near the neck, representing the *sambhogakāya*, or the principle of the body of bliss. Above all these and transcending all these is the lotus (or plexus) in the head (*uṣṇīṣakamala*), which is the seat of the absolute Truth. The cosmic energy (conceived as a feminine principle) remains as a fierce fire-force (*caṇḍālī*) in the *nirmāṇa-cakra*, and here, associated with all gross principles of defilement, she acts as the principle of phenomenalism. She must be roused and dissociated from all principles of defilement and given an upward motion, so as to reach the *uṣṇiṣakamala* which is the region of perfect rest and purity.'[2]

It is apparent that the principle of both the systems is the same, in spite of the differences of detail and of nomenclature. Actually, there are differences even among the brahmanical *tantras* regarding the number of *cakras*. Some texts mention some extra *cakras* like the *lalanā*, *soma-cakra* etc. According to Gorakṣanātha, there is first of all the *ādhāra-cakra* in the perineum, above

[1]Introduction to *Śrī-Śrī-Siddhimātā Prasaṁga*, pp. x-xi, quoted by U.K. Das, op. cit, II, p. 968.

[2]S.B. Dasgupta, Some Later Yogic Schools, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, IV, p. 295.

which is the *mahāpadma-cakra*. The third *cakra* is the *svādhiṣṭhāna*, between which and the *maṇipūra* there are three distinct centres, namely, *ṣaḍ-dala* (also called the *suṣumnā cakra*), *garbha* (in the *garbhasthāna*), and *kuṇḍalinī*, in the region adjoining the waist. The *maṇipūra* is situated in the navel, above which is the so-called *liṅga-cakra*. Above *maṇipūra* is the heart or *anāhata*, in the pericarp of which is the seat of mind (*manas*). The next higher *cakra*, the *viśuddha*, is in the throat. Near the throat is the *abala-cakra*, whose exact location is not mentioned. Then comes the *civuka-cakra*, apparently near the chin. The next *cakra*, called *balavān*, is situated just below the *ājñā-cakra*, in the nasal region. Then comes the *ājñā-cakra* (also called *aṇi-cakra*) which is in the centre of the two eyebrows. The *karṇamūla-cakra* is within the auricular region, while the *triveṇī-cakra* is above the brows. The *candra-cakra*, which is in the forehead, is very closely related to the *amṛta-cakra* almost in the same region probably a little upwards. 'The *yogin* who has obtained access to this *cakra* and abides here becomes immortal and is free from the effects of time.'

Next is the *brahmadvāra-cakra* located above the forehead, beyond which is the seat of *akula-kuṇḍalinī*, a lotus of six hundred petals bright as the newly risen sun. After crossing the *akula-kuṇḍalinī*, one comes to the Brahmarandhra in the cranium (*mūrdhāsthāna*), with its multicoloured thousand petals. 'This is the so-called Sahasrāra of the mystic literature, aim and end of all spiritual progress. It is here that the Guru and Caitanya-Śakti reside.'[1]

Above the Brahmarandhra and Sahasrāra, this system counts six more cakras, namely, (1) *ūrdhvarandhra*, (2) *bhramaraguhā*, (3) *akuṇṭhapīṭha puṇyāgāra*, (4) *kolhāta*, (5) *vajradaṇḍa*, and (6) *nirādhāra paramajyotiś=cakra*.

In this connection, MM. Gopinath Kaviraj observes: 'Taking it as we find it there is no doubt that the ideas of this [Gorakṣanātha's] school differed in many ways from those of the Tantras on the same subject. The question of the total number of *cakras* may be left aside for the present. For we are aware that there are several hidden (*gupta*) *cakras* which are not ordinarily counted; and very often a certain number of *cakras*, considered minor from one's point of view, is supposed to form a connected whole. There are other reasons also which would explain the difference in number in different systems. The actual description of a particular *cakra* is more important to a student for purposes of comparative studies. But even here there are certain fatal limitations. For instance, the same *cakra* may not look exactly alike to different *sādhakas*. The personal *saṅkalpa* of the aspirant, either conscious or sub-conscious, and that of his Guru go a great way towards determining the nature of the vision. The reality observed is, *in a certain sense* only *ideal*.'[2]

Western scholars have correlated the Sephiroth of the Qabalah with the *cakras*. According to them, *mūlādhāra* is Malkuth, *svādhiṣṭhāna* Yesod, *maṇipūra* Geburah, *anāhata* Chesed, *viśuddha* Binah, *ājñā* Chokmah, while the

[1] G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, pp. 232.
[2] Ibid, pp. 233-34.

Sahasrāra is the Kether.[1]

Nāḍī

Describing *nāḍī*, Swami Vivekananda says: 'We know that the spinal cord is composed in a peculiar manner. If we take the figure eight (8) horizontally (∞) there are two parts, which are connected in the middle. Suppose you add eight after eight, piled one on top of the other, that will represent the spinal cord. The left is the Iḍā, the right Piṅgalā, and that hollow canal which runs through the centre of the spinal cord is the Sushumna. Where the spinal cord ends in some of the lumber vertebrae, a fine fibre issues downwards, and the canal runs up even within that fibre, only much finer. The canal is closed at the lower end, which is situated near what is called the sacral plexus, which, according to modern physiology, is triangular in form. The different plexuses that have their centres in the spinal canal can very well stand for the different "lotuses" of the Yogi'.[2]

The conception of *nāḍī* as channels of energy is very old, and attempt has been made to trace the *suṣumnā* to the *Ṛgveda*.[3] *Nāḍī* is, however, definitely mentioned in several Upaniṣads. The *Chāndogya* 8.6.1. which Śaṁkara calls '*nāḍī-khaṇḍa*' (section on *nāḍī*), states : 'Now, as for these channels of the heart (*hṛdayasya nāḍyaḥ*)—they arise from the finest essence, which is reddish brown, white, blue, yellow, and red : so it is said . . . . ' (8.6.1). Śaṁkara explains these colours to the excessive secretion of bile, air, and phlegm, and, for additional information, refers to books on medicine. This section of the *Chāndogya* ends with the following verse which is also found in *Kaṭha* (2.3.16).

There are a hundred and one channels of the heart,
One of these passes up to the crown of the head,
Going up by it, one goes to immortality.

The others are for departing in various directions.[4] Commenting on *Kaṭha* 2.3.16, Śaṁkara says that out of one hundred and one *nāḍīs*, one is *suṣumnā* which rises in the heart and pierces the cranium. At the time of death, one should concentrate the self (*ātman*) in the heart, through this channel, which may lead to immortality.

The *Praśna* 3.6 says : 'In the heart, truly, is the self (*ātman*). Here there are those hundred and one channels. To each one of these belong a hundred smaller channels. To each of these belong seventy-two thousand branching channels (*śākhā-nāḍī*). Within them moves the *vyāṇa*.' In the following passages, the *Praśna* mentions the functioning of *udāna*, *apāna*, and *prāṇa*. Commenting on the next passage of the *Praśna* (3.7), Śaṁkara again mentions the *suṣumnā nāḍī* along which a worthy man travels to reach heaven. Commenting on the *Tatittirīya* 1.6.1-2, Śaṁkara again mentions *suṣumnā* and

[1]D. Fortune, op. cit., pp. 81-2. See also ibid p. 25 and 79 ff.
[2]Swami Vivekananda, op. cit., p. 160.
[3]Anirvan, *Veda-mīmāṁsā*, II, Calcutta, 1965, p. 287.
[4]Tr. by R.E. Hume.

adds that 'it is famous also in the *yoga* literature' (*suṣumnā nāma nāḍī yoga-śāstreṣu ca prasiddhā*).

The *śākhā-nāḍī* of *Praśna* 3.6 seems to be the same as *hitā* of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 2.1.19, which states : 'seventy-two thousand channels called *hitā* (*hitā nāmā nāḍyaḥ*), which extends from the heart to the pericardium'. Śaṁkara compares these *nāḍīs* to a fishing net.

Nāḍī is not mentioned in the *Gītā*, but while introducing *Gītā*, Chapter 9, Śaṁkara says that '*dhāraṇā-yoga*, with all its attributes, through the apertures of the channels, has been described in the eighth (chapter) (*aṣṭame nadī-dvārena dhāraṇā-yogaḥ sa-guṇa uktaḥ*'). Commenting on *Gītā* 8.10, Śaṁkara says that at the time of death, the *yogin*, having subdued the mental-stuff (or mind) in the lotus-like heart, should proceed through the ascending *nāḍī* by successive conquest of stages (*bhūmi-jaya krameṇa*). He practically repeats himself while commenting on *Gītā* 8.12. Commenting on *Gītā* 8.10, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī explains the ascending channel as *suṣumnā*, and the spot 'between the eyebrows' as *ājñā-cakra*. Madhusūdana has described the *bhūmis* in his comments on *Gītā* 3.18, and 6.43, where he has quoted from the *Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha*. The importance of the spot between the eyebrows is pointed out in the *Jābālopaniṣad* quoted by Śaṁkara on Br. S. 1.2.32. The quoted passage from the *Jābālopaniṣad* states that 'where the eyebrows and the nose join is the joining place of the heavenly world (represented by the upper part of the head), and of the other (that is, the earthly world represented by the chin.)[1]

The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (2.2. 17-24) mentions the *suṣumnā*, refers to the six *cakras*, and to the yogic practices, which indicates that this system was acceptable to the Vaiṣṇavas, which indeed is attested by the tantric passages in the later Vaiṣṇava *purāṇas*.

Yājñavalkya 3. 108-09 states: 'There are seventy-two thousand *naḍīs* called *hitāhitā* emanating from the heart: in their midst, effulgent like the moon, is a circle (*maṇḍala*), at the centre of which the self (*ātman*) abides like a stationery light. He, who knows it, is not born again.' Commenting on it, Vijñāneśvara points out that, there are three other *nāḍīs*, namely *idā* in the left, and *piṅgalā* in the right through which one breathes, the third being the *suṣumnā*, which extends upto the pericranium (*brahmarandhra*). In the next verse, Yājñavalkya refers to the Yogaśāstra written by him.[2]

The *Uttara-gītā* (2. 11-15) states that the *piṅgalā-nāḍī* is at the right side,

[1]Tr. by G. Thibaut. Thibaut renders the word *avimukta* as 'the non-released soul,' but it is apparent that the word here means 'the spot where eyebrows meet the nose.' This *avimukta* is said to reside between Varaṇā and Nāsī, and Śaṁkara explains that former as 'that which wards off (*vārayati*) all evil done by the senses,' and the latter as 'the which destroys (*nāśayati*) all evil deeds committed by the senses.' It should be noted that, Avimukta is another name of Vārāṇasī (Benares) and *varaṇā* and *nāsī* naturally reminds one of the Varuṇā and the Asi, the two rivers which have given the name to the sacred city.

[2]This may refer to the *Yogi-Yājñavalkya*, but it is difficult to attribute the present text to the *smṛti* writer. For a discussion of this problem see *HDK*, V, pp. 1403-08.

and touches the circle of the sun, and is known as the *deva-yāna*. The *iḍā* is on the left side, and touches the moon and is known as the *pitṛ-yāna*. The commentary explains that *iḍā* and the *piṅgalā* extend from the *mūlādhāra* to Sahasrāra, and that *deva-yāna* means the *arcirādi-mārga*, that is cessation of rebirth, and *pitṛ-yāna* indicates *dhūma-mārga*, that is, the way of rebirth. These passages may be compared to *Gītā* 8. 24-5. The *Uttara-gītā* (2.20) mentions the seventy-two thousand *nāḍīs* as air passages.

The YV (*Nirvāṇa*, *Pūrva*, 24.20-37) describes the action of the *iḍā* and the *piṅgalā* as breathing organs, but at the end it advises the *yogin* to watch his breath, which seems to be the *ānapānasati* or 'the mindfulness of inhalation and exhalation' of the *Visuddhimagga*.[1]

The system of breath control was developed by the Haṭha-yogins. In their mystic terminology '*ha*' and '*ṭha*' stand respectively for moon or *iḍā*, and sun or *piṅgalā*, also indicating *apāna* (exhalation) and *prāṇa* (inhalation). According to them, *prāṇa* and *apāna* attract and repel each other ; they want but cannot unite so long one is breathing. Sun and moon, or *iḍā* and *piṅgalā* are compared to *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* (male and female principles), and their union, indicated by the cessation of breathing, causes the central *nāḍī*, the *suṣumnā* also known as *śūnya* or *brahmanāḍī*, to open.

In the language of the Sahajiyās, the *iḍā* is known as *lalanā*, *candrā* or *prajñā*, while the *piṅgalā* is known as *rasanā*, *sūrya*, or *upāya*. Between *lalanā* and *rasanā* is a practically wrapped up *śakti* known as Avadhūtī, which opens when the central aperture is opened by the union of *prajñā* and *upāya*. The derivation of the word *avadhūtī* is said to be *avahelayā anābhogena kleś-ādi-pāpān dhunoty=ity=avadhūtī* (it is called *avadhūtī* because it easily shakes off sins like *kleśa* etc., without experiencing them).[2]

The union of the two energies, one from left and the other from right, kindles a flame or produces a ray in the region of the navel known as the *nirmāṇa-cakra* ; this flame or ray is known as the *Mahā-sukha-rāgāgni* or the Caṇḍalī. Avadhūtī is the normal stage when *iḍā* and *piṅgalā* perform their duties of normal breathing ; their union produces the Caṇḍālī. When the union is total, the stage is called Dombī. These three stages represent the *dvaita* (duality), *dvaitādvaita* (unity in duality), and *advaita* (non-duality), corresponding to *parā*, *parāparā*, and *aparā* of *tantra*.[3]

[1]For details of *ānapānasati* see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 103.

[2]G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, p. 76. *Kleśa* here means the five *kleśas* of YS, 2.3, namely, *avidyā* (nescience), *asmitā* (egotism), *rāga* (desire), *dveṣa* (aversion), and *abhiniveśa* (fear of death). See also *the Cultural Heritage of India*, III, p. 604, where *abhiniveśa* is rendered as 'desire to continue to be what one is.'

[3]G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīyā Sādhanār Dhārā*, p. 78. In the language of *Siddhas*, *dombī*, *naṭī*, *rajakī*, *caṇḍālī*, and *brāhmaṇī* represent the five elements (*mahā-bhūtas*) being the five aspects of *prajñā* or *śakti*. Aspirants are divided into *kulas* according to the *śakti* dormant in them, which one should follow in one's *sādhanā*. This peculiar terminology has given rise to the wrong notion that they practise their rites in association with women of different castes. See *The Cultural Heritage of India*, IV, p. 277. For explanation of these and other terms used in *tantrā*, see U.K. Das, op. cit., II, p. 666.

In his commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* (v. 32), Lakṣmīdhara explains 'sun' and 'moon' mentioned in the verse as *iḍā* and *piṁgalā* representing *devayāna* and *pitṛyāna*.[1]

According to the *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā* (HYP 3.4), *suṣumnā*, is also known as *śūnyapada*, *brahmarandhra*, *mahāpatha*, *śmaśāna*, *śāmbhavī*, and *madhya-mārga*.

Many *tantra* texts give the number of *nāḍīs* as seventy-two thousand. But the *Śiva-saṃhitā* (2.13) states that there are three and a half lacs *nāḍiś* in the human body. According to the *Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad*, the ten principal *nāḍīs* are : *iḍā*, *piṁgalā*, *suṣumnā*, *gāndhārī*, *hastijihvā*, *puṣā*, *yaśasvinī*, *alambuṣā*, *kuhu*, and *śaṁkhinī*. To these ten *nāḍīs*, some others add four more, namely *sarasvatī*, *vāruṇā* (or *vāruṇī*), *viśvodarā* (or *viśvodarī*) and *payasvinī*.[2] However, the three principal *nāḍīs* are the *iḍā*, *piṁgalā*, and the *suṣumnā*. Of these, the *suṣumnā*, as we have seen, is the most important. According to some texts, *suṣumnā* is a combination of *susumṇā*, *vajrā*, and *citrinī* ; *vajrā* is sheathed within *suṣumnā*, and within *vajrā* is *citrinī*.

The HYP (3.3) says that 'when the *suṣumnā* bestows as much pleasure to the *prāṇa* as a royal road (to a traveller), then the mind (is detached from its) supports, and time (*kāla*) is cheated'. The verse means that when the vital energy enters *suṣumnā*, the mind becomes free from all objective and subjective contemplation, and the *yogin* crosses the temporal sphere. Time here means the *yogin's* span of life, which, it is believed is determined by the number of breaths allotted to him. If he can stop breathing, his span of life increases to that extent. This is particularly applicable to the Haṭha-yogins and the Siddhācāryas, who practise extremely slow rate of normal breathing to increase their longevity.

According to the *Qabalah*, there are three Pillars of Life, which have been equated with *iḍā*, *piṁgalā*, and *suṣumnā*. Of these, two Pillars, 'the positive under Chokmah and the negative under Binah, correspond respectively to the Ida and Pingala of the Yoga systems. These two magnetic currents, running in the aura parallel to the spine, are called the Sun and Moon currents.'[3]

Vāmācāra Etc.

Modern attitude to *tantra* is due to certain practices associated with it, which permits free sexual union popularly known as *vāmācāra*. Many scholars believe that this practice is non-Vedic, and was adopted from the indigenous tribes of ancient India, who did not enjoy the blessings of the Vedic civilization. It is, therefore, necessary to point out that indiscriminate sexual union was practised during two Vedic sacrifices, namely, the Mahāvrata and the

[1]This is a very interesting passage, but being too long cannot be reproduced here. For a partial translation see *Saundaryalaharī* with English translation and notes by R. Anantakṛṣṇa Sastri, Madras, 1957, p. 61.

[2]For references see U.K. Das, op. cit., II, pp. 942-43.

[3]Dion Fortune, op. cit., pp. 55 and 133.

Gosava.[1] The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (1.2.4, and 2.3.7,) as stated above, uses erotic symbolism, and describes the Mahāvrata (5.1.5) during which 'there is intercourse of creatures, and a conversation between a student and a courtesan'.

The *Chāndogya* (2.13.2) says : 'He who knows this Vāmadevya Sāman as woven upon copulation (*maithuna*) comes to copulate, procreates himself from every copulation, reaches a full length of life, lives long, becomes great in offspring and in cattle, great in fame. One should never abstain from any woman. That is his rule'.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (6.2.13) says : 'Woman, verily, is a sacrificial fire, O Gautama. The sexual organ, in truth, is its fuel, the hairs, the smoke ; the vulva (*yoni*) the flame ; when one inserts, the coals ; the feelings of pleasure, the sparks...'[2]

There are also other passages in Vedic literature quoted by Dr. U.K. Das, on the basis of which he has come to the conclusion that, during the Vedic age the five *makāras* (to be explained later) were used, and that the *tāntrikas* followed the Vedic tradition.[3]

It is true, however, that at a later age these practices were denounced, and shunned by the adherents of the Vedas. The *Saundaryalaharī* (v. 31) says that 'Śiva first promulgated the sixty-four *tantras*, the treatises on various *siddhis* . . . .' The commentator Lakṣmīdhara explains (p. 140) that the sixty-four *tantras* are intended for the attainment of worldly objects, and are meant for the *śūdras* etc., (*śūdrādināṁ catuḥṣaṣṭi-tantresv-adhikāraḥ*). He then adds that 'by the contrary (i.e., perverse) way, followed by the *śūdras*, *vāmācāra* is indicated,' [(*śūdrādin adhikṛtya apasavya-mārgena vāmācāro nirupitaḥ*). For the followers of the Vedic way, Lakṣmīdhara recommends the path shown by Vasiṣṭha, Sanaka, Śuka, Sanandana, and Sanatkumāra, who comprise the Samayācāra group. Their works are called *āgamas*. Lakṣmīdhara also decries the Kaula and Miśra *mārgas* (ways).

Commenting on *Saundaryalaharī* v. 32, Lakṣmīdhara (p. 156)[4] forbids the upper three castes to perform external worship of Śrī-cakra on the authority of the *Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā*, which says that 'one should not perform *bāhya-pūjā* which is for *bāhya-jāti* (*śūdras* etc.) ; it gives small results, and is intended for material benefit. The Kaulas, Kṣapaṇakas, Kāpālikas, Digambaras, Itihāsas, and the Vāmakas are followers of *tantra*. The Vedic Brahmavādins are internal worshipper (or 'meditators', *antar-ārādhana-para*). They are *jīvan-muktas*, and always travel in the three worlds.' Lakṣmīdhara explains that the Kaulas worship *ādhāra-cakra* (that is, *mūlādhāra*) the Kṣapaṇakas the vulva (*yosit-trikoṇa*), the Kāpālikas and the Digambaras worship both ; Itihāsas are those who accept the *Bhairava-yāmala* as authoritative; the

[1] *HDK*, II, p. 1244 and fn. 1213. See above the section on Veda and Tantra.

[2] Tr. by R.E. Hume.

[3] U.K. Das, op. cit., II, pp. 681-82.

[4] The page reference within brackets are to the commentary of the *Saundaryalaharī* mentioned above in fn. 1, p. 534.

Vāmakas are follkwers of *tantra*, according to one view they hold the *Vāmakeśvara tantra* as authority.

However, in the same context, Lakṣmīdhara's explanation of *mithau caritvā praviśet* and *tat sambhavasya vratam* (p. 157) show that the secret union of male and female was not condemned by him, for, his idea was that 'results could be obtained if doctrines were practised alone in a lonely or solitary place (*ekānte eva vidyā phalati*).'

The commentators of the *Saundaryalaharī* mention two *vidyās* : Kādi and Hādi. Lakṣmīdhara gives esoteric explanation of the two *vidyās* in his commentary on verse 1, but he is too obscure. Diṇḍima on v. 33 (tr. p. 63) says that Kādi is inferior to Hādi. The *Aruṇamodinī* commèntary on the *Saundaryalaharī* v. 34, (p. 165) points out that there are two *vidyās*, namely Kādi and Hādi ; the former being dominated by Kāmeśvara leads to *mokṣa*, while the latter being dominated by Kāmeśvarī leads to enjoyment (*bhoga*). *Bhoga* in those days meant, or at least included, sexual union. Commenting on *Saundaryalaharī* v. 58 (part 2, p. 303), Lakṣmīdhara says that 'according to popular notion, happiness consists in the enjoyment of woman. They think that there is no pleasure beyond sexual pleasure (*sukhaṁ tu laukika dṛṣṭāntena strī-sambhog-ātmakam eva, loke'pi strī-saṁmelanāt paraṁ sukhaṁ n=āsti*).'

It thus appears that people were inclined towards physical enjoyment, which were reflected in certain ceremonies connected with *tantra*, and condemned by Lakṣmīdhara and other commentators. This despised group was known as the Kādi, and the respectable one as Hādi. These two groups, and a third one, called *Kahādi*, are mentioned in several *tantra* texts.[1] According to these texts, Kādi is the doctrine of Kālī, Hādi of Tripurasundarī, and Kahādi of Tāriṇī. According to Sir John Woodroffe, the Kādi view prevails in east India, the Hādi in Kashmir, and Kahādi in Kerala. It is difficult to correlate the Kādi group with practitioners of the *vāmācāra*, but it should be noted that *vāmācāra* had more votaries in eastern India than in the south. The persistence of sexual motif in religious ceremonies may have been due to close contact with the non-Vedic tribes in this area.

Dr. R.C. Hazra has observed that 'towards the end of the Vedic period, some female deities of non-Vedic origin began to be associated with the Vedic gods in various ways, and that Umā was the first non-Aryan deity to be regarded as the wife of a Vedic god .... This well-established position of Umā tempted the Śaiva authors of later ages to regard her as the Prakṛti and Māyā of Śiva and to look upon the other goddesses as the different forms of Umā. The Vaisnava authors, on the other hand, picked up Vindhyavāsinī ....'[2] According to the *Devī-purāṇa*[3] Śavaras, Pulindas, and other aboriginal tribes worshipped Devī in the *vāmācāra* manner. The same *purāṇa* describes Varvaras, Pulindas, Śavaras, Taṅkas, and Kapālins as *mleccha* tribes, Dr. Hazra adds that 'from the reference to the Kapālins in this verse it seems that the Kāpālikas were originally a wild tribe (like the head-hunters

[1]For references see U.K. Das, op. cit., pp. 462-63.
[2]R.C. Hazra, op. cit., II, pp. 24-5. [3]V. 34,

of Assam?).'[1]

It is thus seen that there were two opposite views. At a very early age the Vedic people were probably loose in their sexual behaviour, and allowed some of their tribal customs to encroach into some religious ceremonies. Later, however, such ceremonies were discarded, and Patañjali insisted on chastity as the primary virtue without which no spiritual progress was possible. This view has been accepted by all great religious reformers from Buddha to Vivekananda. There was, however, another view which sought to soften the rigours of asceticism. The YV (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 104. 16; 44; 106.6) says: 'Although one is liberated in one's lifetime (*jīvanmukta*) yet (the sense of liberation) cannot give one freedom from desire to taste the pleasure that is presented before him. Suppression of the desire for enjoyment is indeed foolish . . . . So long as our bodies exist, our organs of action must function, and must never be suppressed by intellect . . . The delightful pleasure (of sexual union) has come down to us since creation; therefore natural acts can entail no guilt.' This view, it should be noted, is expressed by a woman, Cuḍālā, and she is referring here to conjugal union. However, Cuḍālā was an accomplished *yoginī*, and her views, though feminine, must be given due consideration, particularly because this view is practically repeated in the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* 9.284.

We have now to discuss the meaning of *vāmācāra*.

The word *ācāra* means 'conduct', 'manner of action', or 'an established rule of conduct', and it is in the last sense that the word is most frequently used in the religious texts. The *tantra* texts speak of seven *ācāras*: *Vedācāra, Vaiṣṇavācāra, Śaivācāra, Dakṣiṇācāra, Vāmācāra, Siddhāntācāra* and *Kaulācāra*. Though some *tantra* texts say that all these seven systems can be either or both *vāmācāra* and *dakṣiṇācāra*, it is usual to hold the first four as *dakṣiṇācāra* and the last three as *vāmācāra*.

Vedācāra is recommended for the common man as the first step. The emphasis of the Vedācāra is on purity, both mental and physical. The next step is the Vaiṣṇavācāra in which all the rigours prescribed for the Vedācāra are to be strictly observed. At this stage the aspirant must give up all thoughts about sex. He must rid himself of cruelty, jealousy etc., and be strictly vegeterian. He worships Viṣṇu.

Then comes Śaivācāra, in which the aspirant has to follow some rules of the Vedācāra, but he can sacrifice animals. He will worship Śiva and Śakti, practise *yama, niyama* etc., and worship Devī till he attains *dhyāna* and *samādhi*. Strict obedience to *guru* (preceptor) is prescribed in the first two *ācāras*, but the follower of the Śaivācāra may raise questions which the *guru* should explain.

In the Dakṣiṇācāra the aspirant will have to follow all the rules appropriate to his caste and stage of life (*varṇāśrama-dharma*), but at night he can drink a little *vijayā* (a kind of hemp), and perform *mantra-japa*. He should meditate on the self, after identifying it with Devī.

[1]R.C. Hazra, op. cit., p. 19 fn. 71 and p. 43 fn. 121.

The *daksiṇācāras* may lead to liberation, but the *tāntrikas* usually regard them as low form of *sādhanā*.

The word *vāmācāra* means '*ācāra* of *vāma*' *vāma* being usually rendered as 'left', in which sense the word is commonly used. Hence *vāmācāra* is usually translated as 'left handed practice'. However, the word *vāma* has several other meanings, such as 'beautiful' as in *vāma-locanā*. It can also mean 'reverse order', or 'opposite', as in *aṁkasya vāmā gatiḥ*, or *kāmasya vāmā gatiḥ*. Hence Swami Saradananda (*Bhārate Śakti Pūjā*, 9th ed., p. 87) is justified in stating that '*vāma* in this case means "reverse". That is, the aim of *vāmācara* is to teach the adept to be perfectly continent which is the reverse of the conduct of ordinary persons who pertakes of the five *ma-kāras*. Or, the acceptance of such objects usually excite irreligious sentiments in ordinary men, while it (*vāmācāra*) aims at rousing the Kuṇḍalinī-śakti whereby the adept becomes more restrained and more religious.'

The word *vāmācāra* can also be derived from *vāmā* meaning 'woman'. Hence it is usually assumed that *vāmācāra* means 'the performance of religious rites in association with a woman'. This view has been contradicted on good authorities, but whatever may be the meaning of *vāmācāra*, the essential ingredients of this form of worship are the five *ma-kāras*, namely, *madya*, *māṁsa*, *matsya*, *mudrā*, *maithuna*, which literally mean wine, meat, fish, finger pose or fried cereals, and sexual union respectively. However, many tāntric texts and modern scholars have interpreted these terms in a different manner altogether.[1] But the texts are not unanimous, and give contradictory interpretations of the terms. The *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* (6.194-97) states : 'For virtuous women (*kula-strīnām*) smelling the wine is as good as tasting it, while a house-holder may drink up to five cups. Too much drinking is detrimental to success. One may drink so long as his vision is not blurred, and his mind is not obfuscated ; drinking beyond this limit is (behaving) like an animal.' It is true that later the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* (8.172) describes wine as milk, sugar, and honey, but these harmless objects could not have been meant in the earlier verse.

However, the *Tantrasāra* (p. 628) of Kṛṣṇānanda *Āgamavāgīśa*, a 17th century text quotes the *Śrīkrama* as follow :

na dadyāt brāhmaṇo madyaṁ Mahādevyai kathañcana
vāmakāmo brahmāṅo hi madyaṁ māṁsaṁ na bhakṣayet

The *Tantrasāra* (p. 629) then quotes several texts which prescribe various harmless substitutes for wine intended to be used by all castes. It also substitutes (p. 630) vegetable substitutes for meat.

According to the *Kulārṇava* and the *Yāmala* quoted in *Tantrasāra* (p. 630), *mudrā* is of two kinds. According to the *Kulārṇava*, it is *kṛsara* (*khicḍi*, mixture of rice and peas, cf., Pāṇini, 8.3.59) shaped like a ball well cooked and stuffed with sugar etc. While the *Yāmala* says that *mudrā* is perched cereals meant for chewing.

Regarding *maithuna*, the fifth *ma-kāra*, it should be particularly noted that

[1]See U.K. Das, op. cit., I, pp. 565-68.

though the texts recommend the performance of the sexual act they condemn sexual desire. As the *Kaulavalinirṇaya* 8.26 says :

ata eva yadā yasya vāsanā kutsitā bhavet
tadā doṣāya bhavati n=ānyathā dūṣanaṁ kvacit

(Therefore it is blameworthy to have dirty desire, otherwise not.) It is again said : *pavitraṁ sakalaṁ c=aiva vāsanā kutsitaṁ bhavet*. (Everything is pure, it is the desire which is dirty).

Secondly, though the sexual act was permitted, emission was forbidden when the act was performed with a woman other than one's wife :

dīkṣitaḥ para-nārīṣu yadi maithunam ācaret
na bindoḥ pātanaṁ kāryaṁ kṛte brahmahā bhavet
yadi na prapated binduḥ para-nārīṣu Pārvati
sarva-siddh-īśvaro bhūtvā vihared bhūmi maṇḍale[1]

(If a consecrated man has sexual intercourse with a woman other than his wife, he should not let his semen fall; if it does, he becomes the murderer of a *brāhmaṇa*. If semen does not fall in a woman other than his wife, he moves about in this world as a lord, and accomplishes all objects.)

We shall see later, that this injunction was not strictly followed, and the *Tantrasāra* gives contrary direction.

However, Atal Behari Ghosh, one of the greatest modern exponents of *tantra* writes : 'By these [five *makāras* or *tattvas*] are meant wine, meat, fish, cereals, and sexual union. These five articles have different meanings for different classes of worshippers. It is to be noted that what one is required to offer is the *tattva* (principle, essence) and not the article itself. The object of using these five *tattvas* in worship is that by repeated practice of the ritualistic observances one acquires a nature whereby everything one does in ordinary life becomes an act of worship . . .

'The aspirant who partakes of the five *tattvas* to please the deity within him incurs no demerit. Such a man looks upon wine and meat as Śakti and Śiva, and is fully alive to the fact that the wine he is about to partake will manifest the bliss that is Brahman within him. Every cup of wine is drunk with appropriate rites, and with recitation of an appropriate *mantra* . . . .

'It should be noted that the term for the fifth *tattva* is derived from the word *mithuna*, which means a couple. Since nothing in the world of experience happens without the combination of two things—even consciousness is impossible without it—, *maithuna* symbolizes the unity which is behind all the duality, which the *jīvanmuktas* (liberated in life) alone can apprehend. By the offering of this *tattva* to the chosen deity is meant the offering of the sense of duality, so that the underlying oneness may be realized. This is the true significance of the fifth item.'[2]

Explaining *vāmācāra*, Swami Pratyagatmananda, another famous modern *tantrika*, writes: 'In the *vāmācāra* or "left" path, which under certain very

[1]Quoted in *HDK*, V, p. 1093 fn. 1769.

[2]Atal Behari Ghosh, The Spirit and Culture of the Tantras, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, IV, pp. 247-48.

stringent conditions prescribes to the *vīra* or "hero" *sādhanā* or ritual adjustment with woman, such sublimation of the so-called "carnal" act has to be effected till the supreme *advaita* Śiva-Śakti experience with its perfect *ānanda* or Bliss is attained. It is this "carnal" desire that constitutes one of the strongest *pāśas* of the *paśu* Jiva. The object is to make even this the "opening" to the perfect whole of experience.'[1]

These explanations may be correct interpretations of the five *makāras* and of *vāmācāra*, but they remind one of the esoteric interpretations of the Vedic sacrifices given in the Āraṇyakas. In tantric terminology, *pāśa* means a fetter, and a *paśu* a person bound by the fetters of the senses. One who has destroyed these fitters is a *vīra* (hero), who alone is entitled to worship with the five *makāras*. This distinction between the *paśu* and the *vīra* shows that the five *makāras* were taken in their literal senses. But in course of time the *paśus* forgot and ignored their limitations, and *tantra* cnme into disrepute as a permissive religion which allowed all sorts of licentious conduct.

Siddhāntacāra is a form of *vāmācāra*. The two are known as *vīrācāra*, because only the *vīras* are permitted to adopt these forms of worship. An aspirant to Siddhāntacāra has to perform all the rites prescribed for *vāmācāra*, in addition to intense meditation.[2]

The last is Kulācāra.[3] The word *kula* has been variously interpreted in tantric texts, so that there are many interpretations of Kulācāra. The most common explanation is that *kula* is Śakti and *akula* is Śiva, and the Kaula is he who knows the relation between *kula* and *akula*.[4] In the *Kulārṇava*, kula has been equated with Brahman, but Abhinavagupta, in his commentary on *Tantrāloka* (3.67) has explained *kula* as that from which the universe has taken rise and into which it will disappear. The followers of Kulācāra are known as the Kaulas.

Usually *vāmācāra* and *kaulācāra* are taken to be identical. But according to the *Kaulamārga-rahasya*, quoted by Dr. U.K. Das (I, p. 582), they are different. *Vāmācāra* is forbidden to the Vedic *brāhmaṇas*, who may, however, adopt *kaulācāra*. *Vāmācāra* is meant for the *sūdras*, and those *brāhmaṇas*, who have discarded the Vedic usages and customs (*vedācāra-bhraṣṭa*), which, as we have seen, is the opinion of Lakṣmīdhara. South Indian *brāhmaṇas* still follow the Vedic customs which practically disappeared from Bengal long ago. Therefore, the South Indian *brāhmaṇas* used to adopt the *kaulācāra* through *dakṣiṇācāra*, while the Bengali *brāhmaṇas* adopted it through *vāmācāra*.

However, according to some authorities, the *kaulācāra* is non-Vedic, and forbidden to a *brāhmaṇa*. Possibly, it came into disrepute due to its association with *vāmācāra* and was therefore condemned as an evil practice. But

[1]Swami Pratyagatmananda, Tantra as a Way of Realization, ibid, p. 233.
[2]For details see U.K. Das, I, p. 573.
[3]For details see ibid, pp. 576-80.
[4]*kulaṁ śaktir=iti proktam akulaṁ Śiva ucyate*
kule' kulasya sambandhaḥ kaulam ity=abhidhīyate
For reference see U.K. Das, op. cit., I, p. 578 fn. 3.

kaulācāra can be performed without the five *ma-kāras*, though, their use is recommended in the Kali age.

Kāmeśvara, in his *Aruṇāmodinī* commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* (33) distinguishes between *uttara-kaula* and *dakṣiṇa-kaula*. Commenting on v. 35, Lakṣmīdhara says that according to the Uttara-kaulas, Pradhāna, and no one else, not even Śiva, is the controller of the universe (*jagat-kartṛ*). Pradhāna transforms Herself into the five elements and Her Śakti is transformed into mind and other mental faculties. Hence mind etc., are transformations of Śakti, and the elements are the transformations of Her essential form (*sva-rūpa*). The phenomenal world is Her dynamic form (*kārya-rūpa*). She Herself remains in a causal form, which is called the *ādhāra-kuṇḍalinī*. Lakṣmīdhara gives details of their form of worship in his comments on v. 41, where he states: 'According to the Kaulas, *bindu* resides in the triangle (*trikona*). Their deity is *bindu*. Therefore the Kaulas worship *bindu* daily. The triangle is of two kinds. One is the central *yoni* inside the nine *yonis* of the Śrī-cakra,[1] (and the other is) the visible *yoni* (vulva) of a young woman. The Pūrva-kaulas paint the Śrī-cakra on palm-leaf, gold, silk, or a wooden seat, and worship the central *yoni*. The Uttara-kaulas worship the visible *yoni* (that is, the vulva). Both the *yonis* are external, not internal. Therefore, they are to be worshipped in the *ādhāra-cakra*. The Kuṇḍalinī-śakti which resides there is called Kaulinī. The secret of the triangle-worshippers (*trikoṇa-pūjaka*) is Her worship. This Kuṇḍalinī-Śakti is to be worshipped as the sleeping *bindu* .... This is a base form of worship (*tāmiśrā*, lit. 'dark'). The Kaulas are delivered as soon as Kuṇḍalinī is aroused. Hence the Kaulas are called "men of instantaneous delivery" (*kṣaṇa-mukta*). They collect wine, meat, honey, fish, and adopting *vāmācāra*, render the visible *trikoṇa* the abode of cupid (*Manmatha-cchtraṁ*[2] The turned down *trikoṇa* is worshipped. The Digambaras and also the Kṣapaṇakas stretch the women on their back, and worship the turned up *trikoṇa*. What more is there to be said? These non-Vedic customs are not even fit to be recalled to memory.'

It is difficult to say as to how far this description of the condemned *kaulācāra*, coming from a non-Kaula, is correct. But just as the opponent of a celebrated man points out the dark sides of the latter's character, which need not be necessarily false because the celebrity's partisans are silent about them, so also in religion, and other affairs of men. Particularly in *tantra*, where the participants are wedded to silence, it is not possible to dismiss Lakṣmīdhara's description as *odium theologicum*. There is no doubt that that *vāmācāra* and *kaulācāra* came into disrepute because of the licentious behaviour of some

[1]The *Śrī-cakra* is a geometrical figure; for a reproduction see *Saundaryalaharī*, frontispiece.

[2]*Manmatha-cchatram* seems to be a misprint for *Manmatha-chatram*. Even so, the meaning is obscure. The next sentence says: *adho-mukhaṁ trikoṇaṁ adho-mukham eva chatraṁ pūjayanti*, of which we have translated the first half. The sentence may mean the *aupariṣṭaka* of Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* if the word *chatra* is taken as a male member for which, however, we cannot find any authority.

of their votaries. Real Kaula *sādhanā* is extremely difficult as will be evident from the following verse quoted by Dr. Das (I, p. 586):.

vāme rāmā ramaṇa-kuśalā daksiṇe pāna-pātram
madhye nyāstaṁ marīca-sahitaṁ śūkarasy-oṣṇa-māṁsam
skandhe vīnā lalita-subhagā sad-guruṇāṁ prapañcaḥ
kaulo dharmaḥ parama-gahano yoginām apy=agamyaḥ
(*Kulāvali-nirṇaya*, 21. 189-90)

(On his left is a woman expert in amorous acts, on the right is a cup of wine, in the middle is hot spiced boar's meat, on his shoulder is a beautiful lute; this *prapañca* (false appearance) is due to the *sad-guru* (the great preceptor). The religion of the Kaulas is very difficult to be understood (and is) unattainable even by the *yogins*.)

This verse, supported by others, indicates that the Kaula was expected to conquer all forms of temptation, and undoubtedly there were many who did. But some *tantras*, like the *Mahānirvāṇa*, (4. 38-107) allows anyone to follow the *kaulācāra*. and practically makes it obligatory upon a Kaula to initiate everyone. The *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* did not envisage the type of *kaulācāra* described by Lakṣmīdhara, but there was hardly any obstruction for a weak person to indulge in his lower passions if he felt tempted. For, he could quote other authorities in support of his deviation. In any case the *Mahāniravāṇa-tantra* (8.177-200) recommends the Bhairavī-cakra where men and women of all castes could mix indiscriminately after a temporary so-called Śaiva marriage.

However, the *Kulārṇava-tantra* (II) says: 'If by drinking one attained the supreme goal, all the rascals who drink would have attained salvation. If by eating meat, one acquired merit, all the meat eaters would have become meritorious. If by enjoying women, salvation could be attained, all the living beings enjoying sex would have been liberated.'

It is evident that those who recommended and honestly practised *kaulācāra* were aware of its pitfall, hence the knowledge of the *kaulavidyā* was enjoined to be kept secrest.

Besides the *ācāras* mentioned above, there was another called the *samayācāra*. Lakṣmīdhara in his comments on the *Saundaryalaharī* (v. 31. pp. 140-41) first mentions sixty-four *tantras* and names some of them. Then he states that the *mārgas* (roads) shown by the five sages, namely, Vaisiṣṭha, Sanaka, Śuka, Sanandana, and Sanatkumāra are in accordance with the Vedas, and these are known as *samayācāra*, which is based on five texts (propounded by the five sages) known as the *Śubhāga-pañcaka*, followed by Lakṣmīdhara. Previously, while explaining *Candrakalā*, a *tantra* based on Śrī-vidyā, Lakṣmīdhara gives the names of the following eight texts on which the work is based: *Candrakalā*, *Jyotsnāvatī*, *Kulārṇava*, *Kuleśvarī*, *Bhuvaneśvarī*, *Bārhaspatya*, and *Durvāsamata*. 'The (upper) three castes and also the *śūdras* are entitled to these eight *tantras*. Regarding the *brāhmanas* etc., they are to perform all the rites according to the *savyamārga* (i.e., *dakṣiṇācara*) and *prādakṣiṇya* ('circumbulation keeping one's right side towards an object', or

'respectfully'). With reference to the *śūdras* etc., *apasavyamārga* is considered *vāmācāra*.'

Lakṣmīdhara then says that according to Kula-samaya, by which he apparently means *samayācāra*, Candrakalā-vidyā is *miśraka*, while the sixty-four *tantras* are *kulamārga*. He then quotes the following line evidently from an Āgama text : *misrakaṁ kaulamārgaṁ ca parityājyaṁ hi Śāṁkari* (O Śāṁkari, the *miśraka* and also the *kaulamārga* are to be abandoned). Therefore, he recommends the *Śubhāgapañ cakas* as being in accordance with the Vedas.

Commenting on v. 33 of the *Saundaryalaharī*, Lakṣmīdhara says that the followers of *samaya* doctrine do not have to perform *puraścaraṇa* of *mantra*, *japa*, external *homa*, nor external *pūjā* (that is, rituals). Later, commenting on v. 41, Lakṣmīdhara says that, the followers of the *samaya* doctrine should not perform any external worship. Explaining the term *samaya* he says: *Śambhunā sāmyaṁ pañcavidhaṁ yāt=īti samaya* (because it establishes five kinds of identities or equipoises [of Śakti] with Śambhu, it is called *samaya*). Both Śiva and Śakti are equal in this doctrine. The five kinds of equipoises are : *adhiṣṭhāna-sāmya* (residing together), *avasthāna-sāmya* (occupying identical position), *anuṣṭhāna-sāmya* (performing the same function), *rūpa-sāmya* (assuming the same form), and *nāma-sāmya* (assuming the same name). Lakṣmīdhara adds that the aspirant in this doctrine must have utmost regard for his *guru*, from him he would receive the *mantra* which he should chant (*japa*) according to the *guru's* instructions, and with a knowledge of the *mantra's* seer, metre, and deity. Some more details are also given, but those are omitted here.

Some Kaula texts define Samaya as a doctrine which prescribes obligatory and prohibitory rules. The word *samaya* has also been rendered as 'secret', and *samayācāra* as 'secret doctrine'. According to the Kaulas, a follower of *samayācāra* has not reached the highest level.[1] This opinion seems to be biased.

Cakrānuṣṭhāna

The word *cakra* means a circle. The rite which is performed by males and females sitting together in a circle is known gs the *cakrānuṣṭhāna* or *cakra-pūjā*. The *Niruttara-tantra* speaks of five kinds of *cakras*: *rāja-cakra*, *mahā-cakra*, *deva-cakra*, and *paśu-cakra*. The rituals observed in these *cakras* are not clear, but the types of females who can attend the *cakras* are given. They are *bhūmīndra-kanyā* (meaning obscure), daughter of a washerwoman, *caṇḍālī*, *kāpālī*, and *yoginī*.[2]

Besides these, there is the Bhairavī-cakra, some details of which are given in the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* (8. 177-203). The performance of this *cakra* is said to produce very great merit. What rites are actually performed in this *cakra* is not given, but it is said that all kinds of food and drinks may be used in this *cakra*. No caste distinction is to be observed during the performance of this *cakra*, but when it is over, the participants revert to their castes. 'In the

[1]For details and references see U.K. Das, op. cit, I, pp. 575-76.

[2]See U.K. Das, op. cit., II, pp. 670-71.

Bhairavī-cakra and the Tattva-cakra one must marry according to the Śaiva rite. If the *vīra* (that is, the participant) enjoys a *śakti* (that is, a woman) without marrying her, he will undoubtedly incur the sin of adultery' (8.178-79). From this injunction, it is apparent that sex act among the participants was contemplated and permitted. However, it is added that in the Kali-age it should not be performed in secret (8. 190), which practically eliminates sexual intercourse.

Another *cakra* mentioned in the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* (8.204-20) is the Tattva-cakra. From 8.178-79 mentioned above, it is apparent that in *Tattva-cakra* also the aspirant had to perform Śaiva marriage, but from the later verses it appears that the Tattva-cakra was exclusively meant for men. It is possible that both the sexes derived merit from the Bhairavī-cakra, but only the males did so in the Tattva-cakra. No one has the right to engage in the performance of the Tattva-cakra unless he is a *Brahmasādhaka* (worshipper of Brahman). In this *cakra* all the *tattvas* (wine etc.), should be collected and placing them in front the Tārā-mantra, that is, *aum*, and the *Prāṇa-bīja*, that is *haṁśaḥ śuciṣad* (*Ṛgveda*, IV, 40.5) should be recited over all the *tattvas*, which should be offered to the highest Self while chanting the verse *brahmārpaṇam brahma-havir . . .* (*Gītā*, 4. 24) which really means that 'he attains Brahman, who perceives Brahman in every object, all whose actions are dedicated to Brahman.' He should then repeat *Brahma-manu*, which is '*aum sac-cid-ekam Brahma*,' and thereafter all the participant *sādhakas* should engage in eating and drinking.[1]

Guru

Guru, the preceptor, occupies an exalted position in all schools and forms of Hindu *sādhanā*. Success cannot be attained without his guidance and grace. Indeed the practice of *yoga* and *tantra* without proper guidance can lead to disaster. The importance of *guru* even in ancient days is indicated by *Chāndogya* 4.9.3, *Kaṭha* 1, 2.9, 1.3.14; *Muṇḍaka* 1.2.12; *Taittirīya* 1.3.3; 1.11.1; and *Śvetāśvatara* 6. 23. In *Gītā* 11.43, Arjuna hails Kṛṣṇa as the 'great guru', and commenting on *Gītā* 4.39, Śaṁkara explains *tatpara* as 'one who is engaged in serving the *guru*'.

Manu 2.113 says that 'a *Brahmavādin* should rather die than transfer his knowledge to an unworthy person even if thereby he has to suffer great privations.' Among the *gurus* Manu (2.117) ordains that reverence must be made first to him who has imparted *Brahma-jñāna*, then to him who has taught the Vedas, and lastly to the teacher of mundane subjects (*laukika-jñāna*, explained by Medhātithi as *kalās* like music etc., or works by Vātsyāyana and Viśākhi; but Kulluka explains the word as *arthaśāstra* etc.). Thereafter, Manu (2.191-212) gives detailed instructions on the student's behaviour and attitude towards the *guru*. Their importance is that *guru-śiṣya* relation is still based

[1]The importance of the *tattva-cakra*, which is found only in the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra*, is that, it is possible that Raja Rammohun Roy derived his idea of the Ātmīya-sabhā, which later developed into the Brāhma-samāj, from this *tattva-cakra*. He was the first man to consider the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* as authoritative.

on Manu's rules, though few of them are aware of it.[1]

The Buddhists usually referred to their teacher or preceptor as *sanmitra* or *kalyāṇamitra* ('good friend', or 'virtuous friend'). The Bauddha *tantras*, as MM. Kane has pointed out, have the highest praise for the guru. The *Jñāna-siddhi* (13.9-12) prescribes high qualifications for a *guru*, and the *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi* (3.9-16) 'contains a grand eulogy of the *guru*, identifying him with Buddha, and calling him omniscient and so on.'[2]

The *Yogavāśiṣṭha* (*Upaśama*, 5.14-16) says: 'The mind becomes pure firstly by (reading) the *śāstras*, then by dispassionateness (*vairāgya*), and then by the society of good men (*sajjana-saṃga*). When the mind is full of benevolence and free from worldly desires, one should approach a learned *guru*. One should meditate and worship according to the instructions of the *guru*, and ultimately one would gain the highest of devotion to the most holy.' In *Upaśama*, 24. 44-7 it is said that beginning should be made by listening to the scriptures, which would lead to distaste for mundane pleasures. At this stage one should go to the *guru*. Two parts of the mind should be filled up with scriptural learning and renunciation, and the other two with meditation and *guru-pūjā*.

However, the YV (*Upaśama*, 7. 3-4) also says: 'There are two methods of gaining an object. One is by observing the instructions of the *guru*, which gradually leads to success in the course of one or several births. The second is the attainment of knowledge through self-intuition, like the falling of a fruit from the sky.' However, a little later, (*Upaśama*, 12. 7-8) Vasiṣṭha adds that, the highest knowledge can be attained only by one's own intellect, and not by listening to a *guru* or reading scriptures. Vasiṣṭha again says: (*Upaśama*, 56.3): 'Ponder on the meaning of the *śāstras* and on *guru's* words . . . . Practise of *vairāgya*, understanding of *śāstra*, *prajñā* (intellection), and *guru* leads to the holy state.' Again Vasiṣṭha says (*Upaśama*, 92.25-7), that restraining the breath is tantamount to restraining desire, and the former must be practised according to the direction of the wise. By renouncing desire, the mind-stuff becomes inert, but by breath control one may do whatever one likes. By long practise of *prāṇāyāma*, as taught by the *guru*, by maintaining the correct posture (*āsana*), and by taking proper food, one can restrain one's breath.'

[1]The following example may be cited. People travelling in a boat to Dakṣiṇeśvara were criticizing Śrī-Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṃsa, but Yogindra (later Swami Yogananda), a young disciple of the Saint, who was travelling in the boat kept quiet. Later, when he related the incident, Śrī-Rāmakṛṣṇa admonished Yogindra for his conduct and said that according to *śāstra*, one should behead the maligner of the *guru* or leave the place. Swami Saradananda, *Śrī-Śrī-Rāmakṛṣṇa-Līlā-Prasaṃga, Ṭhākurer Divyabhāv O Narendra-nāth*, p. 186. Manu does not recommend beheading in such cases but says:

guror=yatra parivādo nindā v=āpi pravartate
karṇau tatra pidhātavya gantavyaṁ va tato'nyataḥ (2.200)

(Where the guru is criticized or maligned, [the *śiṣya*] should either cover his ears, or leave the place).

[2]*HDK*, V, p. 1071.

Again Vasiṣṭha says (*Upaśama*, 91.26): 'For the pacification of the mind, a *yogin* should restrain his *prāṇa* by *prāṇāyāma* and meditation and by *prayoga* (lit. application) *yukti-kalpita* (rationally invented)'. Explaining the phrase *prayogair=yukti-kalpitaiḥ* the commentator states; *yoga-śātroktaiḥ sad-guru-sampradāyādi-siddha-yukti-kalpitais=tad=upāy=ābhyāsa-prayaogaiḥ* that is *yukti* is the guidance given by the preceptor, and *kalpita* is the system prevalent and approved by the sect, both being based on *yoga-śāstra*, their habitual practice being called *prayoga*.

The commentator seems to have correctly interpreted, for *sampradāya* plays a very important role in *sādhanā*, and many technicalities are disclosed only to the initiated members of a *sampradāya*. Indeed a *sampradāya* is so important, that Śaṃkara goes to the extent of saying: '*a-sampradāyavit sarva-śāstravid api mūrkhavad eva upekṣaṇīyaḥ* ('A person, who does not belong to any sect, should be ignored as if he were a fool, even if he knew all the scriptures'; on *Gita*, 13.2).

According to some tantric texts, a *sampradāya* means the traditional customs and usages which have been transmitted through successive *gurus*. That is, the *guru* is the custodian of the sectarian or hereditary customs.

However, Vasiṣṭha adds (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 41. 14-7) that though the teaching of the *guru* enlightens the *śiṣya*, it is the Self which realizes itself. Neither the *śāstras*, nor the teachings of the *guru* can reveal the Self which reveals itself. But the Self can never be realized without the *guru's* instructions, and the understanding of the *śāstras*, therefore both are needed for the revelation of the knowledge of the Self. Hence the knowledge of the Self (*ātmajñāna*) is revealed by the efforts of the *guru* combined with scriptural knowledge as the bustle of the multitude (awakens a sleeping man to gaze at the rising sun).

Vasiṣṭha then says (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 44.18): 'The foolish beginning and cessation of action should be forcibly perished by the (teachings of) the *guru*, scriptures, and continence.' Further, 'the *guru's* guidance (*upadeśa*) is to be followed steadily, but knowledge is due to the disciple's intelligent discrimination' (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 83.13). That is, a stupid *śiṣya* cannot attain knowledge even with the *guru's* help. The reason is, as Vasiṣṭha adds (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 83. 25-6): 'While the scriptures etc., are to be understood by the sense-organs, Brahman is beyond the reach of all senses (*indriyātīta*), hence teaching (of the *guru*) cannot gain for you the knowledge of the Self. Without *guru's* teaching, however, one cannot know the Self . . .' Later Viśvāmitra says (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 128. 63-4): 'It is the intelligence of the disciple which grasps the teachings of the *guru*; but how can he understand if his three impurities are not withered? For direct cognition both the *guru* and the *śiṣya* are necessary. Where both are qualified, the result will certainly be likewise (that is, positive).'

However, Viśvāmitra has also said (*Nirvāṇa, Pūrva*, 128.61):

darśanāt sparśanāc=chabdāt kṛpayā śiṣya dehake
janayed yah samāveśaṃ śāmbhavaṁ sa hi deśikaḥ

Here *āveśa* happens, as explained by MM. Gopinath Kaviraj,[1] when the

[1]G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛti aur Sādhanā*, p. 261.

kuṇḍalinī awakens, and, after penetrating the *cakras*, unites with Para-Śiva in the *brahma-randhra*; and *deśika* means *guru*. Hence the verse should mean that '*guru* is he, who can induce *āveśa* (that is, arouse fully his Kuṇḍalinī-śakti) in the body of the disciple by looking at, touching, or talking to him.'

Practically at the end of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (*Nirvāṇa*, *Uttara*, 197, 11-31) Vasiṣṭha deals elaborately with the *śāstra*, which, he says, cleanses the mind of its impurities, by acting as a beacon light. But he again emphasizes that, 'the ultimate knowledge cannot be gained through the *śāstras*, nor by the words of the *guru*, nor by gifts, nor by worshipping a deity.' (ibid, 18).

At the end of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (*Nirvāṇa*, *Uttara*, 216.23), the disciple Sutīkṣṇa pays homage to Vālmīki, in course of which he says: 'There is no other act (except submission to the *guru*) physically, verbally, and mentally by which one can express his gratitude to the *guru*, for having with his help traversed the sea of worldly turmoil.'

Thus it will be seen that the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* gives equal importance to the *guru* and the *śiṣya*, but other texts quoted by MM. Gopinath Kaviraj claim that the *guru* by himself is sufficient. As Bhāskararāya says in his commentary on the *Lalitā-sahasranāmā: ayoge'pi yogyatām āpādya Śrī-guru-sūryo bodhayati* The auspicious sun-like *guru* can awaken an unfit (disciple) by rendering him fit.')

In the *Nityotsava* of Umānanda-nātha, disciple of Bhāsurānanda-nātha (that is, Bhāskararāya as he was called before initiation), the *guru*, Bhāskararāya is described as, 'to whom no part of the earth was unseen (owing to his yogic sight), there was no king who was not his slave, to whom no *śāstra* was unknown: why use mere words, whose form was the highest Śakti Herself.'[1]

During all these discussions of the relative importance of the *guru* and the *śiṣya*, Vasiṣṭha adds an important rider (*Nirvāṇa*, *Pūrva*, 29.68-9): 'When a man is violently overpowered by the *yakṣa* (demon) of desire, neither *śāstra*, nor friends, nor *guru*, nor any man can rescue him. When the demon of desire is pacified, *guru*, *śāstra*, and friends can rescue him as an animal is rescued from a shallow mire.'

Eulogy of the *guru* became progressively more pronounced. The *Kulārṇava* (12.45) says: 'The person, who considers the *guru* as a mere mortal, a *mantra* as mere (combination of) letters, and the images (of deities) as mere stones, falls into hell.' The *Kulārṇava* (14.3-4) also states: 'It is declared in the doctrine taught by Śiva, that without *dīkṣā* there would be no *mokṣa*, that *dīkṣā* cannot be had without an *ācārya* (*guru*), and that the *mantras* would yield no results unless a *guru* instructs (a disciple) about them.' The *Rudrayāmala* (2.65) says: 'The *guru* is father, mother, deity, and the ultimate resort. If Śiva is angered the *guru* can save (the disciple), but none can save him if the *guru* is angry.'

As the *Vāmakeśvara-tantra* says: *karṇāt karṇopadeśena saṃprāptam avanīta-*

[1]Tr. by MM. Kane, *HDK*, V, p. 1071. MM. Kane has pointed out (fn. 1731) that the translation of the verse by B. Bhattacharya in his introduction to the *Guhyasamāja* is wrong.

lam, that is (the *tantra*) has reached the world having been carried from ear to ear,' it cannot be learnt from books. Actually learning *tantra* from books is forbidden (*tena pustk-ādy=upāy-āntarena grahaṇa-niṣedho dhvanitaḥ*).[1] Thus the *guru* is of fundamental importance, and an aspirant of *tantra* must secure a proper *guru*. It may be mentioned here that though Patañjali does not say anything about the *guru*, no one can become an adept in *yoga* without one. Indeed Patañjali's silence about the details of *āsana*, for example, indicates that he intended these to be learnt from a *guru*. It has been found in practice that it is dangerous to learn *prāṇāyāma* except under the guidance of a proper *guru*.

A woman could be a *guru*. There is at least one example of a woman head of a Śaiva monastery in ancient India. Her name was Yāgeśvarī or Yogeśvarī mentioned in an inscription of V.S. 1265 as the spiritual ancestor of the presiding abbot.[2]

Many tantric texts dilate at length on the requisite qualifications of a *guru* and the *śiṣya*. The *Śāradātilaka* (2.142-52) states that, the *guru* 'must know the essence of the Āgamas, and the principle and meanings of all *śāstras*.' 'He must be one whose words come out true, who has a quiet mind, who has profoundly studied the Veda and its meaning, who follows the path of *yoga*, and whose bearing is as beneficient as that of a deity.' Among the many qualifications demanded from a disciple, one is that he must keep secret the *mantra* and *pūjā* imparted by his *guru*. The disciple places the *guru's* feet on his head, and surrenders his body, wealth, and even life to the *guru*.

There were valid reasons for the importance ascribed to the *guru*, but the privileges enjoyed by him naturally induced lazy loafers to assume the role of *guru*, and cheat people by smooth talks and clever manipulation of popular superstitions. Sanskrit literature contains their caricatures, and diatribes against them. *Tantra* texts like the *Jñāna-siddhi* and the *Kulārṇava* (13.128) warn against *gurus* who falsely pretend to know the truth and give instructions in *dharma* from greed for money.[3] Ultimately, fake *gurus* and dissolute disciples became so common, that the entire system of *tantra* came to be despised by the common men.

'According to Āgama, there are four types of *yoginṣ: samprāpta*, *ghaṭamāna*, *siddha*, and *susiddha* *Samprāpta* is one who has received instructions in *yoga*; while a practitioner, who has not attained the goal, is known as *ghaṭamāna*. These two types cannot be *guru*. The *siddha-yogin* acquires the *svabhyasta* ('much practised,' that is, 'controlled') knowledge by which he can liberate others, and not through the influence of his *siddhi* (supernatural powers). Such a *yogin* is superior to a *jñānin*, because in addition to being a *yogin* he is a *jñānin* too. The *susiddha-yogin* is beyond the plane of ordinary life. He is indifferent to and unaffected by his surroundings, and also to sufferings and enjoyments. He is considered as a Śiva in human form. He

[1] For reference see U.K. Das, op. cit., II, p. 1029.
[2] Abu Inscription, *Indian Antiquary*, XI, p. 220.
[3] See *HDK*, V, pp. 1073-76.

alone acquires all the supernatural powers, but he never acts like a *guru* to liberate men, but works through the agency of his attendants who are endowed with knowledge (*vidyeśvara-gaṇa*).

'Therefore, the *Mālinītantra*, after discussing the problem, recommends the *guru* endowed with *svabhyasta* knowledge for those who desire emancipation (*mokṣa*). Hence the criterion of a *guru* is '*svabhyasta-vijñāna*' and not expertise in *yoga* (*yogitva*).

'But a *yogin* can also be a *guru*, though a *jñānin* is preferable to a mere *yogin*. For him, who desires *mokṣa*, it has been said.

āmodārthi yathā bhṛṁgaḥ puṣpāt puṣpāntaraṁ vrajet
vijñānārthī tathā śiṣyo guror-gurv-āntaraṁ vrajet

(Just as a pleasure-seeking bee moves from flower to flower, so let a knowledge-seeking disciple go from one *guru* to another).[1]

The necessity for the plurality of *gurus* is supported by other texts. The *Kaṭha* (1.3.14) says: '*prāpya varān nibodhata*,' where *varān* has been explained by Śaṃkara as '*prakṛṣtān ācāryāḥ*' (best teachers). This is practically reiterated in the *Gītā* (4.34), where a person is enjoined to learn the true knowledge from several teachers: *jñāninas=tattva-darśinaḥ*. Śaṃkara explains that here *jñāninaḥ* has been qualified with *tattva-darśinaḥ* because only a few among the *jñānins* are *tattva-darśins*, and he concludes; 'The Lord intends to say that, only that *jñāna* is operative (or, leads to success) which has been taught by a *saṃyag-darśinaḥ*, and not by others.'

The going from one *guru* to another does not necessarily mean change of *guru*, or discarding the previous *guru*. However, under certain circumstances, a guru can be rejected. A verse quoted in the *Vāmakeśvara-tantra* says:[2]

guror=apy=avaliptasya kāry-ākāryaṁ ajānataḥ
utpatha pratipannasya parityāgo vidhīyate

(A *guru*, who is vain and arrogant, does not know what should be done and what should not be done, (and) follows the wrong road, should be forsaken.)

This verse has also been quoted as an authority by Jīva Gosvāmin in the *Bhakti-sandarbha*.[3]

Almost the identical verse is found twice in the *Mahābhārata*, only the last pada in the *Udyoga-parva* (178.24) being *kāryaṁ bhavati śāśanam* (reading doubtful), and in the *Śānti* (57.7) being *daṇḍo bhavati śāśvataḥ* (punishment is prescribed of yore). The *Śānti* (57.5) states that 'if a friend or a *guru* acts against the interests of the state, they are to be killed'. Apparently, with the passage of time, the vulnerability of the position of a *guru* was modified, and it was felt that discarding a bad *guru* was sufficient.[4]

[1] G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛti aur Sādhanā*, p. 263.

[2] For references see U.K. Das, op. cit., II, p. 755. For details on *guru* see ibid, pp. 725-64.

[3] *Bhakti-sandarbha*, ed. by R.R. Goswami and K.G. Goswami, Calcutta University, 1962, p. 408.

[4] It is difficult to explain *parityāga* which means 'discarding' in the present context. A *kula-guru* (hereditary family preceptor) cannot (rather 'could not') be discarded. Second-

Dīkṣā

Dīkṣā or initiation such as the *upanayana* ceremony has been prevalent since the early Vedic times. The sacrificer of a Vedic ceremony too had to be initiated in a purificatory ceremony. As the *Atharvaveda* (XII.1.1) says: *satyaṁ bṛhad ṛtaṁ ugraṁ dīkṣā tapo Brahma yajñaḥ pṛthivīṁ dhārayanti* (Great truth, formidable moral order, vows of initiation, austerities, prayer [or knowledge], and sacrifice support the earth.)

The *tantra* texts derive the word *dīkṣā* (initiation) from the root *dā* (to give) and *kṣi* (to destroy), so that the word *dīkṣā* means 'that which gives knowledge (of divine things) and destroys sins and everything which lead to hell.' The *Kulārṇava* (17.51) says that 'the virtuous call it *dīkṣā*, because it confers a divine (holy) state and wipes off all sins, thereby freeing a man from the bondage of *saṃsāra*.' The *Śāradātilaka* (4.2) states that 'since it confers divine knowledge and destroys sins, it is named *dīkṣā* by the teachers who know the *tantras*.'[1]

Initiation or *dīkṣā* given by a *guru* is the first and the most essential step in *tantra sādhanā*. The *tantra* texts generally contain high eulogies of *dīkṣā*, though there is a school of opinion which deny the efficacy or the utility of *dīkṣā*. 'This difference of opinion is due to the difference in defining the terms. For *dīkṣā* is also taken to mean *śakti-pāta* (descent of *śakti*) which may be entirely due to Divine Grace, while in the restricted sense, which is generally used, *dīkṣā* means the particular ritual performed to invoke Divine Grace.' According to MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, the two views are not contradictory, for the root of nescience cannot be destroyed without the descent of *śakti*. 'According to the Advaita Āgamas, nescience is of two kinds, *pauruṣa* and *bauddha*, and there are also corresponding *pauruṣa* and *bauddha* knowledge. The *pauruṣa* nescience is fundamental. When the Undifferentiated One in His *Līlā* (sport) apparently becomes differentiated, that is, when He contracts His plenitude of Śakti and reveals Himself as *jīva*, then the *jīva* loses his essential knowledge of the 'self' (*svarūpa-jñāna*), namely, that he is not different from the Supreme Lord. This nescience causes him to forget his real 'self', and this is *pauruṣa* nescience. That is, the Lord Himself being omniscient and being fully cognizant of His real and essential self, surrounds Himself with a veil of nescience in order to appear as many. This is known as the *nigraha*- or the *tirodhāna-śakti* of the Lord, by which He covers Himself in order to appear in various forms. It is not possible to remove this nescience by *yoga*, penance, *sādhanā* or prayer. It can only be removed when the Lord Himself

ly, a *mantra*, even if transmitted by a bad man does not lose its potency, provided he was authorized to transmit it by a valid *guru*, though the bad *guru* may have lost the power of applying it (*prayoga*). Even otherwise, it may normally happen, that a person, after initiation by his *kula-guru*, receives initiation from some other *guru*, which does not mean that he has forsaken his *kula-guru*.

[1]Tr. by MM. Kane, *HDK*, V, p. 1117. For details of *dīkṣā*, see *Dīkṣāprakāśikā* of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa, Śaka 1719 (=AD 1797) published by Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1935, and U.K. Das, op. cit., II, pp. 690-724.

removes His own veil, and the act of its removal is known as His *anugraha-śakti* (grace). Śiva by his volition becomes *paśu*, and by another act of volition is re-established in His essential form of Śiva. Both are the play of His own will.

'Here it may be asked, "Is then *sādhanā* necessary?" The answer is that, it is undoubtedly necessary. The advantage gained by *sādhanā* does not lie in removing the *pauruṣa* nescience, but in the removal of its image, which shines as a reflected nescience in the intelligence (*buddhi*), and is known as the *bauddha* nescience. Unless there is *pauruṣa* nescience as the basis, there cannot be *bauddha* nescience, just as there cannot be reflected moon in the lake unless there is a moon in the sky. From the phenomenal point of view, *pauruṣa* nescience has existed since eternity. *Buddhi* is a modification of Prakṛti. Therefore at the time of assuming a corporeal form when *buddhi* is manifested, it receives at the same time the image of the eternal root-nescience. This is the fundamental mystic of the "original sin" of the Christians. From the point of view of the *jīva*, this nescience also appears to be basic, but in reality it is not so, and can be easily removed by *bauddha* knowledge. But that must be preceded by the removal of the *pauruṣa* nescience by the majesty and power of the Lord's *anugraha-śakti* (Power of kindness; of restoring favour) and through *dīkṣā* etc. In that case liberation in life (*jīvan-mukti*) takes place as soon as the *bauddha* nescience is removed.

'If for some particular reason, that is, due to the want of proper *sādhanā* etc., the *bauddha* knowledge fails to appear, while due to God's grace and by *dīkṣā* by the *sad-guru*, a person's *pauruṣa* nescience is removed, then, though that initiated person may not attain *jivan-mukti*, he certainly gains sameness or identity of nature (*tādātmya*) with the Undifferentiated Self. Because, the *pauruṣa* nescience being removed due to the power of *dīkṣā*, the *pauruṣa* knowledge is bound to arise as soon as the obstacles grounded on *buddhi* is removed. With the dissolution of the present body all the obstacles to *buddhi* are removed, for the effect of the "commenced actions" (*prārabdha karma*) extends up to death and not beyond.

'From the above discussion it will be apparent that, while ordinary *dīkṣā* is important, *sādhanā* etc., are also necessary. The great significance of *dīkṣā* is that proper initiation by a *sad-guru* (really qualified *guru*) must result in the attainment of the ultimate object. For, *dīkṣā* removes all the impurities (*mala*) which cover the Self (*pūrṇa-svarūpa*) due to the influence of the Māyā-śakti. Only the *prārabdha* (fruit yielding or fructifying *karmans*) remain. Their results have to be endured by the *jīva* because their purification is contrary to the Lord's will.

'Due to the *bauddha* knowledge, even when the knowledge "I am Brahman" arises, completion of the result mentioned above does not take place. The efficacy of *sādhanā* is that, the intellectual obstacles being removed by it, one may feel infinitude during lifetime. That is, the dawn of the sense of infinitude is due to *dīkṣā*, but due to physical and intellectual impurities, it is not perceptible. When by dint of *sādhanā*, *bauddha* knowledge arises and

expels the *bauddha* nescience, the initiated person perceives the infinitude. . . .

'Still the problem remains that *dīkṣā* must be a factor involving the descent of Divine Grace. For, without the Divine *anugraha-śakti* as its basis, *dīkṣā* degenerates into a formal ritual. Such a *dīkṣā* cannot yield the desired result.'[1]

As the *Kulārṇava* (*Uttara*, 14) says :

yayā dikṣita-mātrena jāyante pratyayaḥ priye
sā dīkṣā mokṣada jñeya śesas=tu jana sevikā

(Only that *dikṣa* leads to salvation which immediately brings realization, the rest are merely waiting on the people).

Dīkṣā is the most essential part of the tantric *sādhanā*, The *Kulārṇava* (14.3-4) says :

vinā dīkṣāṁ na mokṣaḥ syāt tad uktam Śiva-śāsane
sa ca na syād=vin-ācāryam ity= ācāryā-paramparā
. . . . *antaren-opadeṣṭāraṁ mantraaḥ syūr=nisphalā yātaḥ*

(It is declared in the doctrine taught by Śiva that, without *dīkṣā* there can be no *mokṣa*, that *dīkṣā* cannot be had without an *ācārya* (*guru*), and that *mantras* would yield no fruit unless a *guru* instructs (a disciple about them.) This is a very emphatic restatement of Manu 2.171. Hence MM. Kane is justified in observing that 'the tāntrikas did not discover any new concept in *dīkṣā*.'[2] However, the tantric was more elaborate ceremony than the Vedic *dīkṣā*.

The tantric *dikṣā* can be of many types. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has calculated seventy-four types, and has quoted a verse from Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* which states that *dikṣā* can be of infinite variety.[3] Of these, the most important is the *mokṣa-dīkṣā* (*dīkṣā* which leads to liberation), which is imparted to those who desire liberation (*mumukṣu*), and can be of three types, namely, *sabīja*, *nirbīja*, and *sadyo-nirvāṇa-dāyinī*. Usually, the *nirbīja-dikṣā* is given to boys, uneducated men, old men, women, and sick persons; that is, the *nirbīja-dīkṣā* is meant for those who are incapable of studying the scriptures. The power of this *dīkṣā* is such that only by devotion to the *guru* one can attain liberation. As the *Svacchanda-tantra* says: *dīkṣā mātrena muktiḥ syād bhakti-mātrād guroḥ sadā.*

The *sadyo-nirvāṇa-dāyinī-dīkṣā* is imparted at the time of impending death. The *mantra* of this *dīkṣā* is so powerful, that it can destroy all bondages. This *dīkṣā* leads to immediate purification, and, after death, the soul reaches the highest stage. As has been said:

dṛṣṭva śiṣyam jarā-grastam vyādhinā paripīḍitam
utkramayya tatas=tv=enaṁ para-tattve niyojayet[4]

[1] *Amara-vāṇī* (Immortal Words) uttered by Śrī-Śrī-Mā-Ānandamayī and explained by MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 357-60. The passage translated here is the explanation of MM. Gopinath Kaviraj. See also Dīkṣārahasya in G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛti aur Sādhanā*, pp. 265-301.

[2] *HDK*, V, pp. 1111, 1116.

[3] G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛti aur Sādhanā*, p. 283, fn.

[4] Quoted in ibid, p. 279.

(Seeing the disciple infirm with age, and suffering from disease (the *guru*) causes (the *śiṣya*) to ascend from his body and attaches him to the Ultimate Reality).

The *sabīja-dīkṣā* is for the learned, and those who can endure strains and suffer privations. A person initiated with *sabīja dīkṣā* has to follow the customs and usages as laid down in the scriptural texts, otherwise he gets into difficulties.

Many other types of *dīkṣā* have been described by Dr. U.K. Das.[1] In some of them, the transmission of *mantra* from *guru* to the *śiṣya* is unnecessary, such as the *yaugī*, *śāmbhavī*, and the *śāktī*. In the *yaugī-dīkṣā*, the *guru* enters the *śiṣya's* body by a yogic process, and establishes rapport with the *śiṣya*. The *śāktī-dīkṣā* is similar, but here he introduces *śakti* in the *śiṣya*. In the *śāmbhavī-dikṣā*, the *śiṣya* attains knowledge on being addressed by or even on being looked at by the *guru*. The result of all *dīkṣās*, however, are the same, namely, liberation.

In most other forms of *dīkṣā*, the *guru* transmits a *mantra* to the disciple. Once a person is initiated in one *mantra*, he gains the right to acquire the right over all the *mantras* (*eka-mantra-dīkṣaṇaṁ hi sarva-mantre' dhikāritā*).[2] Thus an initiated person, having attained *siddhi* (complete success) by the *mantra* with which he was initiated, may with ease attain similar success with all other *mantras*.

Various essential formalities are to be observed before initiation. These include the selection of a proper *guru*, and also a *śiṣya* with natural propensity. Kṛṣṇānanda *Āgamavāgīśa* has given lists of qualifications of *guru* and *śiṣya*, some of which are physical, while others pertain to their character.[3] Various other factors have to be taken into consideration, and the time and the place of the *dīkṣā* have to be carefully selected.

The last stage of *dīkṣā* is *abhiṣeka*. Though according to some authorities it can be performed even before the *dīkṣā*, it is usual to perform it later. There are two types of *abhiṣeka*, namely, *śaktyābhiṣeka*, and *pūrṇābhiṣeka*, the former being performed just after the *dīskā* ceremony but practically as a part of it. The latter is performed when the initiated person has considerably advanced in his *sādhanā*. The person who has received the *pūrṇābhiṣeka* is recognized as a fully accomplished *tāntrika*, and he alone is fit to be a teacher.

The word *abhiṣeka* means 'consecration' particularly of a monarch. The term is used in *tantra*, because in tantric *abhiṣeka* the *guru* sprinkles on the *śiṣya* a pitcher of water purified by *mantra*.

According to MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, the secret instruction or prescription of *tantra* is that 'without *dīkṣā*, the knowledge of truth does not appear;

[1]U.K. Das, op. cit., II, pp. 693-700.

[2]*Picchila-tantra* quoted by U.K. Das, op. cit., II, p. 701 fn. 1.

[3]Kṛṣṇānanda *Āgamavāgīśa: Bṛhat-Tantrasāra*, 6th ed., Calcutta Bengali Year 1341, pp. 2-3. This work is hereafter referred to as the *Tantrasāra* and references within brackets refer to pages of this work.

[4]ibid, pp. 5-26.

and without *abhiṣeka* one does not gain the fitness or ability to transmit it. Therefore, a person, whose *abhiṣeka* has not been performed, is not fit to be a guru.' But he adds: 'The truth about *abhiṣeka* is a deep mystery, which it is not proper to reveal here, nor is it possible.'[1]

Mantra

The word *mantra* is said to be derived from the roots *man* (to think), and *tra* (to save), hence *mantra* should mean 'by thinking which, one is saved'. As the *Kulārṇava* says: 'Mantra is socalled because it saves from all dangers, (and) as the *sādhaka* is thereby led to ponder over God of immeasurable refulgence which is the only principle (in the world).' The *Tantrasāra* (p. 9) also says that 'it is called *mantra*, because one is saved by reflecting on it' (*mananāt trāyate yasmāt tasmāt mantraḥ prakīrtitaḥ*). However, Yāska (7.12) derives it from the root *man*: *mananāt mantra*. Yāska also says that it 'purifies; hence *mantra* is known as "pure"! (*pavitraṁ punāte; mantraḥ pavitram ucyate*). The *Piṁgala-tantra* quoted in the *Śāradātilaka* says:

mananaṁ viśva-vijñānaṁ trānaṁ saṃsāra-bandhanāt
yataḥ karoti saṃsiddhaṁ mantra ity=ucyate tataḥ

(A *mantra* is that which does succeed in reflecting universal knowledge in the mind and.delivering one from the coils of *saṃsāra*.)

Actually, the word *mantra* has many meanings, but in religious texts, it invariably means a sacred formula in Sanskrit.

According to the *Gāyatrī-tantra* (2.11),[2] a *mantra* has five limbs, namely, *āvāhana*, *dhyāna*, *smaraṇa*, *samarpaṇa*, and *visarjana* (invocation, meditation, remembrance, submission, and cessation). Some *tantra* texts, like the *Gautamīya* etc., declare that the efficacy of the *mantra* depends on the aspirant's knowledge of the *ṛsi*, *chanda*, *devatā*, and *viniyoga*. *Ṛsi* or 'seer' means the person who first conceived the *mantra*. *Chanda* in the present context means 'the veil which covers the God (*devatā*)'. *Devatā* is the deity who is invoked by the *mantra*. *Viniyoga* means properly yoking the *mantra* to the methods recommended by the scriptures, and for attaining *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*.

It is apparent, however, that these directions were not always followed, and the knowledge of the *ṛsi* etc., was not considered essential.

Much more important was the *bīja-mantra* or the *bīja*, the mystical letter or syllable, such as *hrīm*, *klim* etc., which form the essential part of the *mantra* employed to invoke any deity. The use of such mystic syllables such as *om*, *phaṭ*, and *vaṣaṭ* is found in the Vedic literature, and the use of *tantric bījas* is found in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (5.18.18) : '*Om hrāṁ hrim hrūṁ om namo bhagavate Hṛṣīkeśāya*'.

Sometimes the letters of the *bīja* in a *mantra* are indicated in a round-

[1] G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛti aur Sādhanā*, p. 556.
[2] *Gayatrī-tantra*, 2nd ed., Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1969.

about way. Thus the *Mahānirvāṇa* (5.10) says :

prāṇeśas-taijas-āruḍho bheruṇḍā-vyoma-bindumān
bījam etat samudhṛtya dvitīyam uddharet priye

Here *prāṇeśa* stands for *ha*, *taijasa* for *ra*, and *āruḍha* means 'one who has climbed,' that is *ha* is on *ra* (*hra*), *bheruṇḍā* is *ī*, *vyoma-bindu* is *anusvāra*: therefore the syllable is *hrīṁ*.

It is necessary to emphasize that the *mantras* are the pith and substance of *tantra*, which is sometimes known as the *mantraśāstra*. The *Śāradātilaka* (1.55-7) assumes that all gods reside in the Devī or Śakti in the form of Kuṇḍalinī, and all *mantras* are Her forms. The *Śāradātilaka* also states:

Saccidānanda-vibhavāt Sakalāt Parameśvarāt
āsīt śaktis=tato nādas=tato bindu samudbhavaḥ

That is, at the beginning Parameśvara was *sa-kala*; first appeared *śakti*, followed respectively by *nāda* and *bindu*. 'Nāda' means 'sound', but it is not differentiated into letters, which comes much later. Just as vapour is transformed into water, so is *nāda* transferred into *bindu*.[1]

Actually, the *nāda* and *kalā* are respectively the dynamic and static states of Śakti. Similarly, the outgoing and incoming states of *kalā* are respectively Śakti and Śiva. The primal *nāda* and *bindu* are known as *para-nada* and *para-bindu*. When *para-bindu* is agitated or activated by *kāla* (time), which is the embodiment of the dynamic aspect of Śakti, a soft sound is audible. This indistinct or 'unmanifest' sound is known as Śabda-brahma, which is the original cause of the phenomenal world. *Para-nada* and *para-bindu* may be taken as the *mahā-kāraṇa* (great or original cause), while *bindu*, *bīja*, and *nāda*, which have emanated from the agitation of *para-bindu*, may be taken as *kāraṇa* (antecedent cause).

The three *guṇas* rest in a state of equipoise in the *para-bindu*, which is also the state of equilibrium of Śiva and Śakti, as also of the three primal energies, namely, desire, knowledge, and action. When under the influence of *kāla* (time), *bindu* is agitated, then it is divided into *apara-bindu* and *bīja*, the former dominated by the Śiva aspect and the latter by Śakti aspect. The combination of *apara-bindu* and *bīja* produces *nāda* containing a combination of Śiva and Śakti.

The *kuṇḍala-yantra* appears with *bindu*, *bīja*, and *nāda*, which in the aggregate form is the essential form of Kulakuṇḍalinī, and is revealed as the triangular *yoni* known as the '*a-ka-tha*' triangle, manifesting the totality of the letters of the alphabet each of which emits a sound. These fine sounds are collectively known as *nāda*.

The *a-ka-tha* triangle, which is another name of Kuṇḍalinī, is the causal form of Kuṇḍalinī, which is both cause and effect. Similarly *bīja* is both cause and effect. Thus the *bīja-mantra* consists of the nature and character of the invoked Deity, and is ultimately revealed as the form of the Deity Itself.

[1]G. Kaviraj, *Tāntrik Sādhanā O Siddhānta*, Burdwan, 1969, pp. 309-10.

All the elements emanate from *Kuṇḍalinī-śakti*, but different elements are emanations of different *śaktis*. The vibration of a *śakti* produces a sound which is the *bīja* of that particular element. For example *agni's bīja* is *raṁ*, which means that the subtle sound-form of the particular form of *śakti* of Kuṇḍalinī, which takes the form of *agni* (fire), is expressed vocally as *raṁ*. Or, in other words, the syllable *raṁ* expresses the subtle form of *agni-śakti*, or 'fire-energy,' which in the gross form is observed as fire. Hence *raṁ* is the *bīja* of fire; Similarly, *haṁ* is the *bija* of sky (*vyoma*), *yaṁ* is the *bīja* of air (*vāyu*), *vaṁ* is the *bīja* of water (*ap*), and *laṁ* is the *bīja* of earth (*kṣiti*).

Every God and Goddess have their own *bīja-mantra*, for example, *klīṁ* for Kṛṣṇa, *krīṁ*, for Kālī, *aiṁ* for Sarasvatī, *hauṁ* for Śiva, and *śrīṁ* for Lakṣmī. Sometimes one *bīja* syllable has been used for more than one God; for example, *klīṁ* is Kāma-bīja, Kāmeśī-bīja, Guhya-Kālī-bīja, as well as Kṛṣṇa or Gopāla-bīja.

According to *tantra*, if a person succeeds in investing a *bīja* with consciousness, then by uttering the *bīja* the element (fire etc.) appear before him, and in the case of a Deity become identified with Brahman.[1]

The importance of the mantra given by the *guru* is fully recognised in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* which says (*Upaśama* 50.71):

viveka-vairāgya-guru-prayatna-mantraiḥ svatantraiḥ-svacid-ātma-gehāt
n-otsādayec=citta-piśācam enaṁ yāvat kutas=tāvad=ih-ātma siddhiḥ.

(How can you attain siddhi [ultimate success, i.e. liberation] unless you can drive away this wicked goblin of your heart by [the combined effect of] discrimination, dispassion, *mantra* given by the *guru* and *tantra* [tantric rituals].)

Later (*Nirvāṇa*, *Pūrva*, 123,3), Vasiṣṭha refers slightingly to the powers acquired by some people through these means :

mantra-siddhais=tapaḥ-siddhais=tantra-siddhaiś=ca bhūriśaḥ
kṛtam ākāśa-yānādi kā tatra syād apūrvatā

(What is extraordinary in the aerial flight of the *mantra-siddha*, *tapaḥ-siddha*, or *tantra-siddha* [i.e., those who have attained perfection or success through *mantra*, *tapas*, and *tantra*].)

What is to be done if the *mantra* fails to yield the expected result ? The *Tantrasāra* (pp. 433-34) provides that, in such an eventuality, one must persevere and repeat the attempt three times. Even if still unsuccessful, he should perform the seven methods recommended by Śiva, which are given in the *Tantrasāra*.

When a *sādhaka's* aspirations are fulfilled without any effort on his part, it indicates the success of the *mantra*. As the *Tantrasāra* (p. 435) says: *manoratham akleśa-siddhir uttama-lakṣaṇam*. The mantras suffer from various

[1] *devatāyāḥ śarīraṁ tu bījād=utpadyate dhruvam*
tat tad=bījātmakaṁ mantraṁ japtā brahma-mayo bhavet
quoted by U.K. Das, op. cit., I, p. 397 fn. 1. For details see G. Kaviraj, *Tāntrik Sādhanā O Siddhānta*, Burdwan, 1969, I, pp. 308 and 322, and U.K. Das, op. cit., pp. 367-68, 374-75 and 394-98.

deficiencies. The *Viśvasāra-tantra*, quoted by the *Tantrasāra* (p. 436), mentions forty-nine defects, details of which are given. For example, a *mantra* which contains two *pṛthivī-bījas* (*laṁ*) at the beginning, middle, or at the end is known as the Rudra-mantra; such a mantra can neither lead to *bhukti* (enjoyment) nor *mukti* (liberation). These defects can be removed by various methods, the easiest of which is to add an '*om*' at the beginning and end of each *mantra*, and it is added that a person obtains *siddhi* through the *mantra* for which he has veneration (*Tantrasāra*, p. 439).

Actually, the *Kālikā-purāṇa*, quoted by the *Tantrasāra* (p. 433) prescribes that while reciting one must add *Om* at the beginning of each *mantra*, otherwise the *mantra* does not yield any result. The *śūdras* should add *au* instead of *om*.

The success of a *mantra* is contingent on the prior performance of *puraścaraṇa*, which means '*preparatory* or initiatory rite'. The texts give various and detailed instructions. The main rite consists in uttering the *mantra* in a low voice (*japa*) continuously for a number of times, usually 100,000 times. During the period of *puraścaraṇa*, the aspirant has to lead a very restricted and regulated life.

Japa means the recitation of internal *nāda* after controlling the sense-organs:

saṃyamy=endriyagrāmaṁ proccaren=nādaṃ āntaram
eṣa eva japaḥ prokto na tu bāhya-japo japaḥ

Commenting on Br. S. 3.4.38, Śaṃkara says that destitute and poor persons may attain knowledge through *japa*, fasting and worshipping deities. In support of his contention, Śaṃkara quotes Manu 2.87, which states that a *brahmana* can achieve success through *japa* only. According to the *Gītā* (10.25), *japa* is the best form of sacrifice (*yajñānāṁ japo-yajño'smi*). Patañjali (YS. 1.28) says: *taj=japas=tad=artha-bhāvanam*; that is, 'The repetition (*japa*) of this (*om*) and meditating on its meaning (is the way).' But the most common definition of *japa*, as it is understood today, has been given by Rūpa Gosvāmin in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (1.2.49, p. 56) as *mantrasya su-lagh-ūccāro japa ity=abhidhīyate* (recitation of a *mantra* in a subdued voice is *japa*). Thus it will be seen that *japa* or continuous muttering of a *mantra* is an ancient practice, which was perfected by *tantra*.

In Qabalah, Hod is 'Perfect Intelligence' though the literal meaning of the Hebrew word is 'Glory'. It is said that 'the glory of God can only shine forth in manifestation, when there are forms to manifest it'. One of the symbols associated with Hod is called 'versicles'. 'The versicles are mantric phrases, a mantra being a sonorous phrase which, when repeated over and over after the manner of a rosary, works upon the mind as a special form of auto-suggestion, the psychology of which is too complex to be entered upon now.'[1]

[1]D. Fortune, op. cit., pp. 246-47, 250-51.

HAṬHA-YOGA

Tantra, Yoga and Haṭha-Yoga

The system of Haṭha-Yoga is quite old, but it is different from the *yoga* system of Patañjali. At the beginning of the *Haṭhayoga-pradīpika* (HYP, 1.2), it is stated that *haṭha-yoga* is expounded only for leading to *rāja-yoga* (*kevalaṁ rāja-yogāya haṭha-vidy-opadiśyate*). This is practically repeated at the end (HYP, 4. 103):

sarve haṭha-lay-opāyā rāja-yogasya siddhyaye
rāja-yoga-samāruḍhaḥ puruṣaḥ kāla-vañcakaḥ

(All the processes of *haṭha-yoga* and *laya-yoga* are intended for gaining proficiency in *rāja-yoga*; one who has established himself in *rāja-yoga* is immortal). However, there are considerable differences between Patañjali's *rāja-yoga*, and *haṭha-yoga's rāja-yoga*, of which a few are mentioned below.

The aim of Patañjali's system is to restrain any modification of the mind-stuff (*yogaś=citta-vṛtti-nirodhaḥ*, YS, 1.2), According to the HYP. 4.7, the highest state or *samādhi* is:

tai samaṁ ca dvayor=aikyaṁ jīvatmā-paramātmanoḥ
pranaṣṭa-sarva-saṃkalpaḥ saṃādhiḥ so'bhidhīyate

(That is called *samādhi* where there is equality and oneness [that is, merging of the] individual self and the Highest Self, and where all desires cease to exist.) *Haṭha-Yoga* also provides for six kinds of *samādhi*, including *bhakti-samādhi*, as given in the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā*, 6.5-16.

Secondly, while the YS does not mention Kuṇḍalinī, the *tantra* and the *haṭha-yoga* texts are mainly concerned about awakening Her. As the HYP 3.1 says:

sa-śaila-vana-dhātrīṇāṁ yath=ādharo'hināyakaḥ
sarveṣāṁ yoga-tantrāṇāṁ tath=ādhārā hi kuṇḍalī

(Just as the great snake is the support of the earth (with its) mountains and forests, so is Kuṇḍalinī the substratum of all [systems of] *yoga* and *tantra*.)

Other *hatha-yoga* texts, like the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* and the *Gorakṣa-śataka*, also emphasize the importance of Kuṇḍalinī-śakti.

Thirdly, some essential processes of *haṭha-yoga* are unknown to Patañjali. These are: *dhauti* (washing the stomach), *basti* (yogic enema), *neti* (nasal douche), *trāṭaka* (an eye exercise which consists in fixing the gaze without winking on a minute object till tears fill the eyes), *nauli* (moving the abdominal muscles), and *kapālabhāti* (inhalation and exhalation like a smith's bellows). It is recommended that persons with excess of fat, and those who are prone to catch cold should practise these six exercises before commencing *prāṇāyāma*, but those who are not so afflicted need not do these. (HYP, 21-36). The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (1.12-61) gives great details, and almost all the *yogins* practise these beneficial exercises.

As stated above, Patañjali does not mention any *āsana* in particular, but the HYP (1. 33) refers to eighty-four *āsanas* of which it describes four as principal, though it describes another eleven *āsanas* (HYP, 1. 19-32). The

four principal *āsanas* described by the HYP (1.34-55) are, *siddha*, *padma*, *siṃha*, and *bhadra*. It is interesting to note that the *Tantrasāra*, while describing the *yogāṁga-āsanas*, names five *āsanas*, namely *padma*, *svastika*, *bhadra*, *vajra*, and *vīra*.[1] Apparently, these were the *āsanas* that were meant for *sādhanā*, while the rest were of the nature of physical exercises, and these *āsanas*, which are common to *tantra* and *haṭha-yoga*, may have had a common source, or were borrowed by the *tantra* from the latter.

There are also differences between *tantra* and *haṭha-yoga*.

Haṭha-yoga does not mention the five *ma-kāras*, nor does it depend on *mantra* for success.

The aim of *haṭha-yoga* is to bring the mind to the *unmanī* stage, 'where the person does not hear even very loud sounds and his body is stiff like wood. He is then free from all normal condition or state, and also from all thoughts like a corpse, and is undoubtedly liberated. He is not devoured by time, nor obstructed by his actions, nor can anyone subdue him, the *yogin* yoked to *samādhi*. He does not apprehend smell, flavour, form, touch, or sound, nor does he apprehend himself (as distinct from) others. His mind-stuff (*citta*) is neither asleep nor awake, is bereft of memory and forgetfulness, never sets (in darkness) nor arises (like the rising sun): he indeed is liberated. The *yogin* yoked in *samādhi* does neither experience cold, nor heat, neither (cares for) honour nor (for) insult. He, who abides in Self, and even while (seemingly awake) remains in the sleeping state, without inhalation or exhalation, is certainly free. The *yogin* (thus) yoked in *samādhi* cannot be killed by any weapon, cannot be approached (or attained) by any man, and is beyond the reach of charms and spells.' (HYP, 4.105-13).

The next two verses, with which the work concludes, states: 'It is delusion for a person to think that he is *jñānī* so long as the air does not enter the *suṣumnā*, and the *bindu* does not become firm due to the stoppage of breathing, and so long meditation does not become his normal and natural state' (HYP, 4.114-15).

It may be mentioned here that, in the Mantra-yoga of the Siddha-yogis or the Sahajiyās no formal *mantra* is chanted. According to these *yogins*, the syllables *ham* and *saḥ* are sounded at the time of each exhalation and inhalation of breath respectively, which is known as *haṃsa-mantra*, *haṃsa-vidyā*, or a *ajapā-gāyatrī*. As a person breathes about 21,600 times a day, he performs this *japa* for a similar number of times. But thanks to the instructions imparted by the *guru*, this *ajapā-japa* is reversed in the *suṣumnā*: then *haṃ-sa* becomes *So'ham* (I am He). This is the real Mantra-yoga. The *Yoga-cūḍāmaṇi Upaniṣad* (36), calls it '*prāṇa-vidyā*'. It is the energy which sustains life and arises from the Kuṇḍalinī.

'By the successful performance of Mantra-yoga, knowledge (*jñāna*) arises via the western road, that is *suṣumnā*. The meaning of *haṭha-yoga* is the unification of sun (*ha*) and moon (*ṭha*) which are located in the body. Their

[1] *Tantrasāra*, p. 565. In another context the *Tantrasāra* (p. 464) mentions six *āsanas*: *padma*, *svastika*, *vikaṭa*, *kukkuṭa*, *vajra*, and *bhadraka*.

union removes all physical *doṣas* [diseases of the three humours of the body: *vāyu*, *pitta*, and *kapha*] and their stupefying effect. No other acts or performances except *haṭha-yoga* can easily purify the body, remove the physical *doṣas*, and get rid of the physical stupor. After this, it becomes comparatively easy to effect the unification of *kṣetrājña* or *jīvātman* with Paramātman. With the establishment of the union of *jīvātman* and Paramātman, the mind-stuff disappears, the breath (*vāyu*), becomes steady, and the joy of Self is realized. Then there no longer exists the state of *jīva*, nor the mind, nor *vāyu*, there exist only Paramātman and his essential Śakti. The words Śiva and Śakti used in scriptures have been used in denoting these two ultimate Tattvas. The *Yogaśikhopaniṣad* (1.136-38) says that the essence of the Devī-tattva, the red *rajaḥ* [lit. menstrual discharge] is situated in the centre of the *yoni* [lit. vulva], the *mahā-pīṭha*, while Śiva-tattva or *bindu*, which is in the nature of *retaḥ* [lit. semen] is located at the top in the Caṇdra-maṇḍala [orb of the moon]. From this it may be taken that though the two *tattvas* are eternally united and even inseparable, they exist apart as severed at the two ends of the Brahma-patha. When due to the power of *yoga*, this Śiva and Śakti give up their apparent disparateness and are united, *rāja-yoga* is heralded (*rajaso retaso yogād rāja-yogo iti smṛtaḥ*). When one becomes fit for *rāja-yoga*, the eight *siddhis* (super-natural powers) like *aṇimā* etc., appear.

'These four *yogas* [Mantra, Laya, Haṭha, and Rāja] have a common basis, namely, equation of *prāṇa* and *apāna*.'[1]

It is evident, therefore, that the *rāja-yoga* mentioned in the HYP is not Patañjali's *yoga*, but its modification.

There are other differences between *yoga*, *tantra*, and *haṭha-yoga*, one of which relates to the performance of ritual copulation. Patañjali's *yoga* shuns sex altogether, and insists on absolute continence. In this regard, Patañjali has been followed by most Indian sages from Buddha to Vivekananda. In *tantra*, as we have seen, *maithuna* or copulation is prescribed in *vāmācāra* as one of the five *ma-kāras*, but its significance has been explained in a non-literal or esoteric sense by modern scholars on the basis of certain *tantra* texts.[2] However, the three texts quoted as authoritative by the *Tantrasāra* (p. 634) envisages ordinary sex act ending with the emission of semen. The *Svatantra-tantra* says; *svāh=ānto'yaṁ mahā-mantraḥ śukra-tyāge prakīrtitaḥ* (at the time of discharging semen recite the *mantra* [*prakāś-ākāśa-hastābhyām*] after adding *svāhā*.) It should be noted, however, that the *Svatantra-tantra* enjoins that during coitus the male should repeat Tribhuvaneśvarī's mantra 1008 or 108 times.[3]

However, the *Jñānārṇava* says:

Śiva-Śakti-samāyogo yoga eva na saṁśayaḥ

[1]G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, p. 99.

[2]U.K. Das, op. cit., II, pp. 619-20.

[3]The *Śrī-vidyā* quoted by the *Tantrasāra* (p. 634) also recommends the recital of the Tribhuvaneśvarī mantra 1008 or 108 times during coitus, but does not mention anything about discharge.

śītkāro mantra-jāpaś=ca vacanaṁ stavanaṁ bhavet
āliṁganaṁ ca kasturī karpuraṁ cumbanaṁ bhavet
nakha-daṁṣṭrā-kṣatādīnī puṣpāṇi vividhāni ca
mathanaṁ (maithunaṁ) tarpaṇaṁ viddhi bīja-pāto visarjanam

(Undoubtedly, *yoga* is the union of Śiva and Śakti [i.e., man and woman]. Know that *sītkāra* [moan indicating pleasurable sensation made during coitus] is *mantra-japa*; [any] utterance is a hymn; an embrace is musk; a kiss is camphor; marks made with nails or biting are different flowers; copulation is the offering of oblations; [and] emission of seed is immersion [of the image of the deity into holy water as the concluding part of a festival].)

The *Kulārṇava* says:

āliṁganam cumbanaṁ ca stanayor=mardanas=tathā
darśanaṁ sparśanaṁ yoner=vikāśo liṁga-gharṣaṇam
praveśah sthāpanaṁ śakter nava puṣpāṇi pūjane[1]

(The nine flowers (to be used) in worshipping *śakti* are: 1. embracing, 2. kissing, 3. squeezing the breasts, 4. seeing, 5. touching, 6. opening the vulva, 7. rubbing the penis, 8. entering and 9. maintaining it there). Here orgasm is not mentioned, but is neither interdicted.

While discussing *maithuna* in a previous section of this chapter, we quoted certain texts which prohibits completion of the act. But the *Tantrasāra* is the most authoritative text, at least in Bengal, and it is evident that it permitted the pleasures of sex. In contrast *haṭha-yoga* also recommends sexual union, but prohibits emission. This is known as the *vajroli* and is described in the HYP 3.83-91. The main point of *haṭha-yoga* is that there must be no seminal emission or vaginal secretion, and if in case these take place, such emission and secretions must be withdrawn into the respective organs. As the HYP (3.88) says: *maraṇaṁ bindu-pātena jīvanaṁ bindu-dhāranāt* (death [is caused by] the dropping of semen, and life [is maintained] by retaining it). However, the texts nowhere mentions the necessity of coitus which involved the danger of the discharge of semen. The *vajrolī* is highly praised.

Two variations of the *vajrolī* are described. The first is *sahajolī*, which prescribes the smearing of the bodies of the man and the woman with a paste of cow-dung ash after *vajrolī* (HYP, 3.92-5)

The *vajrolī's* other variation, called the *amarolī*, is said to be practised by the Khaṇḍa-kāpālikas.[2] The practitioners of *amarolī* perform *vajrolī* and drink their own urine. It is, however, recommended to discard the first and the last part of the urine because the former contains too much bile and the latter is useless. It seems that the urine should be drunk and also taken through the nose. In this connection, it is stated that a woman who can withdraw her *rajaḥ* (menstrual discharge) and protect (i.e., maintain) it by squeezing her vulva, is indeed a *yoginī*; she knows the past, the future, and can

[1] *Tantrasāra*, p. 635.

[2] Khaṇḍa and Kāpāli are the names of two *haṭha-yoga* teachers included in the list of teachers in the *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpika* (HYP, 1.8).

levitate herself:

raksed=ākuñcanād=ūrddhvaṁ yā rajaḥ sā hi yoginī
atit=ānāgataṁ vetti khecarī ca bhaved=dhruvam

Another distinction between *tantra* and *haṭha-yoga* should be noticed here, In *tantra* it is only the male who obtains merit from these acts, but in *haṭha-yoga* both the partners share, for both of them engage in *yoga*.

Antiquity of Haṭha-yoga

It is difficult to determine the origin of *haṭha-yoga* from the available texts. The *Mahābhārata* (12.304) briefly describes a *yoga* which is related to Sāṁkhya, and 12.304.4 of the Mbh. is practically the same as *Gītā* 5.4-5. However, Mbh. 12.304.7 speaks of *yoga* derived from the Vedas, and also its eight parts, which have been explained by commentator Paramānanda as *yama*, *niyama* etc., of Patañjali. Another commentator, Arjunamiśra, introduces this chapter as Pāśupata-yoga, while Nīlakaṇṭha explains the word *aṣṭa-guṇam* in 12.304-7 as *aṣṭāṁgan* which he explains as '*prāṇāyāma, pratyāhara, dhyāna, dhāraṇa, tarka* and *samādhi*,' and states '*saḍaṁgā iti Maitrayaṇīyopaniṣadi tath=āpi yama-niyamābhyāṁ śruty=antar-oktabhyāṁ saha aṣṭa saṁkhyā bodhyā*.

Introducing chapter 305 of the Śāntiparva, Nīlakaṇṭha says: '*kaivalya-prāptiṁ rāja-yoga-phalam uktvā haṭha-yoga-phalam āha*'. But the chapter does not contain any matter which can be related to the extant *haṭha-yoga*. Verses 1-7 of this chapter mention the various parts of the body's apertures through which the vital breath exits at the time of death, and the respective god of each limb, and it is stated that after death the soul would reside in the *loka* of that particular god. For example, Indra is the lord of two hands; if the vital breath passes out through the hands, the soul would reside in the Indra-loka. However, since Nīlakaṇṭha calls it *haṭha-yoga*, it has to be concluded that during his period another type of *haṭha-yoga* was known.

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* twice (*Upaśama*, 54.9 and 16) states that *haṭha-yoga* is painful (*haṭha-yogo hi duḥkhadā*). The denunciation of *haṭha-yoga* is explicit in a later chapter (*Upaśama*, 92.37-48): '[There are] milder means of pacifying the mind, as the cooling showers set down the dust of the earth; and yet *haṭha-yoga* attempts to restrain it by stopping the breath, as it were to prevent the rising of dust by means of a breathless calm. (37) Ignorant men who want to subdue the mind by the prescriptions of the *haṭha-yoga* or bodily restraints, are like those silly folks, who want to dispel darkness by black ink instead of a lighted lamp. (38).

'Those who attempt to subdue the mind by bodily contortions, strive as vainly as they, who wish to bind the mad elephant with a rope of grass or straws. (39) These rules, which prescribe bodily practices instead of mental reasoning and precepts, are known as the patterns of *haṭha-yoga*, misleading men into dangers and difficulties. (40) Wretched men like beasts have no rest from their labour, but wander in dales and woods in quest of herbs and fruits for their food. (41) Ignorant men, who are infatuated in their under-

standing, are timid cowards like timorous stags; and are both dull-headed and weak-bodied, and languid in their limbs (by incessant toil). (42)

'They have no place of confidence anywhere, but stagger as the distrustful deer in the village; their minds are ever wavering between hopes and fears, as the sea water rising and falling in waves. (43) They are borne away like leaves fallen from a tree, by the current of the cascade gliding below a waterfall; and pass their time in the errors of sacrificial rites and religious gifts and austerities, and in pilgrimages, and adoration of idols. (44) They are subject to continued fears, like the timid deer in the forest, and there are few among them, who happen by chance to come to the knowledge of the soul. (45)

'Being broiled by outward misery and internal passions, they are rarely sensible of their real state ; and are subjected to repeated births and deaths, and their temporary habitation is heaven or hell. (46) They are tossed up and down like play balls in this world, some rising up to heaven, and others falling to hell-torments even while they are here. (47) These men roll on like the incessant waves of the sea; therefore leave off the exterior view of the exoteric and sink deep into the spiritual knowledge for your everlasting rest.'[1] (48)

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was probably written between the 7th to the 8th century AD. It is apparent from its passages quoted above that, by this time *haṭha-yoga* was not only known, but was found to be unrewarding by a certain section of the intellectuals. However, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, in spite of its great merits as a work of philosophy, failed to gain a fraction of *haṭha-yoga's* popularity. The reason is obvious. Instead of endless metaphysical discussions, *haṭha-yoga* showed a direct method of attaining the goal. Another reason must have been the various *āsanas* which were discovered and prescribed by the *haṭha-yogins*. These were beneficial to health, as the western world has now discovered. However, as MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has pointed out, the *haṭha-yoga* provides a method for penetrating the six *cakras*, but its result is the acquisition of supernatural powers (*siddhi*), liberation (*mukti*) is not its aim.[2] Still it has to be pointed out, that practically at the end, the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (7.20) says:

ātmā ghaṭastha-caitanyam advaitaṁ śāśvataṁ param
ghaṭādi-bhinnato jñātvā vītarāgo vivāsanah

(*Ātman* is the soul encased in the body ; it is non-dual, eternal, and absolute. Realizing that it is different from the body, be free from desire and encumbrances.)

This brings the philosophy of the *haṭha-yoga* close to *advaita-vedānta*, but probably the aim of the *haṭha-yogins* were limited as pointed by MM. Gopinath Kaviraj.

Practically at the beginning of the HYP (1.4), the author Svātmārāma declares Matsyendra and Gorakṣa as his predecessors. He then (HYP, 1.5-9) gives a list of thirty-two former teachers, but it is impossible to arrive at any

[1] Tr. by V.L. Mitra.
[2] G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, p. 72.

conclusion as to the date of the text from this list. The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (1.1) begins with the statement that one day a person called Caṇḍakāpāli went to the sage Gheraṇḍa and requested the latter to teach him *yoga*. In the list of teachers given in the HYP (1.8) Khaṇḍa and Kāpāli are mentioned as two teachers, and they are again mentioned in HYP 3.38 in connection with *amarolī* mentioned above. Khaṇḍa-kāpāli, however, could be the name of one person, and possibly its correct form was Caṇḍakāpāli. If these assumptions are accepted, a link can be established between these two *haṭha-yoga* texts.

In the *Gorakṣa-śataka*, the author Gorakṣa accepts Matsyendra-nātha as his *guru*, but Gorakṣa's sect is known as Nātha-yogi sect, because the name of all the teachers end in *nātha*. There is no doubt, however, that the *nātha-yogins* and the *haṭha-yagins* are interrelated groups. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has suggested that the Nāthas possibly were the innovators of *haṭha-yoga*.[1]

Components of Haṭha-yoga

i. *Ṣaṭ-karma:* The six *duties* are *dhauti*, *basti*, *neti*, *naulaki* or (*lauluki*) *trāṭaka* and *kapāla-bhāti* which have been explained above. Detailed description of these is given in the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (1.12-60). The HYP (2.37) states that according to some teachers, *prāṇāyāma* cleanses all the impurities of the body, and that they do not permit any other exercises, that is, according to these teachers, *ṣaṭ-karma* is unnecessary for those who practise *prāṇāyāma*.

ii. *Āsanas:* Some account of the *āsanas* have been given above. The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (2.3-44) gives the description of the following *āsanas:* 1. *siddha*, 2. *padma*, 3. *bhadra*, 4. *mukta*, 5. *vajra*, 6. *svastika*, 7. *siṁha*, 8. *go-mukha*, 9. *vīra*, 10. *dhanu*, 11. *mṛta*, 12. *gupta*, 13. *matsya*, 14. *Matsyendra*, 15. *Gorakṣa*, 16. *paścimottāna*, 17. *utkaṭa*, 18. *saṃkaṭa*, 19. *mayūra*, 20. *kukkuṭa*, 21. *kūrma*, 22. *uttāna-kūrma*, 23. *uttāna-maṇḍuka*, 24. *vṛkṣa*, 25. *maṇḍuka*, 26. *garuḍa*, 27. *vṛṣa*, 28. *śalabha*, 29. *makara*, 30. *uṣṭra*, 31. *bhujaṁga*, and 32. *yogāsana*.

iii. *Mudrā: Mudrā* of *haṭha-yoga* means certain physical postures, an dthe results aimed at are also physical. For example, the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (3.26) says that the results of the *khecarī-mudrā* are freedom from 'swoon, hunger, thirst, laziness, illness, old age, and death,' and the practitioner gains a god-like body. This possibly has reference to YS, 2.29-53 and 3.45. The *Bhāgvata-purāṇa* (4.6.38) describes Śiva as sitting in the *tarka-mudrā*, which is not given in any published *haṭha-yoga* text.

iv. *Pratyāhāra:* The word means 'withdrawal of senses from external objects'. The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (4.2) practically repeats *Gītā* 6.26 while describing *pratyāhāra*. *Pratyāhāra* has been discussed above.

v. *Prāṇāyāma*: *Prāṇāyāma* has been discussed below, the *haṭha-yogins* are particular about place, time etc., as preliminaries to *prāṇāyāma*.

a. *Place:* A suitable place for *yoga* is described in the *Śvetāśvatara* 2.10,

[1] Ibid, p. 72.

Mahābhārata, 12.232.26, and *Gītā*, 6.10-12. The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (5.3-5) forbids practising *yoga* in a far-off country, forest, or in a capital city. *Yoga*, rather *prāṇāyāma*, should be practised in a nice country, which is religious, charitable, and free from troubles. There the *yogi* should construct a hut surrounded with a wall, and provided with a well or a tank.

The *Gītā* 13.11 recommends that the *yogi* should practise *yoga* in an isolated place (*vivikta-deśa*). On this, Śaṃkara comments that the place must be naturally pure or 'has been purified, free from animals like serpents and tigers; such a place may be a forest, a river bank, or a temple'.

b. *Time:* The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (5.8-9) advises that *yoga* practices should not be commenced in *hemanta* (middle of November to middle of January), *śiśira* (middle of January to middle of March), *grīṣma* (from the middle of May to the middle of July), and *varṣā* (rainy season generally from the middle of June to the middle of August). *Yoga* should be commenced either in *vasanta* (from the middle of March to that of May), or *śarat* (from the middle of August to that of November). The idea is that *yoga* practice should commence under the most favourable aspect of place and of weather.

c. *Food:* The *yogins* insist on rigorous dieting. The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (5.16) says that, 'he, who practices *yoga* without frugality as regards food, contacts various diseases, and does not in the least succeed in *yoga*.' Thereafter, the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* gives a long list of recommended and forbidden food in course of which occurs the oft-quoted verse (5.22)':

annena pūrayed ardhaṁ toyena ca tṛtīyakam
udarasya turīyāṁśaṃ saṃrakṣed vāyu-cāraṇe

(Fill half with food, the third part with water, and keep the fourth part of the stomach free for the movement of air).

The *Gita* 6.17 also recommends frugality in eating, commenting on which Mahdusūdana Sarasvatī quotes the following verse:

ardhaṁ aśanasya sa-vyañjanasya tṛtīyam udaksaya tu
vāyoḥ saṁcāraṇ-ārthaṁ tu caturtham avaśeṣayet

Apparently this was an ancient precept.

iv. *Nāḍī-śuddhi:* The purification of *nāḍī* is peculiar to *haṭha-yoga*. According to the *Gorakṣa-paddhati* or-*śataka*, (95):

śuddham eti yadā sarvaṁ nāḍī·cakram malākulam
tad=aiva jāyate yogī prāṇa-saṃgrahane kṣamaḥ

(When the whole group of *nāḍīs*, full of impure secretions, is purified, then indeed the *yogin* becomes capable of restraining the *prāṇa*.)[1]

According to the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (5. 35-43), this purification can be either *sa-manu* or *nir-manu*. The former is attained by the *japa* of the *bīja-mantra*, while the latter can be done by the *dhauti* etc. The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (5.44) then recommends that having purified the *nāḍīs*, one should practise *prāṇāyāma*, and describes (5.45-54) several kinds of *prāṇāyāma*, which are classified as best, middling and worst and of twenty, sixteen, and twelve *mātrās* dura-

[1]Tr. by G. W. Briggs, *Gorakṣanāth and the Kānphāṭā Yogis*, chapter XIV, London, 1939. For *nādī-śuddhi* see G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, pp. 103-10.

tion respectively. The result is that the worst type of *prāṇāyāma* causes perspiration, middling type vibrates the spine, while the best type causes one to leave one's seat, that is, float in the air. The *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* (5.56) then states that 'as a result of *prāṇāyāma*, one can fly in the air, and all the diseases are cured; the power of intelligence is due to *prāṇāyāma*, so also is *manonmanī* (suppression of the mind); *prāṇāyāma* causes heartfelt bliss; he, who practises *prāṇāyāma* is happy.'

Manonmanī has been described in the HYP (2.41-3) as follows: 'The *nāḍī-cakra* having been purified by various *prāṇāyāmas*, the air easily enters the *suṣumnā* by penetrating its mouth. When the air is in the *suṣumnā*, it causes the equanimity of the mind, and this steadiness of the mind is known as *manonmanī*. To reach this state, the *cognoscente* perform various types of *kumbhakas*, and thereby gains various miraculous powers.'

The practices of *vajrolī*, *amarolī*, and *sahajolī* have already been described. The HYP (4.14) says:

citte samatvam āpanne vāyau vrajati madhyame
tadā'marolī vajrolī sahajolī prajāyate

(When the mind attains equanimity, the air flows through the *suṣumnā*, then *amarolī*, *vajrolī*, and *sahajolī* are easily performed.)

The *dhyāna* and *samādhi* of *haṭha-yoga* have been discussed above. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has classified *yoga* into three stages, of which the first is *haṭha-yoga*. The second stage, according to him, is Patañjali's *yoga*, 'when the mind ceases to be active [and] its distinctiveness as an entity vanishes altogether.' In the third stage, there takes place the communion of the individual self (*jīvātman*) and the Universal Self (*paramātman*). On the significance of *haṭha-yoga*, MM. Gopinath Kaviraj says:

'The first stage which finds its achievement in the abstraction of the senses from their objects is really the viewpoint of Haṭhayoga proper, as taught by Mārkaṇḍeya in ancient times and by Matsyendranātha, and his band of followers (e.g., Gorakṣa, Jalandhara, Caturaṅgī etc.) in the middle ages. The activities of the senses and their contact with the external world are occasioned by the operation of Vāyu, which though corresponding to the so-called bio-motor force of the living organism is to be regarded as identical with Vāsanā. The vision of an external world as other than the Supreme Self is, in fact a magic show of illusive character devoid of all reality. It is the action of Vāyu or Vāsanā on the sensory mechanism of organic existence which projects before it a world of illusion. The discipline of the first stage consists in the removal of this illusion. The control of Vāyu, at which all the processes of Haṭha Yoga aim, ends in securing a relative steadiness of the senses and therewith a comparative detachment from the world outside. This is an indispensable preliminary to the success of the mental culture towards which the discipline of the next higher stage is directed. Perfection in the first stage is the perfection of body as presupposed in the control of the senses. The human body in its normal state, however healthy in an ordinary sense, is highly defective and incapable of acting as a fit instrument for the exercise

of higher powers. It has to be purged of its impurities and made clean. This purification may be effected by a variety of ways, many of which fall within the scope of Haṭha-Yoga proper. This culture of the senses, of which the physical culture is an aspect, is completed when the senses are drawn inwards and coalesce in a common sense, which is different from and yet identical with the mind.'[1]

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (*Upaśama*, 13.83-5) also correlates *vāyu* and mind and says: 'The mind is extinguished by the stoppage of the vital breath (*prāṇa-śakti*), just as the shadow of an object disappears by its removal. The living being (*prāṇa*, explained by the commentator as *jīvan-puruṣa*) perceives in the heart the notion of a distant place which is the mind, and thereby is established the identity of the mind and consciousness. It is by practising dispassionateness, *kāraṇa* (rendered as *prāṇāyāma* in the commentary), through ratiocination, and destruction of desire, and by the realization of the Ultimate Reality (*Paramārtha*) that all the *vāyus* are stopped.'

In various places, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* has correlated desire with the vibration or pulsation or breath, and has advised the cessation of breathing to end desire, the main function of the mind. But the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* has not been able to systematize a practical way of restraining breathing. Indeed that was not the intention of this text which deals primarily with metaphysics, written by a consummate poet.

BINDU

The conception of *bindu* is common to both *tantra* and *haṭha-yoga* which indeed are allied systems. *Bindu-sādhanā* is common to both systems, but are more explicitly dealt with in the *haṭha-yoga* texts. The basis of *bindu-sādhanā* is the *tantra* conception that, man or microcosm is a miniature representation of the universe or macrocosm.

The world evolves from the union of Śiva and Śakti. The *Śāradātilaka* (1.7) says:

sac-cid-ānanda-vibhvāt sakalāt Parameśvarāt
āsic=chaktis=tato nāda nādād=bindu samudbhavaḥ

(From the power of the Great Lord, [who is] existence, intelligence, [and] bliss, [and who is] endowed [with] *kalā*, there was [i.e., emanated] Śakti, from Śakti [emanated] *nāda*, and from *nāda* [emanated] *bindu*.)[2]

Explaining the terms *nāda* and *bindu*, Swami Pratyagatmananda writes:

[1] G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 118.

[2] '*Kalā*' here means *śakti*, so the problem arises: if Śiva is *sakala*, how can *śakti* emanate from Him. The answer is that from a causal state, *śakti* is transformed into effect. See Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary quoted by U.K. Das, op. cit., I, p. 365. According to MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, 'in this context the word "*kalā*" stands for the supercosmic transcendent power of the Lord, and is to be clearly distinguished from the five *kalās* evolved as force from *bindu* conceived as cosmic matter and force related to the *tattvas* and *bhāvanās*'. G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 194 fn. 1.

'Physically as well as metaphysically, creative descent must start from a condition of immensely "massed" probability-wave function which we may more simply express as unbounded potency to be and to become all. It is power regarded as unbounded *plenum* and *continuum*. What physics now appreciates as space-time-continuum is a "descended" phase or specification of the basic continuum of power which is called *nāda*. The next state must be an infinite intentness or readiness of that power to evolve and create. This is power as continuum "condensing" itself into dynamic point or centre or nucleus. This condensation, however, is not a process in space or time, so that the power continuum is not contracted and reduced in magnitude and dimensions and does not suffer either in sense or in tense value when it is the dynamic point. It is a primordial causal transformation not renderable in terms in which causation is apt to be expressed in our planes. Hence, paradoxically, the dynamic point is the perfect potential universe. This is *bindu*.'[1]

This *nāda* and *bindu* are called *para-nāda* and *para-bindu*, as has been stated above. From *para-bindu* evolves *apara-bindu* and *bīja*, and from their interaction appears *apara-nāda*. This is followed by progressive stages of creation.

In human body, the power involved in *apara-nāda* crosses the middle of the two eyebrows, and flows down the *suṣumnā* channel. At the lowest point, this *nāda* is converted into the Kuṇḍalinī. The subtle principles of cosmic structure issue out of the Kuṇḍalinī, and begin to locate themselves in distinct centres in the forehead and lower down in the sympathetic system.

The aim and endeavour of *sādhanā* is ascension from the lowest level of human existence to the highest level, where the individual soul can be merged with the universal Soul. Hence the process of creation has to be reversed and one has to ascend from human *bindu* upwards.

There are five levels of existence technically known as *koṣas* (sheaths): *anna-maya*, *prāṇa-maya*, *mano-maya*, *vijñāna-maya*, and *ānanda-maya*. The *anna-maya-koṣa* consists of seven *dhātus* or elements, namely, *rasa* (the primary juice called chyle formed from the food and changed by the bile into blood) *asṛk* (blood), *māṁsa* (flesh), *meda* (fat), *asthi* (bone), *majjā* (marrow), and *śukra* (semen.)[2] *Bindu* is the quintessence of the *anna-maya-koṣa* which has to be purified by *bindu-sādhanā* or perfect continence.

Similarly, the other *koṣas* have to be purified: the *prāṇa-maya-koṣa* by controlling the breath, the *mano-maya-koṣa* by controlling the mind, the *vijñāna-maya-koṣa* by introspection, and the *ānanda-maya-koṣa* by *bhakti*. *Bindu-sādhanā*, however, is the first step towards the purification of the

[1] *The Cultural Heritage of India*, III, pp. 441-42.

[2] Śuśruta describes the transformation of the *dhātus* as follows:

rasād raktaṁ tato māṁsaṁ māṁsān medaḥ prajāyate
medaso'sthi tato majjā majjṇaḥ śukrasya sambhavaḥ

According to modern science, food is converted by gastric juice secretion into acid pulp, called chyme, which is then transformed into a milky fluid called chyle by action of pancreatic juice and bile.

physical body, and after that has been accomplished one gains the faculty of purifying the other *koṣas*. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has pointed out that *brahmacarya* cannot be successfully practised unless one tries to control the *prāṇa*, and the mind etc.[1] But as soon as the *bindu* is purified, and stabilized, control over the *prāṇa*, mind etc., are established almost as a matter of course without any effort. These three, namely *bindu*, *prāṇa*, and mind are interrelated. As the HYP (4.26 and 28) says: 'Mercury and mind are naturally quivering; what may not be accomplished if these two can be fixed? . . . . When mind is fixed, *vāyu* becomes still, and thereby *bindu* also becomes steady.' It is then stated (HYP, 4.29-31) that *mano-laya* (fixation of mind) depends on *nādā*, and that *mano-laya* is known as *mokṣa*. '*Prāṇa-laya* and *mano-laya* generates bliss (*ānanda*).' This stage is attained by the *śāmbhavī-mudrā*.

One of the primary aims of *haṭha-yoga* is to stablize the *bindu*, which gives *kāyā-siddhi* or supernatural control over the body. When this control reaches perfection, that is, when the *bindu-sādhanā* is perfect, there is neither decay of the body nor death. But the method of *bindu-sādhanā* is not given in any available text, and has to be learnt from the *guru*. This is the secret of *haṭha-yoga* which is not divulged to ordinary persons. As the HYP 1.11 says:

haṭha-vidyā paraṁ gopyā yoginā siddhim=icchatā
bhaved=vīryavatī guptā nirvīryā tu prakāśitā

(A *yogin*, desirous of attaining success, should keep the knowledge of *haṭha* as highly secret; it becomes potent if secrecy is maintained, but becomes impotent if revealed . . . . one should practise *yoga* (alone) in the way expounded by the *guru*).

Regarding the *śāmbhavī-mudrā* mentioned above, the HYP 4.35 says:

veda-śāstra-purāṇāni sāmānya-gaṇikā iva
ek=aiva śāmbhavī-mudrā guptā kula-baḍhūr=iva

(The Vedas, scriptures and the *purāṇas* are comparable to common harlots; only the *śāmbhavī-mudrā* is like the secluded respectable woman.)

Haṭha-yoga is sometimes called the '*yoga* of the body' in distinction to Patañjali's Rāja-yoga, which is called 'the *yoga* of the psyche.' This is probably true to some extent, because *haṭha-yoga* seems to have developed a set of physical exercises called *āsanas* to keep the body fit, for they believed that without physical fitness, the practise of *yoga* was impossible. This belief was more or less common to all sects, but the *haṭha-yogins* alone developed the *āsanas*, and systematized the *ṣaṭ-karma* both of which became popular as physical exercise and prophylaxis. Even today the *haṭha-yoga āsanas* are taught in India and abroad. But *haṭha-yoga* did not stop here. The *āsanas* and the *ṣaṭ-karma* do not build a muscular body; they are meant to prevent certain common ailments which could result in distracting the mind, and interfere with meditation.

Both *tantra* and *haṭha-yoga* aimed at the realization of the Self and liberation. Their adepts, however, were lured into the by-ways of *siddhi* or supernatural powers. This was more pronounced in the case of the *haṭha-yogins*,

[1]G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, p. 102.

whose methods are sometimes known as the *siddha-mārga* (way of the *siddhas*).

SUPERNATURAL POWERS

Vibhūti

Vibhūti or *siddhi*, also known as *aiśvarya*, are supernatural powers inherent in *yoga* and *tantra*. As Kapila says in his *Sāṁkhya-sūtra*, 5.128: *yoga-siddhayo'py=ausadh=ādi-siddhi-van=n=āpalapanīyāh* (the *siddhis* attained by *yoga* are not to be denied like recovery through medicines etc.).[1]

The conception of the acquisition of supernatural powers through mortification is very old. In the *Ṛgveda* X.28.4, prayer is offered to Indra to give the devotee the power to reverse the flow of the river, and in X. 136.5-6, it is stated that a *muni* can fly, and he is omniscient. Various *vibhūtis* attained by a *yogin* are mentioned in the *Śvetāśvatara* 2.11.13.

During the epic age, people believed in prolonging the life indefinitely through various means. The *Mahābhārata* 12.307.2 mentions four methods of overcoming death and age, which are: (1) *yoga* practices (*tapas*); (2) discharge of appointed duty (*karman*); (3) knowledge (*śruti*); and (4) medicines and chemicals (*rasāyana*). The *Mahābhārata* 12.308.16 describes that a woman mendicant (*bhikṣukī*), who knew *yoga* (*yogajñā*) entered the body of another person, and Śaṃkara refers to this incident in his comments on Br.S. 3.3.32. This power to enter into another's body is referred to in the YS, 3.38. In the earlier part of his comments on Br.S. 3.3.32, Śaṃkara declares that due to the *aiśvarya* of *yoga*, one can assume many bodies. This is known as *kāya-vyūha*, and is referred to in YS, 4.3. Śaṃkara again refers to *kāya-vyūha*, while explaining Br.S. 4.4.15.

In the *Gītā*, 10.7, Kṛṣṇa speaks of his *vibhūti* and *yoga*, and Arjuna requests him to explain in detail his *yoga-vibhūti* (10.18). Ultimately, Kṛṣṇa, at Arjuna's request revealed his *yoga aiśvarya* (*paśya me yogam aiśvaram*= 'Behold my *yoga* power,' 11.8).

Patañjali gives detailed description of the *vibhūtis*, a few of which have been described above. The third chapter of the YS is called the *Vibhūti-pāda*, which gives detailed descriptions of the *vibhūtis*, and some more are given in the last chapter. Patañjali has, however, warned (YS, 3.37) that these *siddhis* are obstacles to *samādhi*. In YS, 3.45, Patañjali speaks of *siddhis* like '*aṇimā* etc.' and '*kāyasampat*.' The *kāyasampat* has been explained by him in YS, 3.46 as 'beauty, complexion, strength, and adamantine hardness'. Commenting on YS, 3.45, Vyāsa explains '*aṇima* etc.' as follows: *aṇimā* (the power of becoming as small as an atom); 2. *laghimā* (the power of

[1]This is Swami Vivekananda's translation given in the appendix to *Raja-Yoga*, p. 312. According to Vijñānabhikṣu, the aphorism means 'since it is seen that *siddhis* can be attained through medicines etc, it cannot be denied that *yoga* can also lead to *siddhi*.' It does not seem that Vijñānabhikṣu is correct.

assuming excessive lightness, levitation); 3. *mahimā* (power of becoming magnified like a mountain, magnification); 4. *prāpti* (the power of obtaining all objects at will, all objects coming near to him, such as touching the moon with finger tips: extension); 5. *prākāmya* (irresistible will or fiat; the non-obstruction of desire, such as diving into the earth underground and coming up as if he was in water); 6. *vaśītva* (mastery over the five elements and their products) ; 7. *isitṛtva* (power over the production, or arrangement of the elements and their products); 8. *yatra-kāmāvasāyitva* (the power to determine things according to his wish or will). Having explained these terms, Vyas adds: *na ca śakto'pi padārtha-viparyāsaṃ karoti* which has been rendered by MM. Gopinath Kaviraj as 'though gifted with these powers and capable of doing anything, the Yogin never cares to transgress the laws of nature, which are imposed on objects by the Will of the First Power.'[1] Vyāsa, however, adds that nothing can obstruct the functioning of the *yogin's* body; the hardness of earth cannot impede him; he can enter inside a stone; water cannot drench him; fire cannot burn him; wind cannot move him; he can disappear from view.

Other texts, like the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* give many examples of *yoga-siddhi*.[2]

Modern scholars do not believe in these so-called miracles, because these have not been demonstrated under approved supervision. The important point is that the ancient Indians believed in *vibhūtis*, and, many Indians believe in them even now.[3]

Ābhicāra

The *vibhūtis*, as stated above, are acquired by the *yogin* during his *sādhanā* without any extra effort on his part, though many people practise *yoga* to gain the *vibhūtis*. However, the *vibhūtis*, must be clearly distinguished from the *abhicāras* or 'magic spells,' which are deliberately performed to attain some objects.

The faith in magic spells is as old as the *Ṛgveda*. The magicians are described in the *Ṛgveda* (VII, 21.5; X.99.3) as *adeva* (godless), *anṛta-deva* (worshippers of false gods) and *śiśnadeva* (lecherous). The *Ṛgveda* (VII.104 and X. 87) shows that the Vedic people were afraid of these magicians who are

[1]G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 125.

[2]The YV, *Nirvāṇa, Pūrva* 80.27 and *Nirvāṇa, Uttara* 102.57 mention *guṭikā-siddhi*. The commentary states that *siddha-guṭikā* (a charmed pill), *siddha-añjana*, (charmed collyrium), *siddha-khaḍga* (charmed sword), and *siddha-pādukā* (charmed shoe) are used to enable one to travel in the air, and reference is made to the *Uddamāra-tantra*, the *Yoginikalpa* 'and many other texts.' However, the *Nirvāṇa, Purva* 80.27 adds: 'All these (*siddhis*) are attended with many evils which are prejudicial to the gaining of knowledge of the Self. 'For a modern example of *guṭikā-siddhi*, see Swami Saradananda, op. cit., *Gurubhāva, Pūrvārdha*, p. 253.

[3]For a discussion of this problem, see G. Kaviraj, *Yog tathā Yog-Vibhūti* in *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛti aur Sādhanā*, pp. 398-413; and Swami Akhilananda; Extra-Sensory and Superconscious Experiences in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, III, pp. 520-31.

called *yātudhāna* (one who employs black magic), and *rākṣasas* (devil or evil spirits). The female evil spirits are called *piśācīs* (*Ṛgveda*, I, 133.5). It is interesting to note that the Vedic word *yātu* (magic) is the same as *yādu*, used now in most north Indian languages to mean 'magic'.

It is evident that the *Ṛgvedic* people believed in the efficacy of charms. From *Maṇḍala* VII of the *Ṛgveda* it appears that there were two groups of priests. One group consisted of the Viśvāmitras, who were well versed in the knowledge and practice of charms and spells. They advocated their use by the priests whenever necessary. The other group consisted of the Vasiṣṭhas. They opposed the practice of black magic, and relied for their protection exclusively on Vedic gods like Indra and Agni. Nevertheless they believed in the existence of demons (*Ṛgveda* VII. 104.17, 18, 22 and 24), and relied on Indra to kill them.[1]

Many magic spells are found in the *Atharvaveda*, which, Prof. Macdonell says 'represents a much more primitive stage of thought' than the *Ṛgveda*, and adds, '. . . . the *Atharvaveda* is, in the main book of spells and incantations appealing to the demon world, and teems with notions about witchcraft current among the lower grades of the population, and derived from an immemorial antiquity.'[2]

What is the relation between the *Atharvaveda* and *tantra*? MM. Kane, after citing a few appropriate examples from the *Atharvaveda*, states: 'The sound "*phaṭ*" occurs in the *Vājasaneya-saṃhitā*. In the *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra phaṭ* is employed in offering Soma stalks in *abhicāra* (employment of spells for a malevolent purpose). *Phaṭ* is frequently employed in the worship of Devī in Tantra works. But no direct line of evolution from the *Atharvaveda* to the Tantras can be traced.'[3]

It is, however, clear that from hoary antiquity, the Indians placed their faith in hocus-pocus of various sorts when they found themselves unable to obtain their desired objects by normal means. The faith in black magic prevailed in all ancient civilizations, but the Indians seem to have been the only people to have systematized and incorporated these in their religious texts. They have paid heavily for their impiety.

In Chapter 14 of the *Arthaśāstra* called the *Aupaniṣadika*, Kauṭilya describes occult rites and practices to produce miraculous effects. There are recipes for blinding people and killing on a mass scale by poisonous gas and other dubious means, for changing one's appearance, for maiming cattle, for fasting for days without feeling any ill effect, for walking long distances without getting tired etc. Kauṭilya's main object was to destroy the enemy and his army, for which he would have recourse to any method however foul. The usual methods recommended by him were the preparation of various concoc-

[1]For details see H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda*, Maṇḍala, VII, Bombay, 1963, introduction, pp. xi-xviii and xxiii-xxiv; *HDK*, V, pp. 1035-37.

[2]A.A. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, quoted in Dasgupta, op. cit., I, pp. 12-3.

[3]*HDK*, V, p. 1037.

tions. For example the *Arthaśāstra* 14.1.29 states: 'When a man is hit and wounded by an arrow daubed with the (paste of) seed of *śālmalī* and *vidārī*, joined with *mūla* and *vatsanābha*, and smeared with the blood of *cucchundarī* (musk-rat), (he) bites other ten persons, and those bitten bite other ten persons each.'

Sometimes the concoctions were not enough, and Kauṭilya recommends *mantras* to be recited. In one *mantra*, salutation is offered to Aditi, Anumati, Sarasvatī, and Savitṛ, while Agni, Soma, Bhu, and Bhuva are hailed: *Adite namaste, Anumate namaste, Sarasvati namaste, Deva Savitar=namaste; Agnaye svāhā, Somāya svāhā, Bhūḥ svāhā, Bhuvaḥ svāhā* (14.1.39-40). All these are Vedic deities, Anumatī being a goddess worshipped in the Rājasūya sacrifice. In another section, however, a long verse (14.3.19-26) ends with invocation to Alita, Valita, and Manu. Another *mantra* (14.3.43-6) pays obeisance to Bali son of Vairocana, Śambara of the hundred guiles, Naraka, Kumbha, and Tantukaccha the great *asura*, while 14.3.36 pays homage to Amila, Kimila, Vayucāra, Prayoga, Phakka, Vayuhva, Vihāla, and Dantakaṭaka. These names bear a family resemblance to the tantric deities.

Kauṭilya does not quote the Vedic charms, nor does he refer to *tantra*. But the verses cited by him, as *mantras*, are clearly non-Vedic, and most probably are quoted from some popular work on *abhicāra*. We would suggest that verses of these type later came to be included in *tantra* works. In seven verses, the *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra* (2.14-20) declares that in the Kali age the Vedic *mantras* are utterly useless, while the *tantra* is very effective. Evidently, the inefficacy of the Vedic charms being firmly established, people had recourse to another set of charms, which even Kauṭilya adopted. (It may be added that many of the ingredients of Kauṭilya's recipes are practically impossible to collect.) The influence of popular faith in evil rites is seen even in some early *purāṇas* like the *Matsya* (93.149-55) and *Agni* (138).

The *tantra* texts, however, contain more details of *abhicāra* than any other literature.[1] The texts divide these extra-religious rites into six categories collectively known as *ṣaṭ-karma*. Of these, all except the first are called *abhicāra* or 'evil rites.' The *ṣaṭ-karmas* are:

i. *Śānti or svyastyayana:* performed to cure illness and other afflictions due to planetary influence or *abhicāra*;

ii. *Vaśīkaraṇa or vaśya:* performed to bring anyone or everyone under control;

iii. *Stambhana:* performance of this rite can paralyze men, freeze water, stop the flow of semen, blunt the edge of a sword, make an opponent dumb, and stop the movement of air;

iv. *Vidveṣaṇa:* performance creates enmity between friends;

v. *Uccāṭana:* performance causes a person to quit his house village, city etc.

vi. *Māraṇa:* performance kills living beings.

Of these *ṣaṭ-karmas*, the *svayastyayana*, which is of a benedictory nature is

[1]See *Prapañcasāra*, chapter V; *Śāradātilaka*, 23.121-145; *Śaktisaṃgama-tantra, Kālikākhaṇḍa*, 8.102-106; *Tantrasāra*, pp. 462-66.

still performed, and judging by the nature of some advertisements, it seems that people have not yet completely lost their faith in the other *abhicāras*.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF TANTRA AND YOGA

Tantra has been severely criticized in modern times by both scholars and religious teachers for its sanction of sexual promiscuity, orgies, and *abhicāra*. This criticism is valid. Actually, the immorality of a class of pseudo-*tāntrikas* ruined the system. There was, however, a more pleasing effect of *tantra*: the position it accorded to women and *śūdras*.

Manu 2.223 says:

yadi strī yady=avarajaḥ śreyaḥ kiñcit samācaret
tat sarvam ācaret yukto yatra v=āsya ramen manaḥ

(If a woman or a *śūdra* performs some meritorious act, then they should be followed [by the *brahmacārin*], who may also perform what pleases his mind.)

In a chapter devoted to *yoga*, the *Mahābhārata* 12.232.32 says:

api varn=āvakṛṣṭas=tu nārī vā-dharma-kāṁkṣiṇī
tav=apy=etena mārgena gacchetāṁ paramaṁ gatim

(Even a *śūdra* or a religious-minded woman may reach the highest state by following this road [*yoga*]).

Manu does not mention *yoga*, but since he has forbidden women and *śūdra* to perform Vedic rites, he is most probably referring to some non-Vedic rites like the *yoga*, which, in a similar passage, the *Mahābhārata* does.[1] It was, however, *tantra*, which gave women and *śūdras* equality with men of the highest caste and provided a common religious platform for all irrespective of sex or caste.

The *Kulārṇava* (11.64-5) states that, every woman is born in the *kula* (family) of the Great Mother, and so one should not strike a woman even with a flower even if she is guilty of one hundred misdeeds. One should not mind the faults of women, and should make known only their good qualities.

The *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya* (10.66-9) states that, a Kaula should never find fault with women, who are to be particularly worshipped; whether they are girls, youthful maidens, old, beautiful, ugly, or very wicked, one must bow to them.

After quoting similar passages, the *Tantrasāra* (p. 618) adds:

striyo devāḥ striyaḥ prāṇāḥ striyaś=c=aiva vibhūṣaṇam (Women are divine, women are life, women are ornaments.)

The result of the social impact of *tantra* on religion is clearly seen in the

[1]Medhātithi has given a long explanation of Manu 2.223, in which he attempts to explain away its significance. Kulluka and others commentators are very terse. Our conclusion is based on the fact that Manu and the Mbh. have many common verses, for example Manu 2.99 and Mbh. 12.232.14. In the present instance, though the verses are not identical, they betray similar sentiments.

Devī-purāṇa, which in its earlier chapters takes an orthodox view of society and religion. In its later chapters, however, women, *śūdras*, *pukvasas*, *caṇḍālas* and others are allowed to perform the vows and worships connected with Devī, and even prefers a qualified *śūdra* to a worthless member of any of the higher castes. Women and *śūdras* are directed to perform *homa* daily in a sanctuary (*maṭha*), or a kitchen, but never in a *kuṇḍa*. Virgin girls are to be worshipped in all worships and festivals connected with Devī, because She herself being a maiden, resides in all virgin girls. Other women are also held in high esteem, so much so that their worship is prescribed on several occasions. Vallālasena rejected the *Devī-purāṇa's* authority because of its tantric character.[1]

The *Gāyatrī-tantra* (1.82) seems to be even more liberal, for it permits even the *śūdras* to recite (*japa*) the *tāntrikagāyatrī* (*tantrajen-aiva gāyatryā śūdro'pi prajapen manum*).[2] In this respect, the *Gayātrī-tantra* is supported by the *Mahānirvāṇa* (8.80) which says:

śūdra-sāmānya-jātīnām adhīkaro'sti kevalam
āgam-okta-vidhau Devi sarva-siddhis=tato bhavet

(O Devi, the *śūdra* and all other low castes have the right to perform the rites prescribed by the Āgamas only wherefrom they will derive all successes.)

The *tantras* differed on the right of the women and the *śūdras* to perform *homa*. The *Tantrasāra* (pp. 44-5) has quoted conflicting opinions of authorities on this topic. Though the *Tantrasāra* does not express its opinion, it seems that it favours the women and *śūdras*, and is inclined to give them the right to perform *homa*.

[1] R.C. Hazra, op. cit., II, pp. 93-4.

[2] *Gāyatrī-tantra's* attitude seems to be slightly ambiguous, for later (3.113) it denies the *śūdras* the right to perform *japa*, See also ibid, 3.117, and 5.55 and 74. However, a distinction is made between *sac-chūdra* and *asac-chūdra* in 3.120-122 and 4.28. After prohibiting the reading of *purāṇas* before a *śūdra*, it (5.60) practically sanctions the bestowal of the sacred thread to a *śūdra*.

CHAPTER XI

NEW TRENDS IN TRADITIONAL RELIGION

General Features

THE term Hinduism is now used in a restricted sense. Philologically it should include all the religions which evolved in India. Not only Buddhism and Jainism, but all the cult religions including animism and fetish worship are parts or facets of Hinduism. Hence the necessity for using a term which can conveniently denote the main religious sects which began to develop roughly at the end of the pre-christian era. The term 'neo-Brahmanical' has been used to denote these sects, but it does not seem to be a very happy term. better term is possibly 'Pauranic and Tantric religions,' because the cults which we are about to describe derived their authority mainly from two classes of texts called the Purāṇas and the Tantras. The fact remains, however, that neither these texts, nor the sects which followed them, ever deny the authority of the Veda. And the philosophy of the Vaiṣṇavas and to a great extent of the Śaivas and the Śāktas,—which were the main religious sects,—were based on the Upaniṣads. Hence the term 'Traditional Religion' seems to be more appropriate. For, unlike Buddhism and Jainism which denounced the Veda, the 'traditional religions' paid homage to it, and accepted the Veda as authoritative. However, these 'traditional religions' changed the form and content of the Vedic religion by introducing new religious texts which replaced the Veda, by replacing Vedic sacrifices with image worship, and by installing the image of a personified deity in the place of the impersonal Vedic gods, and striving to gain bliss through *bhakti*, instead of liberation, for this personal god.

New Religious Texts

As stated above, the new type of religious texts were the Tantras and the Purāṇas. An account of Tantra literature has been given in the last chapter, and an account of the Purāṇas has been given in a previous volume.[1] As has been shown there, the Purāṇas are mentioned in the Vedic literature as early as the AV, and that even in Vedic times Purāṇas had attained a status as sacred as that of the Vedas. The present Purāṇas, however, are of a late date. None of them has come in their original form, and almost all of them have been changed throughout the period of ancient Indian history.

Almost all the Purāṇas are sectarian in character. For example, the *Vāyu*

[1]Above I, pp. 18-22 have.

is a Śaiva-Pāśupata *purāṇa*. The *Brahmāṇḍa*, which is closely allied to the *Vāyu*, is also a Pāśupata *purāṇa*, but has a few chapters on Viṣṇu. The *Mārkaṇḍeya*, which contains the *Devī-māhātmya*, is a Śākta *purāṇa*, but some of its chapters eulogizes Vedic deities like Indra, Brahmā, Agni, or Sūrya.

The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* belongs to the Pañcarātra sect, and is a pure Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa. The *Matsya* was originally a Pañcarātra work, but was later modified by the Śaivas who made additions to it. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, the most famous of all the *purāṇas*, is pure Vaiṣṇava. It is not only remarkable for its philosophy, but also for its style and elegant language. The *Kūrma* was originally a work with Śākta bias, but was later appropriated by the Pāśupatas, who recast it to a great extent.

The other *purāṇas* are of a even later date. Of them *Padma* is a Vaiṣṇava *purāṇa*, and so is the *Nāradīya*. The *Skanda* is the most voluminous *purāṇa*, and its complete text has not yet been published. It is a Vaiṣṇava *purāṇa*. The *Brahma-vaivarta* and the *Varāha* are two other Vaiṣṇava *purāṇas*, while the *Vāmana* is a mixed *purāṇa*. The present printed texts of the *Agni* and the *Bhaviṣya* are from very late manuscripts, and their originals have not yet been published.

Among the Upa-purāṇas, there are three major and five minor Vaiṣṇava Upa-purāṇas. All the four Śākta *purāṇas*, namely, *Devī*, *Kālikā*, *Mahābhāgavata*, and *Devī-bhāgavata* are classed as Upa-purāṇas. The *Śāmba* is the only extent Saura Upa-purāṇa. There are two non-sectarian Upa-purāṇas, namely, the *Bhaviṣyottara* and the *Bṛhaddharma*. Many Upa-purāṇas have been lost.

It is not possible to give here an analysis of the contents of the Purāṇas.[1] It is sufficient to state that while religious mythologies are their bases, they deal with a wide range of subjects including iconography and architecture,—two subjects which for obvious reasons are never mentioned in a Vedic text. The heterogenous contents of the Purāṇas, which were inflated from time to time, were primarily responsible for the abiding hold on the masses of the new religions and rituals.

The Śaiva texts which corresponds to the *purāṇas* are called *āgamas*, and similar Śākta texts are known as *tantras*. There are a very large number of them, to which reference has been made in the previous chapter.

As we have stated above, one of the main reasons for the popularity of the new cults was that they catered to the needs of the poor people. In the *Varāha* (39. 17-18, 23-24) the question is asked: 'Tell me, how can a poor man attain God?' (*adhanena kathaṁ devaḥ prāpyate tad vadasva me*). The reply is that he can do so by *vratas*, which were comparatively inexpensive, and fasts. The *Liṅga-purāṇa* (Pūrvārdha, 83.4) provides that if a person observes *nakta* (eating only once in the evening) and worships Śiva on the 8th and 14th days of each fortnight, he secures the rewards of all sacrifices and

[1]For detailed study of the *purāṇas* see R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca, 1940; R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Calcutta, I, 1958; II, 1963; *HDK*, V, ii, pp. 815-1002.

reaches the highest goal. The keynote of the Purāṇas was the acquisition of great religious merit with little effort and even less expenses. Their role in popularising the new cults cannot be over-emphasized.

Image Worship

There have been considerable differences of opinion among scholars as to whether image worship was a Vedic practice or not. Famous scholars like Max Muller, H.H. Wilson, Macdonell, and A.B. Keith were of the opinion that the Veda do not contain any reference to image worship. The opposite view was taken by Bollensen and S.V. Venkatesvara. Dr. J.N. Banerjea, after thoroughly discussing this problem, correctly concludes: 'After a critical consideration of all these data, it can be confidently observed that, even when some references to symbols or sensible representations are found in the Vedic and Brahmanic texts, this does not necessarily mean that they were images proper of the respective divinities.'[1]

There is, however, another related problem: were the Vedic deities anthropomorphic or not. Yāska, who flourished some time between 800 to 500 BC, discussed this problem in his *Nirukta*, and wrote a section beginning *atha-ākāra-cintanaṁ devatānām*: 'Now follows, they resemble human beings in form (*puruṣa-vidhaḥ*), for their panegyrics and their appellations are like those of sentient beings; and their human limbs are referred to in the hymns . . . Moreover, they are associated with the sort of actions with which men are usually associated. Others say, the gods do not resemble human beings in form (*a-puruṣa-vidhaḥ*), because the gods that are (actually) seen do not resemble human beings in form; as for instance, Agni (Fire-god), Vāyu (Wind-god), Āditya (Sun-god), Pṛthivī (Earth-goddess), Candramas (Moon-god) etc. As to the view that panegyrics of the gods are like those of the sentient beings, (they reply) that inanimate objects, beginning with dice and ending with herbs, are likewise praised. As to the view that the human limbs of the gods are referred to in the hymns, (they reply) that this (treatment) is accorded to inanimate objects . . . As to the view (that in their hymns of praise the gods are associated) with objects with which men are associated, (they reply) that it is just the same (in the case of inanimate objects) . . . Or the gods may both resemble human beings in form as well as may not resemble human beings in form. Or the gods who do not resemble human beings in form exist in the form of *karman* (sacrifice); as for instance, 'the sacrifice performed by the *yajamāna* (sacrificer). This is the opinion of those who know the legends.'[2]

It is evident that at the latest by the 6th century BC, this problem had gained such importance and opinion was so sharply divided that Yāska, while obliged to discuss it, felt it prudent not to give any decided opinion. The reason for his ambivalence is that probably by this time image worship

[1]J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd. ed., Calcutta, 1956, p. 61.

[2]*The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta*, English translation by Lakshman Sarup, Lahore, pp. 116-17.

had come into vogue as a means of earning a livelihood.

In Pāṇini's grammar, written after Yāska's work, but probably before 500 BC, there is the *sūtra jīvikārthe cāpaṇye* (5.3.99). This is explained by the *Kāśikā* (*c.* AD 650) as: 'That which is bought and sold is called *paṇya*; that which is not so dealt with is *apaṇya*. The rule applies to the images of gods which are made means of subsistence by a low order of *brāhmaṇas*, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door. Thus *Vāsudevaḥ* (means) "the idol of Vāsudeva," *Śivaḥ*, "the idol of Śiva," *Skandaḥ*, *Viṣnuḥ*, Ādityaḥ etc. Why do we say *apaṇye*? Observe, "*hastikān vikrīṇīte*", "he sells the images of elephants" Similarly 'horses' "chariots."[1]'

However, in two previous *sūtras* (4.3. 97-98), Pāṇini has himself given Mahārāja, Arjuna, and Vāsudeva as objects of veneration (*bhakti*). Hence, it is possible that, in spite of the *Kāśika's* explanations, in sūtra 5.3.99, Pāṇini had in view the images of Arjuna, Vāsudeva, and Mahārāja, the last standing for the deities of the four cardinal points.

However, Patañjali makes the identification of the images in the 2nd century BC quite clear, when commenting on Pāṇini 5.3.99 he writes that, in his time the images of Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha were made for the purpose of worship. He adds that the Mauryas sold the images with a view to earning money.[2] For 'images,' Patañjali uses the word *arcā*, meaning 'an image installed for worship,' the word having been derived from the root *arc* which means 'to worship,' 'to praise' etc.

Manu has several references not only to images but also to temples. He says that one should circumambulate the images of gods (4.39), one should not voluntarily step over the shadows of gods (4.130), the *pūjā* of gods should be performed at dawn (4.152), and, one should approach the deities on *parvans* (like the full-moon day, Kulluka). Manu lays down that the person who destroys an image (*pratimā*) must pay a fine of 500 *paṇas*, which, Kulluka explains, means that he will have to replace it with a new one. Manu, however, assigns an inferior status to the temple priests, whom he calls *devalakas*, and groups them with physicians, meat-sellers, and traders, none of whom were to be invited to sacrifices and *śrāddhas*. The reason probably was that these *devalakas*, as Arjunamiśra explains the word on Mbh. 12.77.8 were 'salaried worshippers of god' (*vetanena devapūjakāḥ*). And the *Nārada Pañcaratra* (*Bharadvāja Saṃhitā*, 4.29), admittedly a late text, says that one should never make the images of gods the means of one's livelihood (*na c=āpy= arc-opajīvakān*). This prohibitory usage probably operated even in Manu's days, hence his rule. It may be noted, that temple priests, though *brāhmaṇas*, never enjoyed the respect of the people, unless they happened to be otherwise gifted.[3]

[1] *The Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, text and English translation by S.C. Vasu, II, reprint, Delhi, 1962, p. 975.

[2] F. Kielhorn, *Vyakāraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, II, Bombay, p. 429.

[3] For example, *The Śrī-Caitanya-maṅgala*, a Bengali work written by Locana Dasa some time between AD 1550 to 1612 quotes a Sanskrit verse which says: 'Fishes are always

Kauṭilya (2.4.17) prescribes that in the centre of the city, shrines should be built for Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, and Vaijayanta, and there should also be temples for Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera), Aśvins, Śrī, and Madirā. He also lays down (4.10.16) that, 'for one stealing cattle, images, persons, fields, houses, money, gold, gems, or crops belonging to a temple (the punishment shall be) the highest fine or simple death.' For concealing temple property the punishment recommended by Kauṭilya (4.10.13) was 'blindness by means of poisonous collyrium or a fine of eight hundred'. However, dealing with 'Secret Practices,' he recommends (5.2.37-38) appropriation by the king of 'properties of heretical corporations' (*pāṣaṇḍa-saṅgha-dravyam* which meant Jaina and Buddhist monasteries), and of temples (*deva-dravyam*). Kauṭilya also prescribes methods of cheating credulous people of their money by exploiting their faith in gods and spirits (5.2.39-45).

The Mbh. gives interesting accounts of the religious life of the people, but the descriptions are so voluminous and cover such a wide field that it is not possible to discuss it here. Yudhiṣṭhira performed the Rājasūya and the Aśvamedha sacrifices, and many other princes performed Vedic sacrifices. But from numerous references to temples and images it appears that these served the needs of the people. For example, Mbh. (3.118.11-13) states that Yudhiṣṭhira visited the temples of Vasu, Maruts, Aśvins, Vaivasvata (Yama), Āditya, Kubera, Indra, Viṣṇu, Savitṛ, Bhava (or Bhāva : Śiva), Candra, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Sādhyas, Dhātṛ, Pitṛs, Rudra with all his *gaṇas*, Sarasvatī, and Siddhas. All these are Vedic deities, and it is most unlikely that we owe these verses to the imagination of the poet, for such transgressions in religious matters were considered reprehensible. Hence, it appears that at one time the images of Vedic gods were actually worshipped in temples. This would explain Yāska's hesitation in positively stating whether the Vedic gods had forms or not. Actually, in Kauṭilya's list given above, at least one temple is dedicated to Aśvins, who were Vedic gods. It is possible that Kauṭilya deliberately selected Aśvins out of his regard for public health, the Aśvin twins being the divine physicians. It is also possible that the verses in the Mbh. were written long before Kauṭilya's time, when new gods had not replaced the Vedic deities, but later their image worship became unpopular, and new gods whom Kauṭilya mentions but not otherwise known came to the forefront. It is clear, however, that Kauṭilya's list is not exhaustive, for the Greek sources to be noticed below, mention the worship of Herakles, identified with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, in the 4th century BC.

The earliest epigraphic reference to a temple containing images is found in the Ghosundi inscription which will be discussed later in connection with Vaiṣṇavism. D.R. Bhandarkar assigned this inscription to the 1st century

bathing, serpents live on air, goats live on grass, cows are constantly moving, a *devala* is always serving God, a mouse lives in a hole, a lion lives in a forest, a crane meditates, but what do they gain? . . . .' It is hardly necessary to point out that the behaviour of the animals are similar to the practices of the *sadhus* practising austerity. *Devala* is the same as *devalaka*,

BC. It is important to note that the king who constructed this temple and set up the images had performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. At a later period, the epigraphic evidence for temples and images become more copious.

It may, therefore, be tentatively concluded on the basis of available evidence, that image worship had started by 500 BC if not earlier, and that by about 300 BC such worship had taken firm root in the religious life of India. The performances of Vedic sacrifices continued, but these were confined to wealthy princes and high dignitaries.

Bhakti

The new religious cults based on personified gods evoked *bhakti* or devotion. The word *bhakti* is not mentioned in the Vedic literature except in a solitary verse in the *Śvetāśvatara*. The RV, as we have seen, deified faith, Śraddhā but *bhakti* for God and *guru* (preceptor) is recommended in the last verse of the *Śvetāśvatara*. This Upaniṣad is largely concerned with Rudra, who as Rudra-Śiva, was soon to become a highly personified deity.

Though the word *bhakti* is not mentioned in the RV, some of its hymns reveal that the worshippers' attitude to Indra was that of a *bhakta* (devotee) of later times. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (4.5.6) recalls the everyday experience of emotional attachment for one's objects of love, which was later developed by the Vaiṣṇavas. *Kaṭha* 2.33 practically proclaims the doctrine of grace, which is a typical aspect of *bhakti*.[1]

Still the basic difference remained. The Upaniṣads preached that man's highest goal was *mokṣa* (liberation), while the *Bhakti-mīmāṁsā-sūtra* (4.1.7) says that the highest aspiration of man should not be *mokṣa* but *bhakti*. As MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has observed, 'The rejection of *mokṣa* as the supreme end of human aspirations, follows as a necessary corollary from the conception of *Bhakti* as in itself the highest form of bliss, higher—so it is boldly declared—than *Brahmānanda* which is revealed in *mokṣa*.'[2]

It took a long time to develop the concept of *bhakti* first as an idea, and then as an ideal. It is not possible to trace the developments, for the *bhakti* movement overflowed the conventional boundaries of ancient, medieval, and modern ages. It is sufficient to mention here that the twin pillars of the new religious movements were the icons and *bhakti*, based upon and fostered by appropriate texts mostly Purāṇas and Tantras.

[1]For details and references see A.K. Majumdar, *Bhakti Renaissance*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1979, pp. 2-3.

[2]*Bhakti-mīmāṁsā-sūtra* edited by MM. Ganganath Jha and MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, Banaras, p. 69.

CHAPTER XII

VAIṢṆAVISM

Definitions

'A Vaiṣṇava is a worshipper of Viṣṇu', (*vaiṣṇavo Viṣṇu-sevakaḥ, Padma-purāṇa, Pātāla-khaṇḍa*, 30.14.2). Etymologically the word means 'of' or 'relating to Viṣṇu,' and the Purāṇas have used the word in both the senses. The word '*vaiṣṇava*' in the sense of a follower of Viṣṇu is not found in the Vedic texts. Among the 108 Upaniṣads, the word is found once in a negative sense in the *Mudgalopaniṣad*. Some scholars have pointed out that the word is found in Mbh. 18.6.97, but this chapter is not a part of the Mbh. but is its *phalaśruti* taken from the *Harivaṁśa*. The Mbh. uses the term *vaiṣṇava*, at least once, in a prose passage: *yajñaṁ vaiṣṇavam* (12.329.39) which may mean 'sacrifice in honour of Viṣṇu,' but this phrase seems to be an echo of *yajño vai Viṣṇuḥ* of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (1.7.4) quoted by Śaṃkara on *Gītā* 3.9.

In the early days, the word which was generally used to designate the followers of Viṣṇu was *bhāgavata*. Varāhamihira, who wrote the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* in the middle of the 6th century AD, says that the *bhāgavatas* should worship in Viṣṇu temples. In an earlier age, however, the word '*bhāgavata*' was not used exclusively for Viṣṇu. The *Śvetāśvatara* (3.11) speaks of Śiva as *bhagavān*, and Patañjali on Pāṇini 5.2.76 speaks of *Śiva-bhāgavatas*. However, the Ghosundi and the Hathibada inscriptions of the 2nd century BC speak of *bhāgavats* Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva.[1] In the Vesnagar inscription of Heliodorus, commemorating the erection of a Garuḍa-*dhvaja*, the Greek devotee is described as a *bhāgavata*. In some Gupta inscriptions, the emperors are called *parama-bhāgavata* and Prabhāvatī-guptā calls herself *bhagavad-bhaktā*, indicating her Vaiṣṇava affiliation as opposed to the Śaiva affiliation of her Vākāṭaka husband's family. It appears, therefore, that in ancient days *bhagavad* as a term of respect was attributed to deities in general, but gradually it came to denote Viṣṇu.

RV. VII. 41 is a hymn addressed to the deity Bhaga, but the word '*bhaga*' is also used to denote 'fortune' or 'wealth'. Etymologically, the word '*bhagavat*' means one who is possessed of *bhaga*,' which has been defined in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (6.5.74) as:

aiśvaryasya samagrasya dharmasya yaśasaś-śriyaḥ[2]

[1] *EI*, XVI, p. 27; XVII, p. 189 ff.

[2] Madhusūdana Sarasvatī on *Gītā* 2.2. points out that in this verse *samagra* is syntactically connected with all the attributes. Hence the verse (*Viṣṇupurāṇa* 6.5.74) may be rendered as: '*Bhaga* is the totality of six (attributes), affluence or sovereignty, *dharma*, fame, wealth, knowledge and renunciation.'

jñāna-vairāgyoś=c=aīva ṣaṇṇāṁ bhaga it-īraṇā

As all these qualities are Viṣṇu's attributes, He is known as Bhagavān, and His worshippers are called *bhāgavatas*. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (190.20) calls Akrura 'a *mahā-bhāgavata*,' which is defined in the Padma as one 'who has been purified by the five *tapas*, has performed the nine *ijyās* (reverences) and knows the Arthapañcaka.'[1]

Early History

Vaiṣṇavism, like most other Indian religions, is the product of polygenous traditions. The end product, or present day Vaiṣṇavism, may appear to be fairly homogenous, but it is possible to differentiate its various strands and get an outline, though by no means a complete picture of its development.

Viṣṇu is mentioned several times in the RV and in other Vedic texts. Western scholars, and following them some Indian scholars, are of the opinion that Vedic Viṣṇu indicated the Sun god, and was therefore different from the Paurānic Viṣṇu. Prof. H.C. Raychaudhuri writes: 'Viṣṇu worship is as old as the Rigveda. Viṣṇu is, as is well known, one of the manifestations of the sun. He envelops the earth on every side with the rays of light (*mayūkhaiḥ*). . . .' However, Prof. Velankar has shown that *mayūkha* in the RV means 'a wooden peg or nail.'[2] Some other arguments are advanced in favour of the theory which identifies Vedic Viṣṇu with Sun god, but these subtle arguments fail to answer the question as to why did Viṣṇu instead of Sun god survive to become the presiding deity of the largest sect in India? Whatever the modern scholars may say, medieval scholars like Sāyaṇa or Jīva Gosvāmin held that the reference to Viṣṇu in the RV was to the presiding deity of Vaiṣṇavism. They are supported by the *Taittirīya āraṇyaka* (X.II.I) which contains the *mantra: Nārāyaṇāya vidmahe Vāsudevāya dhīmahi tan no Viṣṇuḥ pracodayāt*. In this sacred formula, Viṣṇu has been identified with Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva, two of the many names given to Viṣṇu in the Purāṇas. This part of the *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka* is considered to be a late interpolation, but

[1] *Tapādi-pañca-saṁskāra* probably means the *pañca-tapā* penance, where a person stands in the centre of a square with four fires burning in four corners and sun blazing above. The nine reverences are: 1. listening, 2. singing, 3. remembering, 4. massaging the legs, 5. worshipping, 6. adoring, 7, serving (like a slave), 8. befriending and 9. dedicating the self to Viṣṇu, Bh.P. 7.5.23-24. The five heads under which Rāmānuja's doctrine are divided are: 1. *jīva*, 2. *īśvara*, 3. *upāya* (way to God), 4. *phala* or *puruṣārtha* (the goals of human life) and 5. *virodhinaḥ* (obstructions or obstacles to the attainment of God). MM. Kane points out that there is a work called the *Arthapañcaka* by Nārāyaṇa in which each of these five categories is shown to have five sub-divisions; R.G. Bhandarkar in *Proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists*, Vienna, 1886, quoted in *HDK*, V, ii, p. 964 fn. 1570.

[2] H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaisnava Sect*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1936, p. 11. H.D. Velankar has translated the passage (*RV*, VII. 93.3) as: ' "Rich in food and cows as also in good pasture do you become to man (O Heaven and Earth) through your liberality;" (so saying) did you separately support these two worlds, O Viṣṇu; you have supported the earth by means of pegs all round.' According to Sāyaṇa, *mayūkha* here means the mountains which balance the earth as supports.

twelve names of Viṣṇu are mentioned in the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra* (2.5.24), which received its present form between *c.* 500 to 200 BC.

The conception of some of the incarnations with which Viṣṇu came to be identified later are found in the Vedic literature. For example, the central story of the Vāmanāvatāra or the 'Dwarf incarnation', namely, the request by the Dwarf for as much space as would be covered by his three steps is found in the RV and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.9.3.9). The Kūrmāvatāra or the Tortoise incarnation was probably based on the legend in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 5.1.5), that Prajāpati, having assumed the form of a tortoise, created living beings, and that as the words *kūrma* and *kāśyapa* mean the same object, all creatures are said to be descended from (or belong to) *kāśyapa*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I.2.11) also alludes to the lifting of the earth in the Varāhavatāra or Boar incarnation, and states that 'a boar called Emūṣa raised the earth up and he was her lord Prajāpati.' MM. Kane points out that 'in the Rg. Viṣṇu is said to have pierced Varāha (I.61.7) and that he being incited by Indra brings to the worshipper a hundred buffaloes, rice cooked in milk, and the boar (called) Emūṣa (VIII. 77.10).'[1]

Nārāyaṇa is not mentioned in the RV but in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XII. 3.4) which refers to Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa who 'at the instance of Prajāpati places all the world and all the gods in him, and his own self in all the world and all the gods, thus becoming the power of sacrifice, the universe itself.' The same text (XIII.6.1.1) further states that to surpass all things he performed a *pañcarātra* sacrifice and became supreme and omnipresent.

Vaiṣṇavism is, however, not only the worship of Viṣṇu, but also of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa, the son of Vasudeva) of the Mbh. The problem is, how did the Vedic Viṣṇu coalesce with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa? The history of this theological development is not known.

Kṛṣṇa is one of the principal figures of the Mbh. and the *Bhagavadgītā* or the '*Song Celestial*' which he delivered to Arjuna on the battlefield was accepted traditionally as an integral part of the text. Rāmacandra, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was also accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The date of the two epics are controversial. Vāsudeva, however, is mentioned in Pāṇini (4.3.98)[2] in a manner from which it appears that he was deified in Pāṇini's time, which is usually placed between *c.* 500 to 300 BC. Pāṇini (5.3.99) refers to images of gods as a means of earning livelihood, and, if the *Kāśikā* commentary is right, the images included those of Vāsudeva and Śiva.

Bhāgavata Religion

It is difficult to assign a precise period for the rise of the Bhāgavata cult, which is based on the worship of Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva is Kṛṣṇa of the Mbh.

[1] *HDK*, II, ii, p. 718. MM. Kane has suggested that there may be some relation between the Man-Lion form of Viṣṇu and the Vedic legend. For a discussion of this topic see A.K. Majumdar, *Gaudiya-Vaisnava Studies*, Calcutta, 1978, p. 30, note 18.

[2] For a detailed discussion of Pāṇini 4.3.98 see P. Banerjee, *Early Indian Religions*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 62-66.

but the date of the Mbh. is uncertain, and though Kṛṣṇa is deified in the Mbh. there is nothing in the text to indicate that there was a religious sect which followed his precepts.

Quintas Curtius, a Greek historian of the 1st century BC, observes on the authority of Alexander's contemporary historians, that the soldiers of Porus carried the effigy of Herakles while fighting the Greeks. Megasthenes also refers to the worship of Herakles by the Sourasenoi in whose lands were situated the cities of Methora and Kleisobora through which flowed the navigable river Jobares. He further observes that the two gods, Herakles and Dionysios were worshipped by the Indians living in the plains and on the hills respectively. Herakles has been identified with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, and Sourasenoi with the Surasenas, a tribe which lived in the Mathura region which is identical with Greek Methora, while Jobares has been identified with the Yamuna.

One of the earliest and most important evidence of the Bhāgavata cult is provided by the Garuḍa pillar inscription of Heliodorus at Besnagar. Heliodorus was the ambassador of the Bactrian Greek king Antialkides, who reigned during the 1st century BC.[1] Heliodorus mentions *devadeva Vāsudeva* (Vāsudeva, the god of gods), and describes himself as a *bhāgavata* (*Heliodoreṇa bhāgavateṇa*).

Other inscriptions relating to Viṣṇu worship have been found at Nagari, Ghosundi (both in Rajasthan) and Mora in Mathura region. The former two inscriptions record the worship of Bhagavān by one Pārāśarī-putra Gājāyana, who had performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice, but had erected a Nārāyaṇa-*vāṭikā* for the worship of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, 'the unconquered and lords of all.' Sir R.G. Bhandarkar had taken these names to refer to the *vyūha* worship of the Pañcarātras, but Prof. Banerjea has shown that it alludes to the five *manuṣyaprakṛti-devas* mentioned in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, and are also alluded to in the Mora well inscription found near Mathura.[2] This must have been a sectarian form of worship which disappeared without leaving behind any trace, but the provenances of the inscriptions show that it covered a fairly wide region.

The meaning of the word *bhaga* has been discussed above. One possessed of *bhaga* is a *bhagavat* or *bhagavān*, but as the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (6.5.76) states, 'this noble word *bhagavān* applies to Vāsudeva and to no one else.' The word '*bhāgavata*' is also used to denote a person or a book whose object is to describe the teachings or life of *bhagavat* or *bhagavatī*. A person who is a devotee of *bhagavat* or *bhagavatī* is termed a *bhāgavata*, and it is in this sense

[1]For Antialkides, see above, I, pp. 177 and 180.

[2]J.N. Banerjea, *Pauranic and Tantric Religion*, Calcutta, 1966, p. 29, For the inscriptions see *EI*, XXII, pp. 194, 204. The *Matsyapurāṇa* (47.23) refers to the *pañca-vīrāḥ*, and calls them *satya-prakṛtayo*. V.S. Agrawala, *Matsyapurāṇa, A Study*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 145, points out that *pañca-vīra* stands for the five Vṛṣṇi heroes who are regarded as of human origin in distinction to the *pañcavīra* set of Yakṣas like Kubera, Maṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra etc.

that the term is most commonly used. The Bh.P. calls itself Sātvata-*tantra* (1.3.8), *Sātvata-saṃhitā* (1.7.6), and *Bhagavatī-Saṃhitā* (1.7.6). It also refers to Kṛṣṇa as Lord of the Sātvatas (*Sātvatām bhartā*, 10.6.3), and *Sātvatam prabhuḥ*, (10.37.11), wherefore it appears that all that is meant is that the Bh.P. is a *saṃhitā* or a *tantra* relating to Kṛṣṇa. Again, in the same Purāṇa (7.10.45-6), Nārada says that the religion by which *bhagavān* can be attained is *bhāgavata*, and that *bhagavān* is Viṣṇu. It is evident, therefore, that Viṣṇu is the object of worship of the *bhāgavatas*, and that he is also known as Bhāgavata. The Bh.P. also states (7.6.27) that the 'Ekāntins are the indigent (votaries) of Bhagavat,' from which it appears that the Bhagavat worshippers were also known as Ekantins.

The Bh.P. contains gives four different lists of Bhāgavata teachers representing four traditions. Of these, three can be reconciled, while the fourth is entirely different. From an analysis of these lists, it may be tentatively concluded that there were two sects of Nārāyaṇa worshippers, one of which followed the *Gītā*, tradition and was known as the *bhāgavata*, while the other followed the Pañcarātra tradition, which will be considered later. Though the Ekāntins and the Sātvatas are mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mbh. for the reasons given above, it does not appear that they were two other distinct sects of Nārāyaṇa worshippers, but were most probably identical with the Bhāgavata sect.[1]

Pañcarātra

Pañcarātra was an important non-Vedic religious system, which was later absorbed in Vaiṣṇavism. The date of the earliest extant Pañcarātra text would be about 8th century AD, which is regarded as the *terminus ad quem* of the original Pañcarātra Saṃhitās. Medhātithi (on Manu 2.6) calls the Pañcarātra a heterodox sect. Many Purāṇas and several Smṛtis denounce the Pañcarātras, while they are lauded in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mbh. (which appears to be a late interpolation), the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the Bh.P.[2] Unfortunately, the date of these texts are unknown, but it may be tentatively concluded that by the 9th century AD, Pāñcarātra, though acceptable to the Vaiṣṇavas in a modified form, was condemned by the orthodox *smārtas*.

Four aphorism of the Br.S. (2.2.42-45 according to Śaṃkara, and 2.2.40-43 according to Rāmānuja) deal with the Pañcaratra doctrine, which is also referred to as the Bhāgavata doctrine by the commentators. According to Śaṃkara, all the four aphorisms refute the Bhāgavata doctrine, while Rāmānuja holds that the first two aphorisms are *prima facie* views which are refuted in the last two. Nimbārka and Madhva hold that these aphorisms

[1]For details see *Caitanya*, pp. 17-22. According to Manu 10.23 *sātvata* is a *vrātya vaiśya*. Yāmuna says that the words *sātvata* and *bhāgavata* are interchangeable. A *sātvata* of the *pañcama* caste who by the king's order worships in temples is called a *bhāgavata*. S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, p. 15.

[2]For details ibid, IV, pp. 24-28.

refer to the Śākta view, which they refute. Bhāskara agrees that these aphorisms deal with the Pañcarātra doctrine and not with Śākta view. However, he defends the Pañcarātra doctrine, and argues against Śaṃkara's views.

Śaṃkara (on Br. S. 2.2.42) makes it clear that a part of the Pañcarātra doctrine agrees with Vedānta, hence he is refuting only the other part which is objectionable. That part states that Vāsudeva, whose nature is pure knowledge, is what really exists. He divides himself into four forms (*vyūha*) as Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. Vāsudeva denotes the highest Self (Paramātman), Saṃkarṣaṇa the individual soul (*jīva*), Pradyumna the mind (*manas*), and Aniruddha the principle of egoity (*ahaṃkāra*). Of these four, Vāsudeva constitutes the ultimate causal essence (*parā prakṛtih*), the other three being effects. The faithful passes beyond all afflictions, and reaches the highest being (*Bhagavat*) after worshipping Vāsudeva for a hundred years (i.e. whole life) by means of *abhigamana* (visiting temples and going to the preceptor with whole-hearted devotion, repetition of *mantra*, singing praise etc.), *upādāna* (initiation, collecting flowers etc. for *pūjā*), *ijyā* (*pūjā*), *svādhyāya* (recitation of various sacred texts), and *yoga* (devout meditation).

Rāmānuja's main defence of the Pañcarātra doctrine is based on the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mbh. (12.332 to 339) which praises the Pañcarātra doctrine and gives an account of its origin. Rāmānuja bases his argument on the traditional view that Vyāsa wrote both the Mbh. and the Br.S., so that he could not have praised it in the former and condemned in the latter. The contradictory statements of the Nārāyaṇīya section, which we have pointed out elsewhere, leave no doubt, however, that these chapters were a late interpolation.[1] And in view of the fact that Śaṃkara does not notice them, they may be supposed to have been incorporated in the Mbh. some time after the death of Śaṃkara (*c.* AD 820) and the birth of Rāmānuja (AD 1017). Śaṃkara (on Br.S. 2.2.43) ascribes the Pañcarātra doctrine to Śāṇḍilya, who was unable to find the highest bliss in the Vedas. Rāmānuja asserts that Śāṇḍilya did not denounce the Vedas, but his equivocal statements were intended to extol the Pañcarātra system.

It may be noted that Śaṃkara's description of the four *vyūhas*, as given above, does not agree with any extant Pañcarātra text. According to the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, an authoritative Pañcarātra text, Divine power is both dynamic and static. Śakti or the dynamic power of God is spontaneous, and is of the nature of will and thought resulting in action. This is also called *saṃkalpa* or the Idea, which is irresistible and produces all material objects and spiritual entities such as *avyakta*, *kāla*, and *puruṣa*, which are also the

[1] *Caitanya*, pp. 9-19. However, in Mbh. 7.28.23-26, Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna that He assumes four forms (*mūrti*) for the benefit of the world. One *mūrti* performs *tapas* (austerity) on earth, the second watches over the good and evil wordly deeds, the third comes to the world in a human form and does such acts as men perform, while the fourth slumbers for 1000 years at the end of which period it arises and confers the highest boons on the deserving people.

manifestations of God's static power. Śakti, also known as Viṣṇu-śakti or Lakṣmī, impels the *avyakta* into the cycle of evolution and the *puruṣa* to confront the Prakṛti. The force of Śakti urges the Prakṛti towards creative evolution, and when She withdraws, dissolution or *pralaya* takes place.

In the original state, the unmanifest Śakti exists in identity with Brahman as pure vacuity or nothingness (*śūnyatva-rūpinī*) and no reason can be assigned for Her sudden change from a potential to a dynamic state. Śakti creates as Her own transformations all categories, pure and impure, and all material forms as emanations out of Herself as *kriyā*, *vīrya*, *bala*, and *tejas* of God.

The different forms of pure creation come into being from the union of two different aspects of Śakti. Thus from knowledge (*jñāna*) and the capacity for unceasing work of never-ending creation (*bala*) evolves the form of Saṃkarṣaṇa. From spontaneous agency (*aiśvarya*) and the unaffectedness in spite of change (*vīrya*) is generated the form of Pradyumna. From the power that transforms itself into the world-forms (*śakti*) and the non-dependence on accessories (*tejas*) is produced the form of Aniruddha. These three spiritual forms are called *vyūhas* (conglomeration) because each of them is the resultant of the conglomeration of two gunas.[1]

The *vyūhas* perform three different functions: 1. creation, maintenance, and destruction of the world; 2. protection of mundane beings; and 3. assisting those devotees who seek to attain the ultimate emancipation. Saṃkarṣaṇa is the deity which superintends all the individual souls and separates them from Prakṛti. Pradyumna superintends the minds of all the beings, and gives specific instructions regarding all kinds of religious rites. He is also responsible for the creation of all human beings. Aniruddha protects the world, and leads man to the attainment of wisdom. He is also responsible for the creation of the world with its admixture of good and evil. But these three forms are in reality one with Vāsudeva, hence these *avatāras* (incarnations) are pure incarnations of Viṣṇu.

Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has pointed out that the Pañcarātra is partly based on the Vedas and partly on the tantric system.[2] The main importance of Pañcarātra in the history of India is not its philosophy, which is not very extensive, but the ritualistic details given in its literature. They deal with ritualistic worship, initiation, meditation, chanting of *mantras*, expiation, methods of self-control, offerings, religious festivities, image worship, installation of images, rules regarding the construction of images, temples etc. None of these topics are discussed in the Vedic literature, hence these were non-Vedic and led to the denunciation of the followers of this doctrine. When the worship of images replaced the Vedic sacrifices, the Pañcarātra texts assumed importance.

At present almost all the Viṣṇu temples follow the rites prescribed in the Pañcarātra texts. Three inscriptions from Kampuchea show that this practice

[1]For details of Pañcarātra philosophy, see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, pp. 11-62, and F.O. Schrader, *Introduction to Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, Madras, 1916. For a comparison of Pañcarātra and Gauḍīya-Vaisnavism see *Caitanya*, pp. 296-98.

[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, p. 57.

has been followed since ancient times. The Baset Stele inscriptions of Jayavarman of Kampuchea (AD 657-681) records that the deity Śrī-Trailokyasāra was worshipped by five sacrifices (*pañcabhir=yajñaiḥ*) by (people who) followed (the way) of five *kalās*, were proficient in the worship of the Pañcarātra deities (*Pañcarātr-ārcā-cuñcunā*), and had knowledge of the five elements. The insistence on the number five is significant, and reminds one of the passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII.6.1) where the Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa is said to have performed a sacrifice continuously for five nights (*pañcarātra sattra*). However, the worship of an *arcā* (image) is non-Vedic, and the term is Pañcarātra.

The Prasat Komnap inscription of Yaśovarman of Kampuchea (AD 889-*c.* 900), which is a royal ordinance for regulating the services of a Viṣṇu temple, lays down (v. 62) that the *ācārya* should be versed in Pañcaratra and *śabdaśāstra*, which may mean grammar, but in the present context seems to mean the Vedas. From verses 72,73, and 76 of this inscription, it is apparent that the terms *bhāgavata*, *vaiṣṇava* and *sāttvata* have been used in identical sense.

Even more interesting is the late Khmer inscription from Kampuchea, namely the Kuk Trapan Sroke Stele inscription dated Saka 995 (AD 1073). It mentions one Kaviśvara Paṇḍita, who, observing the rules of the Pañcarātra sect, subsisted on *ghī*. He was the chief of hermitages in four localities, and not only installed an image of Bhagavatī, but also a *liṅga*. Later he became the king's preceptor. This inscription shows that as late as the 11th century, Śaiva worship was influenced by Pañcarātra rites. Pañcarātra, however, did not take deep roots in Śaivism, and since the days of Rāmānuja it came to be regarded to be almost exclusively as a component of Vaiṣṇava doctrine. The amalgamation of the two doctrines must have been helped by the name given to the four *vyūhas*, which were also the names of Vaiṣṇava deities.

Bhakti[1]

Every theistic faith is based on *bhakti*, which means devotion, attachment, reverence, service, worship, and homage. The element of *bhakti* is not absent in the Vedic religion, but as we have seen, the Vedas deified *śraddhā*, which literally means 'faith'. *Bhakti* for *deva* (god) and *guru* (preceptor) is recommended at the end of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (6.2.3). The Br.S. (3.2.24) appears to imply *bhakti* as a means of realization, which is admitted by both Śaṃkara and Rāmānuja. *Bhakti*, however, was preached as a doctrine for the first time in the *Gītā*. Though the Buddhists did not use the term explicitly, devotion for Buddha was one of their articles of faith. With the development of Mahāyāna and the worship of Bodhisattva images, the Buddhists paved the way for the later development of cult images and faiths based on their adoration or *bhakti*.

There is a voluminous literature on *bhakti*, of which two important texts

[1]For a short history of the *bhakti* movement in India, see A.K. Majumdar, *Bhakti Renaissance*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1979.

are the *Śāṇḍilya-saṃhitā*, and the *Nārada-bhakti-sūtra*[1]. Śāṇḍilya (1.1.2) defines *bhakti* as *sā parānuraktir īśvare*, which may be interpreted as 'the highest form of *bhakti* is affection fixed on God,' or as '*bhakti* is the highest affection fixed on God'. Śāṇḍilya's commentator, Svapneśvara, prefers the first, but the *Nārada-bhakti-sūtra* prefers the second. Svapneśvara explains that the word *anurakti* (with the prefix *anu*) is employed to convey that affection for God arises after the devotee secures knowledge of the greatness and other attributes of the Bhagavat. Śāṇḍilya (1.1.30) also says: *tat saṃsthāsy= āmṛtatv=opadeśāt* (there is the teaching that there is immortality for him who abides in Him). This statement is similar to *Chāndogya* (2.23.1) which says: *Brahma-saṃstho'mṛtatvam eti* (he who is firmly established in Brahman attains immortality). Almost similar sentiment is found in the Br. S. (1.1.7) which states: 'Because release (*mokṣa*) is taught of him who takes his stand on (is devoted to) that Brahman.'

The *Nārada-bhakti-sūtra* states: 1. according to the son of Parāśara (i.e. Vyāsa), *bhakti* is attachment to worship of God etc.; 2. according to Garga, *bhakti* is fondness for hearing the stories of the various sports of the Lord; 3. according to Śāṇḍilya, *bhakti* is such attachment to God which is not opposed to self; 4. and lastly, according to Nārada, *bhakti* consists in offering all activities to God and inducing a feeling of extreme restlessness and misery at the slightest lapse in remembrance of God; and then the author of the *Nārada-bhakti-sūtra* adds: *asty=evam evam*, that is, *bhakti* is exactly as described above. Thus it is apparent that by the time the *Nārada-bhakti-sūtra* was written, there were several definitions of *bhakti*, indicating several schools of thought, and the *Nārada-bhakti-sūtra* was possibly written to harmonize all the known views. The last of the *Bhakti-sūtras* is probably the *Bhakti-mīmāṁsā-sūtra* of unknown authorship. According to this text, the highest object of human striving should not be *mokṣa* (liberation) but *bhakti* by itself (4.1.7). As MM. Gopinath Kaviraj has observed: 'The rejection of *mokṣa*, as the supreme end of human aspirations, follows as a necessary corollary from the conception of *bhakti* as in itself the highest form of bliss, higher indeed—so it is boldly declared—than Brahmānanda which is revealed in *mokṣa*.'[2]

The most important Vaiṣṇava texts dealing with the life of Kṛṣṇa are the Mbh. the *Harivaṁśa*, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, and the Bh.P. Besides these, there are several Vaiṣṇava *purāṇas*. The Mbh. which includes the *Gītā*, is a 'general history' of the great war and does not describe Kṛṣṇa's early life which is given in the *Harivaṁśa*, supposed to be a supplement to the Mbh. The *Hari-*

[1]*Śāṇḍilya-saṃhitā*, ed. Anantasastri Phadke, Banaras, 1935. *Nārada-bhakti-sūtra* with English translation by N. Sinha, Panini Office, Allahabad, 1911; English translation under the title *Philosophy of Love* by Hanumanprasad Poddar, 5th ed., Gorakhpur, 1955; Hindi translation by Hanumanprasad Poddar under the title *Prem Darśan*, 10th ed., Gorakhpur, VS. 2017.

[2]*Bhakti-mīmāṁsā-sūtra*, ed. MM. Ganganath Jha and MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, Banaras, p. 69.

vaṁśa (1.7-13) begins with Janamejaya's request to Vaiśampāyana to narrate the genealogy of the Vṛṣṇis (Kṛṣṇa's family), not related in the Mbh. from the time of Prajāpati the creator. In reply, the sage not only gives an account of the Vṛṣṇis but the biography of Kṛṣṇa as well. However, the *Harivaṁśa* fulfils the requirements of a *Purāṇa*, and there are reasons to believe that the first nineteen chapters are later additions. Other additions were also made from time to time.[1]

The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the Bh.P. are two of the *mahā-purāṇas* and constitute two of the most authoritative texts of the Vaiṣṇavas. Of the two, the *Viṣṇu* is the earlier, while the Bh.P. is the more voluminous and its contents more philosophical. Surprisingly the Bh.P's philosophy is not consistently dualistic as might be expected from a Vaiṣṇava devotional text: at places the Bh.P. preaches a highly idealistic philosophy. The opening verse of the Bh.P. is perhaps its most important affirmation. Here it is stated that creation through *guṇas* is false, yet on account of the all-pervading reality that underlines it, it appears as real; the production, maintenance, and destruction of the Universe all proceed from Brahman the ultimate reality, and it is through this reality that all darkness vanishes.

The most well-known episode of the Bh.P. is the *Rāsa-līlā* described in the tenth canto. It is also the most misunderstood episode. *Rāsa-līlā* describes in poetic terms the ultimate state to which love for God can lead His devotee. Arriving at that stage of supreme bliss he sheds all egotism. There is no demand, no expectation, no acceptance: only love, and only that trace of 'I-ness' and 'my-ness' which enables him to feel, 'I love Kṛṣṇa,' 'Kṛṣṇa loves me,' 'Kṛṣṇa is mine,' 'I am Kṛṣṇa's.'[2]

None of these texts mentions Rādhā, who figures prominently in later Vaiṣṇavism as Kṛṣṇa's eternal beloved or Śakti. Her origin is obscure, and though traces of Rādhā worship are found in earlier Vaiṣṇavism, Her pre-eminent position as the prime Śakti of Kṛṣṇa is due to Śrī-Caitanya and his followers.[3] In their idealistic conception of bliss, Kṛṣṇa is the substratum and Rādhā the embodiment of bliss. The consummation of the ideal is the conception of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa as the non-dual state of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa representing the unity of Śakti and Śaktimat as the ultimate basis of divine bliss in limitless plenitude. From this unity of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa emerges the

[1]For a discussion of the Mbh. and the Purāṇas see above I, pp. 15-22. The *Harivaṁśa* is called *khila* or 'supplement' to the Mbh.

[2]For the significance of Rāsa-līlā see Swami Vivekananda; Sages of India, in *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*; birth centenary ed., III, Calcutta, 1963, pp. 256-62. For bhakti see ibid *Bhakti-yoga*, pp. 31-100; S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., IV, pp. 1-50. *Caitanya*, pp. 290-92.

[3]For Rādhā, see A.K. Majumdar, A Note on the Development of the Radha Cult, *ABORI*, XXXVI, (3-4), 1955, pp. 231-57; A.K. Majumdar, *Gaudiya-Vaisnava Studies*, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 43-53; *Caitanya*, pp. 285-94. Compare Vaisnava imagery with *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 4.3.21: 'As a man in the embrace of his beloved wife knows nothing within or without, so, this person (individual soul) when in the embrace of the Intelligent Soul (or Supreme Soul, *prajñā ātman*) knows nothing within or without.'

fundamental *Rasa*. As the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (2.7) says: *raso vai saḥ, rasam hy=ev=āyam labdhv=ānandī=bhavati* ('Verily. He is Rasa. Truly on attaining Rasa one becomes blissful').

The *Gītā*, whose proper title is '*Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā*' (Songs of the Illustrious Lord), is traditionally a part of the Mbh. Modern scholars differ and hold that the *Gītā* is a later composition, and ascribe it various dates. In a history of religion, however, the traditional view has to be accepted as valid, hence no useful purpose will be served by discussing the date or the authenticity of the *Gītā*. It is accepted as an authoritative text by the Hindus irrespective of sect. Chronologically, the *Gītā* is the earliest followed by the *Harivaṁśa*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (*c.* AD 300-500), and the Bh.P. (*c.* AD. 600-800). The *Gītā* is primarily a Vedānta text and will be considered later. It is also a *bhakti* text; indeed the dominating theme in the *Gītā* is *bhakti*. In the *Gītā* (11.55) Kṛṣṇa says: 'My devotee, who works for Me alone, who makes Me the central and ultimate object of his goal, who is free from [other] attachments, and who is devoid of hatred towards any creature—that man O, Pandava, attains Me.' Commenting on this verse, Śaṃkara says that it condenses the teaching of the *Gītā* (*sarvasya gītā-śāstrasya sārabhūto artho*).

In the Bh.P. (2.1.21) is stated that 'being fully practised in meditation one attains *bhakti-yoga* in a short time,' which indicates that *bhakti* is not a means to an end, but the end itself. This attitude, as we have seen, is shared by the *Bhakti-mīmāṁsā-sūtra* mentioned above. The Bh.P. (7.5.23) then gives the nine components of *bhakti*:

śravaṇaṁ kīrtanaṁ Viṣṇoḥ
smaraṇaṁ pāda-sevanam
arcaṇaṁ vandanaṁ dāsyam
sakhyaṁ ātma-nivedanam

Śaṃkara in his commentary on the *Gītā* (13.10; 14.26) says that worship is *bhakti* (*bhajanaṁ bhaktiḥ*), and defines *ananyā bhakti* (on 11.54) as 'non-experience of anything other than Vāsudeva.' In explaining *dhyāna* in the *Gītā* (13.24), Śaṃkara says that *dhyāna* (meditation) is a continuous and unbroken thought, like a stream of flowing oil (*taila-dhārāvat*). This is interesting, because Rāmānuja uses the same illustration in connection with *bhakti* while commenting on Br.S. 1.1.1. On Br.S. 1.2.14, Śaṃkara states: 'It has been properly stated that Brahman, though devoid of qualities, is to be held, for purposes of meditation as possessing qualities depending on name and form. This is not contradictory to the omnipresent Brahman as it serves as a proof (to the mind) just as the *śālagrāma* stone (represents) Viṣṇu.'

The *Padmapurāṇa* (5.15.165-168) classifies *bhakti* into *mānasī* (mental), *vāciki* (verbal), and *kāyikī* (physical, such as fasting, performing *vratas* etc.). The *Padmapurāṇa* (5.15.164) classifies *bhakti* into *laukikī* (of common people), *vaidikī* (laid down by the Vedas), and *ādhyātmikī* (spiritual or philosophical). The *Padma* (6.126.4-11) and the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* (3.34.38-41) divides *bhakti* into *uttama* (best), *madhyama* (middling), and *adhama* (inferior). Corresponding to *sāttvikī*, *rājasī*, and *tāmasī-bhakti* of Bh.P. 3.29.7-10. The

Sāmba-purana states: *manaso bhāvanā bhaktir=icchā śraddhā ca kathyate.*[1] The *Bṛhan-Nāradīya-purāṇa* classifies bhakti into *sāttvika*, *rājasa*, and *tamasa*, sub-divides each into *uttama*, *madhyama*, and *adhama*, and the *uttomattama* which is the tenth grade of *bhakti*, and lays special stress on *avyābhicāriṇī* (unswerving) *bhakti*, which is recommended in *Gītā* (13.11). According to this Purāṇa, this *bhakti* arises from the performance of pious acts, and forms the basis of *jñāna* yielding final liberation. The *Devi-bhāgavata-purāṇa* distinguishes between *tāmasī*, *rājasī*, *sāttvikī*, and *parā-bhakti*, praising the last two. It also states that there are two types of *bhakti*, one leads to *nirvāṇa*, while the other is based on Hari which is desired by the Vaiṣṇavas.

Patrons of Vaiṣṇavism

Samudra-gupta's adoption of Garuḍa-dhvaja as his emblem indicates his leaning towards Vaiṣṇavism. His successor, Candra-gupta II, assumed the title *parama-bhāgavata*, which was thereafter regularly adopted by the Gupta emperors. Even Prabhāvatī-guptā adopted the title of *atyyanta-bhagavad-bhaktā*, and her husband became a devotee of Cakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu), though his Vākāṭaka ancestors were Śaivas.[2] Gupta patronage of Bhāgavatism may have helped to popularize the creed, and from the 4th century AD other royal dynasties are also found to assume the title *parama-bhāgavata*, and in some cases *parama-vaiṣṇava*. Inscriptions of this period refer to various incarnations of Viṣṇu. The Bhitari inscription of Skanda-gupta refers to Kṛṣṇa approaching his mother Devakī after having slain his enemies.[3] The Gangdhar (Jhalwar area, Rajasthan) inscription of AD 423 opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu and Indra. In the inscriptions of the Gupta age, there are references to temples or flag-staffs of God Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva all over India: in Bengal in the east, in Saurashtra in the West, in the upper regions of the Beas in the north, and in the trans-Krishna regions in the south where some of the early Pallava and Gaṅga rulers were devout Bhāgavatas. Same type of evidence is found in Nepal.

Some of the Cālukya kings of Badami styled themselves as *parama-bhāgavatas*. Their devotion to Vaiṣṇavism is testified by some of the reliefs at Badami which depict Viṣṇu lying on a serpent with Lakṣmī massaging his feet, the Boar and the Man-Lion incarnations, and also Hari-Hara. The name Visnu-gopa of the Pallava king shows his Vaiṣṇava affinity. Some of the early Kadamba kings may have been Vaiṣṇavas, and the Pallava and Kadamba records attach importance to *go-brāhmaṇa*. The idea may have been borrowed

[1] 'Mental contemplation is *bhakti*, wish is *śraddhā*;' R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upa-Puranas*, I, p. 55; However, the *Brahmanāradīya*, ibid, pp. 328-29 adds: 'Viṣṇu is not satisfied with one who sticks only to *bhakti* after giving up (all religious) works, because He is to be worshipped with *ācāra* (customs and usages according to one's caste and order of life).'

[2] See above, I, p. 270.

[3] *CII*, III, p. 52. See also Gadhwa inscription, ibid, p. 39, and Eran inscription, ibid, p. 88.

from the Mbh. (3.218.22) where Skanda asks Indra to appoint him as the commander of the army 'to destroy the demons, fulfil the desire of the gods, and for the benefit of the cows and the *brāhmaṇas* (*go-brāhmaṇa-hitārthāya*). Elsewhere, the Mbh. (13.51.21-34; 13.65.35; 13.68.4-11 etc.) extols the cow and equates her with *brāhmaṇa* (*ekaṁ go-brāhmaṇa* 13.65.40).

The name of the Pāṇḍya capital Madura was derived from Mathura, the city hallowed by Kṛṣṇa. This early affiliation with Vaiṣṇavism was gradually developed. The *Silappadikāram* refers to temples of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva at Madura and at Kavirapaḍḍanam. Soon the Āḻvār poet-saints flooded the country with charming Vaiṣṇava lyrics in praise of Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, and Vāmaṇa.

During this early period, a common bond of antagonism towards the Jainas and the Buddhists linked the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas. The *Divya-sūri-carita* relates that once the Śaiva saint Sambandar invited Tirumangai Āḻvār to Shiyali, a seat of Śaivism. The Āḻvār refused to visit a city which had no Viṣṇu shrine. Sambandar then found out an ancient Viṣṇu image which was worshipped by a person in his residence since the old temple had fallen into decay. Sambandar and Tirumaṅgai then entered Shiyali together, where the Āḻvār saint composed some hymns in praise of Viṣṇu greatly admired by his Śaiva host, who later induced some rich persons engaged in building Śiva temples to renovate the Viṣṇu temple, and shed their unhelpful attitude towards Vaiṣṇavism.[1]

The Sāhī king of Kira (Kangra) had obtained an image of Viṣṇu from the lord of Bhota (Tibet). The Sāhī presented this image to the Pratīhāra king Herambapāla, whose son Devapāla inherited it. Later, Devapāla presented the image to Candella king Yaśovarman, who erected a magnificent temple at Khajuraho to instal it. This temple has been identified as the Caturbhuja temple. Among other dynasties, the Gāhaḍavālas were noted Vaiṣṇavas. Candradeva, of this dynasty, set up an image of Ādi-Keśava, adorned with jewels, at Kasi. He later made lavish gifts to this deity, and his other inscriptions mention the temples of Saurī-Nārāyaṇa and Candra-Mādhava, which may indicate syncretistic type of images, though the later may mean 'Mādhava temple erected by Candra (deva).' Jayaccandra was initiated to Kṛṣṇa worship by one Praharāja-śarman, who is called a *Vaiṣṇava-pūjā-vidhi-guru*.[2]

In Kashmir many Viṣṇu temples were erected and the deity was named after the donor with the suffix *svāmin* added. Thus Mātṛgupta installed Matṛgupta-svāmin (RT, 3.263), Raṇāditya Raṇa-svāmin (RT, 3.453-54), and Utpala Utpala-svāmin (RT, 4.695), while three private individuals named Dharma, Kalyāṇavarman, and Mamma built respectively the temples of Dharma-svāmin, Kalyāṇasvāmin, and Mamma-svāmin. It may be noted that the suffix *svāmin* usually denoted a Viṣṇu image, as *īśvara* or *īsa* did a Śiva

[1]K.A.N. Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd ed., reprint, 1975, p. 636. *The Divya-sūri-carita* is a Vaiṣṇava text.

[2]*IHQ*, 1949, p. 37; *EI*, XIV, p. 197; *EI*, IV, p. 117; *EI*, IX, p. 302.

image or *liṅga*, like Raṇeśvara also installed by Raṇāditya mentioned above (RT. 3.453-54). There were, however, exceptions, such as the Raṇapura-svāmin temple dedicated to Mārtaṇḍa (Sun) also built by Raṇāditya (RT. 3.462).

The earliest reference to Viṣṇu worship in Bengal occurs in the Susunia inscription of the 4th century AD, which is engraved along with a *cakra* (discus) and describes the king Cakravarman as a devotee of Cakrasvāmin (Viṣṇu). The Baigram copper plate (AD 447-448) refers to the temple of Lord Govinda, and a brick temple has been found at Baigram which has been dated to the Gupta period. The Kailan inscription mentions a *parama-vaiṣṇava* king named Śrīdhara Rāta, while a *parama-bhāgavata* king Jayanāga is known from the Vappaghosavata grant. The Pāla kings were Buddhists, but the Khalimpur plates of Dharmapāla (*c.* AD 770-810) speaks of a *devakula* (temple) of Nanna-Nārāyaṇa, while a Garuḍa-pillar was set up during the reign of Nārāyaṇa-pāla (*c.* AD 854-908). The early Sena kings were Śaivas, but the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (*c.* AD 1095-1158) makes obeisance to Śiva and to the 'temple of Pradyumneśvara', 'the abode of the beloved of Lakṣmī and of the husband of Mountain's daughter.' Lakṣmaṇasena and his successors showed strong Vaiṣṇava leanings, and their inscriptions begin with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa.[1] Lakṣmaṇasena's court-poet Jayadeva wrote the *Gītagovinda*, a literary gem, depicting the amour of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The popularity of the *Gītagovinda* spread from Manipur to Gujarat and from Rajasthan to Kerala. The undated Belava copper plate of king Bhojavarman, who ruled in Bengal just before the Senas, states: 'He (Hari) appeared again in this world as Kṛṣṇa, who sported with one hundred milkmaids as the leading figure of the *Mahābhārata*.'

Vaiṣṇavism became the dominant faith in Orissa under the imperial Gaṅgas. Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga founded the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri, and subsequent monarchs embellished it with grants and jewels. As stated above, Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated the kingdom to Jagannātha, and he and his successors were known as simple '*rāuta*' (Sans. *rājaputra*) a title usually borne by feudatory rulers and nobles. The Gajapatis followed this custom to some extent.[2]

Though the Orissa kings were Vaiṣṇavas, they extended their support to other sects like the Śaivas, Sauras etc. Similarly the Coḷa emperors and the Caulukyas of Gujarat, though Śaivas, supported the Vaiṣṇavas. As will be shown later, Vaiṣṇavism assumed a dominant role in India under Rāmānuja during Coḷa rule. In Gujarat also Vaiṣṇavism was a popular faith under the Caulukyas.

Vaiṣṇava Sects

There are four traditional Vaiṣṇava sects: Śrī, Haṁsa, Brahma and Rudra.

[1]For references see *Caitanya*, pp. 75-77.

[2]See above II, p. 225.

These four sects claim legendary origins from Viṣṇu, who is said to have promulgated the doctrines to mythical persons, which was then transmitted through long lines of teachers most of whom are mythical or semi-mythical. In historical times these sects were firmly established by Rāmānuja (Śrī), Nimbārka (Haṁsa), Madhva (Brahma), and Vallabha (Rudra).

Besides these four, there is the Gauḍīya-(Bengal) Vaiṣṇava sect founded by Caitanya. As the *Padmapurāṇa* mentions only the first four sects, the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava cannot be considered as a traditional sect, but there is no doubt that it was an independent sect. The four traditional sects are certainly older than the *Padma*, and it is apparent from other considerations also that the four traditional sects had earlier beginnings than their historical foundations. The four *ācāryas* mentioned above may be said to have re-established them on a firm footing by systematizing them within the theoretical framework of Vedānta philosophy. Indeed, the main contributions of Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva, and Vallabha were that each of them wrote a commentary on the Br. S. from the standpoint of their sect, thus firmly linking them to Veda, while maintaining their identity. Caitanya promulgated a new idea which no teacher before him had visualized. The Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava commentary on the Br. S. was written much later by Baladeva, so that for a long time they were not given recognition due to a separate sect.[1]

Śrī Sampradāya of Rāmānuja

Rāmānuja's place in the history of Indian religion has been summed by Swami Vivekananda as follows:' . . . The movement of Shankara forced its way through its high intellectuality; but it could be of little service to the masses, because of its adherence to strict caste-laws, very small scope for ordinary emotion, and making Sanskrit the only vehicle of communication. Rāmānuja, on the other hand, with a most practical philosophy, a great appeal to emotions, an entire denial of birthrights before spiritual attainments, and appeals through the popular tongue, completely succeeded in bringing the masses back to the Vedic religion.'[2]

Rāmānuja was the worthy successor of a rich spiritual heritage. By the time he was born, Tamilnadu had been saturated with spiritual fervour of divine ecstacy by the Āḻvār poet-saints, who had appeared along with the Nāyanārs or the Śaiva poet-saints about the beginning of the 6th century AD.

The word '*āḻvār*' means 'one who is immersed in God.' There were twelve *āḻvārs* who are traditionally grouped as follows: i. Ancient: Poykai Āḻvār, Bhūtāttār, Peyāḻvār, and Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār; ii. Middle: Nammāḻvār, Madhurakavi Āḻvār, Kulaśekhara Āḻvār, Periāḻvār, and Āṇḍāl; iii. Last: Toṇḍaraḍipoḍi Āḻvār, Tiruppān Āḻvār, and Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār. The first four saints came from the Pallava country, and the last three from Coḻa Deśa; from

[1]For Vaiṣṇava sects see *Caitanya*, pp. 38-71. and 260-69. The date of *Padma* is later than AD 900 but earlier than AD 1500.

[2]Swami Vivekananda, Historical Evolution of India, *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, VI, pp. 164-65.

the Cera country came Kulaśekhara, while the rest including the greatest among them, namely Nammāḷvār, and the woman mystic Āṇḍāl came from the Pandya country. They also belonged to different castes; Periāḷvār was a *brāhmaṇa*, Kulaśekhara came from a princely family; Nammāḷvār was *vellāla* by caste, while Tirumaṅgai came from a *kaḷḷa* (robber) family. Thus they were truly representative of various regions and social strata of Tamil land and of her ancient culture.

The twelve saints composed 4000 hymns, which were arranged by Nāthamuni in a huge collection called the *Nālāyira Prabandham*. These hymns are recited from memory in Tamilnadu even today. The following verse from Nammāḷvār expresses the quintessence of Āḷvār faith:

The indwelling God is in all created things
and in all the religions professed by man;
It is in vain to reach Him through the senses;
and He defies mere intellectual cognition;
Seek Him in the Soul's sanctuary, the source of
all life;
In firm meditation, but free from disturbing
mundane thought,
And the Lord can be secured for ever.

Bhūtāttār preached:

From the knowledge of the Veda you know that its essence
Is the singing of Purusottama's praise;
If the Veda is beyond you, poor folk, know that
The Veda's cream is but recitation of Mādhava's name.

Tirumaḷiśai prayed:

Be it today or tomorrow or some future day,
Your grace is surely mine;
I shall take refuge in none other than you,
Neither will you ever abandon me, O Nārāyaṇa.

Periyāḷvār begged of the Lord:

For many a year, many a year,
Many a thousand year,
Many a thousand million thousand year,
O Thou victor over the Mallas,
Thou saphire-tinted strong-shouldered,
Thou effulgent mighty One,
May your shining crimson feet,
Be for ever and for ever blest!

Andal, the famale Āḷvār, was Periyāḷvār's daughter, She and her girl friends bathed at dawn, and as they formed a procession moving towards Kṛṣṇa's temple, they sang:

When thus all pure we come, strewing fair flowers,
Adoring, and with songs upon our lips,
And meditating in our hearts on him—

Māyan, the child of Northern Mathura:
The Ruler of great Jumna's sacred stream:
The shining lamp which in the shepherd caste
Appeared: Dāmodaran, who brightly lit
His mother's womb—faults past and faults to come
Cease, like to cotton that within the fire
Flames into dust.
. . . . . not for today alone
Have we become Thy slaves; but, Govinda,
For aye, for sevenfold births! Only to Thee,
We'll service give; from us do thou remove
All other loves . . . .

Kulaśekhara is mad with love and says:

They (the worldly-wise) are but mad men to me,
And I am mad too (they think);
I call you, Kṛṣṇa, Raṁganātha!
I am mad with longing for you!

Lord's grace enters the heart and kindles the flame of love in our heart. Tiruppān, the 'untouchable' *āḻvār* saint says:

Having destroyed the burden of my long-gathered sins,
He made me turn to Him in love, and entered my heart Himself;
I know of no austerities that secured this love . . . .
Rather have I been saved by the divine grace of Raṁganātha, wearing the pearl necklace, with Lakṣmī seated on His fair bosom!

Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi once lived a dissolute life. He realized the futility of fleeting pleasure and declared:

Should men live one hundred years as the Vedas say,
One half will be wasted in sleep; the fifty remaining
will be likewise wasted
In childhood, boyhood, sensuality, hunger, disease and old age;
O Dweller in Śrīraṁgam's temple! I desire birth no more![1]

The sentiments expressed here by Toṇḍaraḍipoḍi is similar to those of Śaṃkara as expressed in his famous *Bhaja Govindam* hymn.

Births again and again,
Deaths over and over again,
Lying in mother's womb again and again,
It is hard to cross this endless cycle,
Save me from it, O Murāri (Kṛṣṇa)!

Both desire release from this cycle of births and deaths which immerse a man in mundane matter. But where the Vaiṣṇava wants salvation through love, the Jñānin seeks it through realization of the Self. None negates the Self; one desires to transmute the Self through His grace and self-surrender, the other to detach the Self from the mundane world and identify It with the Ultimate Reality. Emotional upsurge of Divine love lifts the mystic Vaiṣ-

[1]English translation by K.R. Srinivas Iyengar, *HCIP*, III, pp. 334-39.

ṇava above the world. The Jñānin cuts asunder the bonds of nature by rational introspection of the nature of the phenomenal reality.

Śrī Nāthamuni, who collected the hymns, was the first of the saints who are known as *aḷagiyas* or *ācāryas*. They are distinguished from the *āḷvārs* on the ground that while the latter were inspired poets, the *ācāryas* were inspired scholars. Their time had arrived. The Āḷvārs had shown the way to salvation through *bhakti*, heartfelt devotion. It was now necessary to correlate the new faith with the Veda, and establish it on a secure foundation.

Nāthamuni's date is not known, but it has been reasonably deducted that he lived during the 10th century AD. There is a tradition that he learnt the *āḷvār* hymns from Madhurakavi, which may be correct. Nāthamuni wrote three works, namely, *Nyāya-tattva*, *Puruṣa-nirṇaya*, and *Yoga-rahasya*. He had eleven disciples, one of whom was Puṇḍarikākṣa, whose disciple was Rāma-miśra. Rāma-miśra's disciple was Yāmuna (AD 918-1038), Rāmānuja's predecessor.

Yāmunācārya, also known as Āḷavandār, was Nāthamuni's grandson. At that time, the *paṇḍita* of the Pandya court was a famous scholar who had earned the sobriquet of *'viddajjanakolāhala* (one who throws learned men into convulsion). Chance pitted young Yāmuna at the age of twelve against this formidable man whom he vanquished in a debate held before the Pāṇḍya king and his assembly. The amazed queen took the boy on her lap, and the king practically adopted him. For a long time Āḷavandār ruled the kingdom. During this time, Nāthamuni passed away, but before his death, he called Rāma-miśra and left the spiritual welfare of his grandson to his care.

Rāma-miśra changed Yāmuna's life, and turned him into a devotee of Raṁganātha, the hallowed deity of his grandfather at Śrīraṁgam. Yāmuna wrote six works: 1. *Stotra-ratna* of 65 verses in adoration of Lord Varadarāja; 2. *Siddhi-traya*, which explains the cardinal tenets of Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrine which was later amplified by Rāmānuja: 3. *Catuḥ-ślokī*, in praise of Śrī the Divine Mother from whom the sect is known as the Śrī-vaiṣṇava; 4. *Āgama-prāmāṇya*, which attempts to establish the antiquity of Pañcarātra literature, which was the canon of the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas; 5. *Gītārtha-saṃgraha*, which summarizes the main teachings of the *Gītā*; and 6. *Mahā-puruṣa-nirṇaya*. The basic Śrī-vaiṣṇava tenet of absolute surrender to God will be apparent from one verse of the *Stotra-ratna*:

'I am not religious, nor do I know the Self, I have no *bhakti* for you [lit. for your lotus-like feet]. I am utterly destitute [of virtue]. I have no other refuge. O Protector, I take shelter at your feet.'

This sentiment is shared by Vaiṣṇavas of all schools, indeed by all mystics. Without total surrender of self to God, His grace cannot be obtained. As Yāmuna again says:

'O Lord, as you have (graciously) awakened in me this consciousness of being eternally Yours, in the like manner, do graciously give me that devotion which will enjoy nothing but You.'

These emotions were the refrains of the Āḷvārs too, but they sang in Tamil.

Yāmuna rendered their sentiments into Sanskrit and prepared the ground for their dissemination all over India.

Yāmuna had many disciples of whom twenty-one were prominent. One of them was Śrīsailapūrṇa also known as Tātācārya. His sister Kāntimatī was married to Keśava Yajvan, also known as Āsuri Keśava. Their son was Rāmānuja.

Rāmānuja was born on Thursday, 12 Caitra, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Śaka year 939 (=AD 1017). As a boy he came into contact with Kāñcīpūrṇa, a great devotee, but a *śūdra*, who could not initiate the *brāhmaṇa* boy. Rāmānuja, however, developed great respect for Kāñcipūrṇa. At the age of sixteen, Rāmānuja was married to a very pretty girl named Rakṣakāmbāḷ. Soon after his marriage, Rāmānuja's father died, and he shifted to Kanchi with his mother and wife.

There was at this time a famous teacher at Kanchi named Yādavaprakāśa, and Rāmānuja joined his seminary. Yādavaprakāśa was an *advaita-vādin* (monist), and soon Rāmānuja began to differ from his teacher. Their celebrated difference was over the rendering of *tasya yathā kapyāsaṁ puṇḍarīkam evam aksiṇī* of *Chāndogya* 1.6.7. Śaṃkara took *kapyāsam* literally as 'the nates of the monkey' and explained the passage as: 'The two eyes of the Golden Puruṣa are like two lotuses which are red like the nates of a monkey.' In those days only Śaṃkara's commentary was available, and no one dreamt of differing from the great Ācārya. As a matter of fact, so far as the Upaniṣads are concerned, Śaṃkara's commentaries are read all over India, even now except that for this passage of the *Chāndogya*, Rāmānuja's commentary is usually given as an alternative. However, on hearing Śaṃkara's interpretation from Yādavaprakāśa, tears rolled down Rāmānuja's cheeks, and on being asked the reason he asserted that the explanation was totally wrong. He then explained *kapiḥ* (lit. 'monkey') as *kaṁ jalaṁ pibati* (he who drinks water), that is *sūrya* (sun), so that the passage should mean: 'The eyes of the Puruṣa within that golden solar orb are lovely as the lotuses blossomed by the rays of the sun.'

More fundamental than this was Rāmānuja's difference with Yādavaprakāśa on the interpretation of *satyaṁ jñānaṁ anantaṁ Brahma* of the *Taittirīya*, 2.1. Yādavaprakāśa held the Advaita view that Brahman is Truth, Knowledge, and Infinite. Against this accepted view, Rāmānuja put forward his according to which Truth, Knowledge, and Infinitude were Brahman's attributes in the same manner as 'this body is mine but I am not this body.' As a result, their relation was strained, and it is said that later Yādavaprakāśa hatched a plot to murder Rāmānuja, which was foiled by the latter's cousin and co-student Govinda. However, Rāmānuja continued his study under Yādavaprakāśa.

At this time Yāmuna came to Kanchi and chanced to see Rāmānuja. Yāmuna was intensely attracted by the young man, and was grieved to see him going about with Yādavaprakāśa, an Advitavādin. Though soon after Rāmānuja broke away from Yādavaprakāśa, he was not destined to meet

Yāmuna. Rāmānuja's break with Yādavaprakāśa came over the explanation of the famous sentences: *sarvaṁ khalv=idaṁ Brahma*, (All this is verily Brahman, *Chāndogya*, 3.14.1) and *ne'ha nan'āsti kiñcana* ('There is no diversity here whatsoever,' *Kaṭha*, 2.1.11). As usual, Yādavaprakāśa was giving the Advaita explanation, but Rāmānuja interrupted and said: 'The interpretation of *sarvaṁ khalv=idaṁ Brahma* would have been "the entire world is Brahman" had not the following word *tajjalān* qualified the meaning.[1] As the universe is born of Brahman, is sustained by Brahman, and dissolve into Brahman, so it may surely be said to be permeated with Brahman. However, fish is born in water, and dissolves into water; so it may surely said to be permeated with water. But as fish can never be water, similarly the universe can never be Brahman. And *ne'ha nan'āsti kiñcana* does not mean: "There is no diversity here whatsoever," but "The objects of the phenomenal world do not exist severally but as pearls strung on a thread to form a garland; the various objects threaded in Brahman, have formed this universe." ' These views were to form the basic tenets of the Viśiṣṭādvaita view which Rāmānuja was to establish. For the time being, it led to Rāmānuja's expulsion from the school, for Yādavaprakāśa was unable to tolerate the heresy of his student any more.

It was after seeing Rāmānuja that Yāmuna had composed the *Stotra-ratna* mentioned above. Some time later he fell ill. Hearing of Yāmuna's illness, two *brāhmaṇas* from Kanchi came to see him. They also brought the good tidings that Rāmānuja had separated from Yādavaprakāśa. Yāmuna immediately sent his favourite disciple Mahāpūrṇa to Kanchi to fetch Rāmānuja.

It took four days to reach Kanchi from Śrīraṁgam. Mahāpūrṇa spent the night with Rāmānuja's revered *śūdra* friend, Kāñcīpūrṇa. Next day, Mahāpūrṇa met Rāmānuja while he was carrying a pitcher of water to the temple as directed by Kāñcīpūrṇa. Mahāpūrṇa spontaneously recited two verses from the *Strotra-ratna*. The verses attracted Rāmānuja as intensely as he had attracted their author. Mahāpūrṇa then informed him the object of his visit, and, after delivering the pitcher of water to the temple, Rāmānuja took the road to Śrīraṁgam accompanied by Mahāpūraṇa without wasting any time to inform his family.

Unfortunately, by the time Rāmānuja and Mahāpūrṇa reached Kanchi, Yāmuna had passed away, and his body had been placed on the pyre. Rāmānuja fell into a swoon. Later recovering himself, he stood reverentially with folded hands gazing at the body of the great Vaiṣṇava saint. He saw the saint's right hand clenched with three fingers folded. In a loud voice Rāmānuja made three promises: 1. to write a Viśiṣṭādvaita commentary on the Br.S.; 2. to arrange for a commentary to be written on Nammāḷvār's hymns; and 3. to show gratitude to Parāśara, the author of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* by naming a suitable person after the sage. As Rāmānuja was proclaiming his promises, the fingers began to unfold, one at a time, and as the last promise

[1]*Tajjalān* is explained by Śaṃkara as: *tat* (from Him), *ja* ('origination' from *jan*), *la* ('dissolution,' from *li*), and ('continuation of existence;' lit. 'to live').

was made, Yāmuna's hand resumed its normal shape.[1] Rāmānuja was to fulfil the three vows.

After Yāmuna's death, his disciple Mahāpūrṇa became the acknowledged head of the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas. He again came to Kanchi in quest of Rāmānuja. By this time, Rāmānuja's mother was dead, and Rakṣakāmbāḷ had become the mistress of the house. This pretty woman had a sharp tongue, and was keenly conscious of her high pedigree. However, both Rāmānuja and she accepted Mahāpūrṇa as their *guru*, and were formally initiated by him. At Rāmānuja's request, Mahāpūrṇa and his wife stayed with him and taught him the songs of the *āḻvārs*. Soon, however, trouble arose. One day the two ladies were drawing water from the same well, when unfortunately few drops of water from the pitcher of the *guru's* wife fell into Rakṣakāmbāḷ's pitcher. At this Rakṣakāmbāḷ became furious. She threw away the water from her pitcher, and upbraided the *guru's* wife for having ruined her caste.[2]

Rāmānuja and Mahāpūrṇa were away when this incident happened. Mahāpūrṇa returned first, and heard everything from his wife. They were not angry, but felt it prudent to leave Rāmānuja's house and Kanchi to avoid future trouble. Some time after they had left, Rāmānuja returned. Rakṣakāmbāḷ gave him a garbled version of the incident accusing the *guru* of bad temper, Rāmānuja understood everything. Same day he managed to send Rakṣakāmbāḷ to her father's place on some pretext, and took the formal vows of a *sannyāsin* at Varadarāja's temple at Kanchi. He did not adopt a new name, but people now began to address him as 'Yatirāja.'

Men and women flocked to become Rāmānuja's disciple, and his former teacher Yādavaprakāśa was one of them. The old teacher did not long survive the initiation, but before his death, wrote the *Yati-dharma-samuccaya*. Rāmānuja successfully toured all over the country to propagate his faith, and 'it is said that he ruled over 74 episcopal thrones, and counted among his followers 700 ascetics, 12,000 monks and 300 nuns (*keṭṭi-ammais*).[3]' Some of his followers were distinguished scholars.

[1]The story seems to be fantastic, but is given in the *Prapannāmṛtam* (9.63-76), written by Anantācārya, Rāmānuja's disciple. This fact of course does not render the story credible, but it is given here because the Viśiṣṭādvaitins believe this story just as the Christians believe in Resurrection of Christ. For a slightly different version of this story, see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, pp. 101-02.

[2]Mahāpūrṇa and his wife were *brāhmaṇas*, but apparently belonged to a lower order than Rāmānuja and Rakṣakāmbāḷ who belonged to the highest strata of the *brāhmaṇas*. It is impossible for a non-Hindu, or rather a non-*brāhmaṇa*, to understand these finer distinctions between one *brāhmaṇa* and another. But by the 11th century, caste had degenerated to this ridiculous level and remained so till the 20th century. Even Rāmānuja failed to change this attitude. In 1895, Swami Vivekananda wrote: '. . . . the present religion of the Hindus is not in the Vedas, nor in the Puranas, nor in Bhakti, nor in Mukti—religion has entered into the cooking pot. The present religion of the Hindus is neither the path of knowledge nor that of reason—it is "Don't-touchism." "Don't touch me!" "Don't touch me!" that exhausts its description.' *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, VI, p. 320.

[3]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, p. 104.

As stated above, Rāmānuja fulfilled his vows. He took training under the five chief disciples of Yāmuna: Kāñcipūrṇa, Mahāpūrṇa, Goṣṭhipūrṇa, Mālādhara, and Vararaṁga. He then explained to his disciples the *Draviḍa-prabandha-mālā* which he called *Draviḍa-veda*, ranking it with the Vedas in sanctity. He bestowed the names Parāśara and Vyāsa upon the twin sons of his disciple Kureśa born in the Śaka year 983 (AD 1061). In between he wrote the *Śrī-bhāṣya*, his commentary on the Br.S.

For writing the *Śrī-bhāṣya*, Rāmānuja needed the *Baudhāyana-vṛtti* which was available only in the Sāradā-maṭha at Kashmir. So there he went accompanied only with Kureśa. It is said that after receiving the *vṛtti* miraculously, he left the *maṭha* on his way home. When the custodians of the *maṭha* found the work missing, they pursued Rāmānuja and took it away from him. No harm was, however, done, as Kureśa with his phenomenal memory had memorized the entire text which he wrote out at Rāmānuja's request.

The *Śrī-bhāṣya* was written at Śrīraṁgam. Rāmānuja used to dictate to Kurèsa, who diligently took down everything the Master said, except once. One day, while describing the nature of *jīva*, Rāmānuja said: 'In his essential nature, the *jīva* (individual soul) is *nitya* (eternal) and *jñātā* (knower).' This would have implied that the soul is that which is conscious, or that which has cognition alone as its distinguishing attribute. Kureśa would not write this in spite of Rāmānuja's behest. Rāmānuja even chided Kureśa for his insubordination, but then he thought:

'If *jīva* is by his true nature eternal and a knower, then what is the harm in saying that he is an independent actor endowed with body-consciousness? But since Śrī-Bhagavān says: "An eternal portion of Myself having become a living soul in the world of life . . . ." (*Gītā*, 15.7), the *jīva* is dependent and never independent. Because the *jīva* lives, moves, and has his living in Īśvara, he is always dependent on Īśvara. And Īśvara is the soul of the *jīva* who is eternally related to Īśvara as His liege. Hence Īśvara is called *Aṁśin* or *Śeṣin* (whole) and the *jīva* is called the *aṁśa* or *śeṣa* (part).' Hence Rāmānuja concluded that essentially the *jīva* is a part (*aṁśa*) of Brahman endowed with consciousness. Commenting on Br. S. 2.3.42 he framed the question as: 'Is the individual soul absolutely different from Brahman? Or is it nothing else than Brahman itself in so far as under an error? Or is it Brahman in so far as determined by a limiting adjunct (*upādhi*)? Or is it a part (*aṁśa*) of Brahman?' After discussing the validity of these alternatives, Rāmānuja concluded: 'We must therefore admit that the soul is a part of Brahman.' In his support, he cited *Chāndogya* (3.12.6), *Kaṭha* (2.5.13), and Br.S.2.3.48. Commenting on Br.S.2.3.44 he cited *Gītā* 15.7, and added: 'For this reason also the soul must be held to be a part of Brahman.' Commenting on Br.S.2.3.48, he stated: 'Although the souls, as being parts of Brahman and so on, are of essentially the same character, they are actually separate, for each of them is of atomic size and resides in a separate body. For this reason there is no confusion or mixing up of the individual spheres of enjoyment and experience.'

Besides the *Śrī-bhāṣya*, Rāmānuja wrote the following works: 1. *Vedārtha-*

saṃgraha, setting forth the principles of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy and reconciling the conflicts in different *śrutis*; 2. *Gītā bhāṣya*, commentary on the *Gītā*; 3. *Vedāntadīpa*, a brief commentary on the *Gītā*; 4. *Vedāntasāra*, a beginners introduction to Vedānta; 5. *Gadya-traya*, consisting of i. *Śaraṇāgati-gadya*, and ii. *Śrīraṁga-gadya* which deal with *śaraṇāgati* or self-surrender; and iii. *Śrī-Vaikuṇṭha-gadya* which describes Vaikuṇṭha and the state of liberated soul; 6. *Nitya-grantha*, a short manual to guide the devotees in their performance of daily rites and worship.

In all the biographies of Rāmānuja, the story is related that persecuted by a bigoted Coḷa king he left Tamilnadu for Karnaṭaka, where he converted the king Viṭṭhaladeva, whom he is said to have renamed 'Viṣṇuvardhana'. The Coḷa king is referred to as Kṛmikaṇṭha, who could have been either Adhirājendra or Vīrarājendra. The Śrī-vaiṣṇavas maintain that due to the impious act of this king, his dynasty came to an end. The direct Coḷa line came to an end with Adhirājendra, hence he is likely to have been the Kṛmikaṇṭha. It is possible that the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas retaliated and headed some minor disturbances which took place at the end of Adhirājendra's reign, but it is extremely unlikely that they could have gathered sufficient strength to depose a Coḷa emperor.[1] There are, however, epigraphic evidences from Rājarāja's reign which show that there was no discrimination against the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas. An inscription perhaps of Kulottunga III mentions the creation at Kanchi of a *bhāṣya-vṛtti* for the *Rāmānuja-bhāṣya* being regularly expounded by a competent person,[2] proving conclusively lack of hostility against the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas, at least by the successors of Adhirājendra.

After writing the *Śrī-bhāṣya*, Rāmānuja set out with his disciples on a religious campaign. He travelled all over India, and converted many people. The only set-back was received at Puri where he failed to introduce the Pañcarātra form of worship at the Jagannātha temple. Elsewhere his success was remarkable. Almost all the Viṣṇu temples today perform the Pañcarātra rites.

Rāmānuja died on Saturday, the 10th day of the bright half of Māgha in the Śaka year 1059 (=AD 1137).

Nimbārka

Nimbārka was also known as Nimbāditya and Niyamānanda. He is said to have been a Telugu *brāhmaṇa*, whose family lived in Nimba or Nimbapura in the Bellary District. It is known from a commentary on Nimbārka's *Daśa-*

[1]See above I, p. 492. K.A.N. Sastri, op. cit., pp. 295 and 300 note 43. It is also claimed by the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas and some scholars that Rāmānuja changed the name of the king from Viṭṭhaladeva to Viṣṇudeva. It should be noted that the Kannada form of Visnu is Viṭṭi, Viṭṭiga etc., and that Narsi Mehta and Mira Bai have referred to Viṣṇu in their Gujarati songs as Viṭṭhala without meaning the deity at Pandharpur. A.K. Priyolkar in *Journal of the University of Bombay*, VII, part 2, 1938, p. 35 quoted in *HDK*, IV, p. 721.

[2]K.A.N. Sastri, op. cit., pp. 639-40. Prof. Sastri adds: 'And these instances are by no means exhaustive.'

śloki, (by Harivyāsadeva, 32nd teacher after Nimbārka) that his father's name was Jagannātha and his mother was called Sarasvatī. Nimbārka's dates are, however, unknown, and controversial. Prof. S.N. Dasgupta assigned him to the middle of the 14th century; while Prof. S. Radhakrishnan was inclined to assign him to 'about the middle of the thirteenth century.'[1] One of the reasons for assigning a late date to Nimbārka is that he is not mentioned in the *Sarva darśanasamgraha*, written in the 14th century. However, though Nimbārka admitted the association of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa, he is nowhere mentioned by the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas, who wrote in the 16th century and later, though they mention Rāmānuja and Madhva. One of the reasons for this ignorance may be that Nimbārka had a limited following and much attention was not paid to him or to his sect or to his doctrine. Though his sect is mentioned in the *Padmapurāṇa*. Nimbārka is said to have passed his life at Vṛndāvana, but when Caitanya visited the place at the beginning of the 16th century, he found it completely desolate. He sent some of his principal disciples to restore the sacred place, modern Vṛndāvana being their creation.

No detail of Nimbārka's life has come down except a legend. It is said that the saint was originally named Bhāskara. One day some sages came to his hermitage when sun was about to set. These sages had taken a vow that they would not eat anything after sun-set. In order to enable his guests to eat, Bhāskara climbed a tall *nimba* tree (Axadirachta Indica). At his behest, Viṣṇu's discus, the Sudarśana *cakra*, came to his aid, with which he reflected the rays of the setting sun. The reflected light being as strong as daylight the sages had no compunction about eating their meals. When the dinner was over, Bhāskara permitted the discus to depart, and darkness fell. Then the sages came to know what had actually happened, and amazed at Bhāskara's spiritual power bestowed on him the sobriquet 'Nimbārka'. In the texts of his sect, he has been referred to as Nimbārka, Niyamānanda, and Nimbabhāskara.

The importance of the story is that on the basis of the name Bhāskara, some scholars have identified Nimbārka with the early Bhedābheda writer of that name. But this view is no longer held. It is, however, possible, that Nimbārka flourished earlier than even 13th century AD, if he is not the author of the *Madhva-mukha-mardana* which is sometimes ascribed to him.

Nimbārka is credited with the authorship of following nine works, of which excepting the first three the rest are in mss.: i. *Vedānta-parijāta-saurabha*, (commentary on Br.S.); ii. *Daśa-Śloki*; iii. *Kṛṣṇa-stava-rāja*; iv. *Guru-paramparā*; v. *Madhva-mukha-mardana*; vi. *Vedānta-tattva-bodha*; vii. *Vedānta-siddhānta-pradīpa*; viii. *Sva-dharm-ādhva-bodha*; ix. *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-stava*.[2]

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, pp. 399-400; S. Radhakrishnan, *The Brahma Sutra*, London, 1960, p. 78. In a foot-note Prof. Radhakrishnan adds that there is a view that Nimbārka was born in Vṛndāvana. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj in *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 26, states that Nimbārka's father was Aruṇi Muni and mother Jayantī Devī.

[2]This list is given by S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, pp. 400-01. He states that of the mss. he could only see *Sva-dharm-ādhva-bodha*, which on examination did not appear to be Nimbārka's work. The *Vedānta-sidhānta-pradīpa* also 'seems to be a spurious work'

Madhva

It is known that Madhva died at the age of 79. It is, however, difficult to establish his date of birth. Most probably he was born in AD 1238 and died in 1317.

A reliable biography of Madhva written a few years after his death is available. Madhva was born in a poor *brāhmaṇa* family in the village Pājaka, Tuḷunāḍ, eight miles south-east of the modern town of Uḍipi in the South Kanara District. He was named Purnaprajña, and Madhva's philosophy is called *Pūrṇaprajña-darśana* in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha.*

Like other *brāhmaṇa* boys, Madhva studied the scriptures, but could not be satisfied with their *advaita* interpretation. So at the age of sixteen, he went to Acyutaprekṣa, who was an Ekānti-vaiṣṇava of the Ekadaṇḍī order. Here Madhva was taught the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktānanda, a famous *advaita* text.[1] Disagreement between the teacher and the student became frequent, and ultimately Acyutaprekṣa, convinced of his student's superior talents, had him installed as the head of the order under the name Ānanda-tīrtha. In many of his works, he calls himself Ānanda-tīrtha, and the name Madhva, by which he is now known, was adopted by him later as being synonymous with Ānanda-tīrtha, and for some esoteric reasons.

Soon bands of devoted followers gathered round Madhva, with whom he set out to establish his doctrine. His early tours covered south India, and he held discussions on the Br.S. in many places including Kanyakumari, Rameswaram, and Śrīraṁgam. His criticism of Śaṃkara's interpretation provoked a monk of that school to challenge him to write a new commentary on the Br. S. Madhva readily agreed to do so. But first he wrote a commentary on the *Gītā*, and then left on a north Indian tour in the course of which he visited Badrinath. There he spent several months immersed in deep meditation, after which he wrote the commentary on the Br.S. He then returned to his headquarters at Uḍipi after visiting many countries of north and east. During his return journey, Madhva won over two eminent scholars who became his disciples and adopted the names of Padmanābha-tīrtha and Naraharitīrtha. Padmanābha later wrote commentaries on Madhva's three principal works, namely, Br. S.—*bhaṣya*, *Anuvyākhyāna*, and *Daśa-prakaraṇa*. Narahari wrote commentaries on Madhva's *Gītā-bhāṣya* and *Karma-nirṇaya*, but he is also famous for having acted as the regent during the minority of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II of Orissa.

Madhva undertook another trip to north India and toured over south India several times. The number of his followers gradually increased as did his literary output. During one of his later south Indian tours, Madhva conver-

ibid, p. 403. It may reasonably be expected that on closer examination, the *Madhva-mukha-mardana* will also appear to be a spurious work.

[1]There are four celebrated '*siddhis*' in Advaita literature: *Brahma-siddhi* by Maṇḍana, *Naiṣkarma-siddhi* by Sureśvara (both direct disciples of Śaṃkara), *Iṣṭa-siddhi* by Vimuktānanda (early 13th century), and *Advaita-siddhi* by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (16th century). Madhusūdana wrote to refute the views of Madhva's school.

ted the famous Trivikrama Paṇḍita after worsting him in a debate which lasted for a fortnight. Later, Trivikrama's brother and seven others were also ordained and they became the first heads of the eight monasteries (*Aṣṭa-maṭha*) of Uḍipi.[1]

Madhva died in AD 1317.

Madhva has left 37 works. These include: i. *Daśaprakaraṇa* or 'ten philosophical works' expounding his logic and metaphysics; ii. Commentary on ten Upaniṣads; iii. Commentary on the *Gītā*; iv. Commentary on the Br. S.; v. A short commentary on RV I.1-40; vi. a metrical epitome of the Mbh.; vii. a short commentary on the Bhāgavata excluding the tenth *Skandha*; viii. *Anuvyākhyāna*, a metrical exposition of the philosophy of Br.S.; ix. miscellaneous works comprising collection of hymns and guides for rituals and worship.; x. Commentary on the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*.[2]

Vallabha

The two contemporaries, Vallabha and Caitanya, lived long after the period covered by this series, but their contributions to our religious life have to be taken into account for a proper understanding of Vaiṣṇava faith and movement. Rāmānuja's followers are concentrated in south India, but are also found in large numbers in north India. Madhva's followers are mostly confined to south India, particularly Karnataka. The *vaiṣṇavas* of western India (Gujarat and Rajasthan) are mostly Vallabha's followers, while Caitanya's followers dominate the eastern region (Orissa, Bengal, Assam, Manipur and Tripura).

Vallabha was the fourth child of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Yallamagaru. Lakṣmaṇa came from a *brāhmaṇa* family of Andhra who mainly worked as priests, but some of them were reputed scholars. Yallamagaru's father served as a priest under the Vijayanagara emperors. After Yallamagaru had given birth to a son and two daughters, Lakṣmaṇa left his home in search for a *guru*, and attached himself to a saintly person named Premakara. Lakṣmaṇa's father accompanied by Yallamagaru and her children set out in search for his son, and chanced to visit Premakara. There at Premakara's request Lakṣmaṇa returned to his family.

Some time later, Lakṣmaṇa with his family went on a pilgrimage in course of which he first visited Prayaga (Allahabad) and then Varanasi, where he seems to have settled down. However, a rumour of an impending Muslim invasion of Varanasi prompted Lakṣmaṇa to flee with his family. While they

[1]The head of each of these monasteries is given the charge of the temple at Uḍipi for two years in rotation. Besides these eight, there are three other monasteries known as Mūla-maṭhas. These three were the result of bifurcation of one monastery founded either by Madhva or by Padmanābha. There are two other monasteries known as Bhandarkere and Bhimanakatte.

[2]For a detailed list of Madhva's works see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., IV, pp. 54-6, and B.N.K. Sharma, *A History of Dvaita School of Vedānta and its Literature*, Bombay, 1960. See also K. Narain, *An Outline of Madhva Philosophy*, Allahabad, 1962.

were passing through a forest, Yallamagaru gave birth to Vallabha. This incident took place either in AD 1479 or 1481. Yallamagaru gave birth to two more sons, of which the last survived, and was named Keśava.

Vallabha's sacred thread ceremony was performed when he was eight years old. He then began his formal studies and must have made phenomenal progress. His studies, however, came to an abrupt end about three years later when Lakṣmaṇa died and the family left for Gaya and subsequently returned to Andhra, while Vallabha, with a few companions went on a long journey. Vallabha's hagiological biographies describe fully this and the subsequent tours. Though the details are unconvincing, it seems that from an early age, Vallabha proved his ability as a successful disputant on religious and philosophical subjects. Vallabha went on many such tours; indeed twenty years of his life were spent on travels during which he combated the views of rival Vedānta schools, except that of Caitanya for whom he developed deep affection and regard.

During the course of one of his earlier tours, Vallabha came to Vijayanagara, where he defeated in debate a celebrated Advaita scholar. For this feat the emperor honoured him with a *kaṇakābhiṣeka* (consecration by sprinkling gold). Vallabha now became a famous teacher, and took this opportunity to probe deeply into the doctrines of former *ācāryas*, particularly those of Viṣṇusvāmin and of Madhva.

After spending some time at Vijayanagara, which he was to visit again, Vallabha resumed his travels in course of which he reached Pandharpur in Maharashtra, famous for the temple of Viṭṭhalanātha. It is the only famous Viṣṇu (Viṭṭhalanātha) temple where Kṛṣṇa's wife Rukmiṇī is installed in a separate temple and regularly worshipped. It was at Pandharpur, where conjugal bliss is deified, that Vallabha is said to have received divine command to marry. This he did after some time and settled at Varanasi, with his wife Mahālakṣmī, the daughter of Devanna Bhaṭṭa. The ancient and holy city, however, did not suit him. Varanasi was a stronghold of Advaita, and Vallabha failed in his attempts to convert them, or indeed to gain a fair hearing. So he shifted to Aḍel, near Allahabad, which remained his home for the rest of his life. It may be noted that Caitanya, who visited Varanasi a few years after Vallabha had left the city, hardly fared any better than his friend, Vallabha.

Vallabha passed at Varanasi in AD 1532 or 1533 leaving behind two sons, Gopinātha (b. 1513) and Viṭṭhalanātha (b. 1515).

Vallabha is said to have written 84 books including tracts, of which about 50 are available either in print or in mss. His most important works are his *Subodhinī* commentary on the Bh.P., *Tattva-dīpikā* commentary on the *Gītā*, and the *Anu-bhāṣya*, which is an incomplete commentary on the Br.S. and possibly his last work for he commented only upto 3.2.33, and it was completed by his son Viṭṭhalanātha, a prolific writer.[1]

[1]For a list of the works of Vallabha and Viṭṭhala see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., IV, pp. 373-75.

Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, and Madhva were monks and each of them had established a monastic order to propagate their faiths and look after the interest of their sects. Vallabha, a householder himself, did not initiate anyone as a *sannyāsin*. All his disciples were householders. After Vallabha's death, his eldest son Gopinātha became the head of the sect. He, however, died within a decade, leaving behind a minor son, so his younger brother Viṭṭhalanātha assumed the leadership. This led to a quarrel with Gopinātha's widow, who left Aḍel with her son and most of Vallabha's books. However, the boy died shortly afterwards, and Viṭṭhalanātha's supremacy remained unchallenged. Viṭṭhala died leaving seven sons and four daughters. He had given each of them an image of Kṛṣṇa as his or her portion of life. The temple of Śrī-Nāthjī, the principal deity, was given to his eldest son, but all the sons had the right to perform *sevā* in the temple. Viṭṭhala's fourth son, Gokulanātha, was a very able man, and his descendants formed a group with distinguishing marks and some slight difference in the initiation formula. Viṭṭhala's descendants are known as *mahārājas*, some of whom became notorious in the 19th century.

Caitanya

Caitanya was the youngest son of Jagannātha Miśra and Śacī Devī, who had come from Sylhet (Bangladesh) and had settled at Navadvīpa or Nadia (W. Bengal). Śacī gave birth to eight daughters in succession, none of whom survived. Then her son Viśvarūpa was born. When Viśvarūpa was eight or ten years old, a brother was born to him in February 1486. He was to become famous as Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya or Caitanya, but the name originally given him was Viśvambhara (he who sustains the world), though he was affectionately addressed as Nimāi.

Nimāi was a handsome child, but absolutely unmanageable. Possibly he was a little spoilt by his parents. In course of time, he received the sacraments and the education usual for a *brāhmaṇa* boy of those days. But as he grew up, his pranks increased, till he was sobered by a tragedy in the family. Viśvarūpa, a brilliant boy, was by nature other worldly. When his parents were arranging his marriage, he left them and was never heard of again. He was reported to have become a monk, (and later it was learnt that he had died at Pandharpur). Viśvarūpa's disappearance plunged his parents into grief. Nimāi's affectionate heart induced in him upsurge of sympathy for his parents. He seriously applied to his studies and made rapid improvement. Jagannātha was alarmed, for Viśvarūpa too had been a brilliant student. So he removed Nimāi from school over Śacī's protests. Removal from the school enraged Nimāi, who went on a rampage, compelling his father to have him readmitted to the school. Nimāi continued to make good progress.

When Nimāi was about eleven, Jagannātha Miśra died. About five years later, Nimāi finished his studies and opened a school for teaching Sanskrit grammar, his favourite subject. Soon he gathered a large number of students, and was well on the way to success. A little later, he married Lakṣmī Devī.

Few years later she died while Nimāi was away in Bangladesh. After his return, Nimāi passed a period of mourning and then married Viṣṇupriyā. It is to her that the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas, or Caitanya's followers, pay worshipful homage.

Nimāi's worldly affairs prospered. He advanced in years, but retained his cheerful spirit. Religious life in Bengal at this time was at a low ebb. The *brāhmaṇas* performed their obligatory *smrti* rites, but the people in general worshipped minor cult deities, and used to practise degenerate forms of tantric rites. There was a small group of devout *vaiṣṇavas* at Navadvīpa, but Nimāi Paṇḍita was not one of them. He laughed at them, and they avoided the arrogant young scholar. Īśvara Puri, a saintly *vaiṣṇava* came to Navadvipa. Nimāi dutifully invited the saint to his house for a meal. They held a discourse on Kṛṣṇa, and since then Nimāi visited him every day during his stay at Navadvīpa, but it had no tangible result.

Some time by the end of AD 1508, Nimāi went to Gaya to offer oblation to his father. There he again met Īśvara Puri. At Nimāi's request, Īśvara Puri initiated him (*mantra-dīkṣā*). One day even while at Gaya, as he was meditating and repeating the *mantra*, Nimāi fell into a trance, and when he came out of it, he was a different man. From now on he continually longed for Kṛṣṇa. He returned to Navadvīpa some time in the middle of January 1509, but was unable to resume his former life. He spent his time with other Vaiṣṇavas, and his friend Murāri writes that on hearing the name of Hari, he fell like a log of wood. In his class, he used to hold discourses on Kṛṣṇa, when he should have taught grammar. He closed his school. He was continually in a state of extreme ecstasy, sometimes bordering on frenzy. Many thought that he had become insane, but Śrīdhara and Advaita, two great souls, both devout Vaiṣṇavas, recognized in him all the signs of *mahā-bhakti-yoga* and hailed him as an incarnation.

Then the local Vaiṣṇavas gathered round him, and he began his famous *saṁkīrtanas* at Navadvīpa. Soon Nityānanda joined him. When Nimāi was about twenty-four years old, he was openly acknowledged as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and was worshipped by his followers.

Navadvīpa was now totally converted. There were *saṁkīrtanas* all over the city. The sound enraged the Muslim Kāzī who ordered his men to stop the noise. Many became frightened, but Nimāi was enraged. He organized a mammoth *saṁkīrtana* procession and invaded the Kāzī's quarters. The frightened and humbled Kāzī begged his forgiveness and was pardoned. *Saṁkīrtana* continued to be performed with added fervour.

The fracas with the Kāzī took place within about a year after Nimāi's return from Gaya. Shortly after the incident, Nimāi decided to renounce the life of a householder to adopt a monastic life. With difficulty he managed to extract permission from his mother. In the early morning of a Thursday he left his home accompanied with three followers including Nityānanda. Soon he reached Katwa, (24 miles from Navadvīpa), and there he was initiated into monastic life by Keśava Bhāratī and given the name Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya

(he who awakens Śrī-Kṛṣṇa in the hearts of all.)[1]

From Katwa, Caitanya returned to spend a few days with his mother and followers at Advaita's house in Santipur, near Navadvīpa. Then he left for Puri where he made his home for the rest of his life. He had actually wanted to settle at Vṛndāvana, but his mother objected because Vṛndāvana was too far from Navadvīpa. At her behest he selected Puri, which was nearer home.[2]

On arrival at Puri, Caitanya converted Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, the famous court *paṇḍita* of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa. After about two months' stay at Puri, Caitanya left on a south Indian tour some time between April and May 1510. In course of his travels, he met Rāya Rāmānanda, the Orissa governor of Rajahmundry, and from him learnt the mysticism of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-līlā, while the Rāya became his follower. Caitanya then traversed the entire peninsula till he reached Ramesvaram. From there, he turned north through Kerala till he reached Gujarat. He visited all the sacred places on his way, and then returned to Rajahmundry, after spending about two years on pilgrimage. Some time later, Caitanya visited Bengal, where he converted the future theoreticians of his sect, Rūpa and Sanātana. At this time they were high officials in the service of the Sultān of Bengal. He also met his mother for the last time. After about two months, he returned to Puri where he spent the rainy season, and then left for upper India.

Caitanya first visited Varanasi, where, as stated above, his mission was not very successful. He then visited Mathura, Vṛndāvana, Prayaga and Aḍel to meet Vallabha before he returned to Varanasi. Rūpa and Sanātana had in the meantime given up their worldly lives and had come to Varanasi to join the Master. Here Caitanya explained to Sanātana the basic tenets of his doctrine. He also held interesting discourses with the monists, and left a deep impression on them, but Varanasi remained a stronghold of the monists.

Caitanya's life of forty-eight years is evenly divided. The first twenty-four years he spent in Bengal, and the rest outside. Of the later half of his life, about six years were spent in travels, while the last twelve years were spent at Puri. During Caitanya's long sojourn in Puri, a large group of his followers from Bengal visited him annually during the Ratha-yātrā festival, in which he took a prominent part. He also had a large number of Oriya devotees. All the dignitaries of Orissa including the King desired to meet him, but he was indifferent, though he appeared before the crowd which gathered daily before his residence and exhorted them to repeat the name of Kṛṣṇa. The recitation of the name was so dear to him that he did not accept food from any one who did not recite it for at least 100,000 times a day.

[1]This is the usual explanation of the name, but there may be another explanation. Before initiating a person as a *sannyāsin*, it is usual to initiate him as a *brahmacārin*, and the *brahmacārins* of the Bhāratī and the Puri orders are given the surname *caitanya*. It is likely that Caitanya never became an initiated *sannyāsin*, which may be one of the reasons for which he never formally initiated any one. A *brahmacārin* cannot initiate.

[2]Orissa was at this time a powerful kingdom. It was one of the few Hindu states in north India which had successfully resisted Muslim invasion.

Caitanya lived a very austere life. He strictly followed the monastic rules regarding food and dress, and forced his followers to do the same. Once he banished one of his followers for having spoken to a woman. Actually that unfortunate man had gone to that old woman—also Caitanya's devotee—to beg for some fine quality rice to be served to Caitanya. But he was inexorable, and refused to see that man's face again. Ultimately the man committed suicide. Even this tragedy did not move Caitanya, whose only remark on hearing this incident was that a person must suffer the result of his action.

During the last years of his life, he was in a state of almost continuous rapture often lasting for the whole night. He also increased the rigours of his self-imposed restrictions on matters of food. As a result, his health broke down, and he passed away in 1533.

After Caitanya's death, Advaita and Nityānanda assumed by general consent the leadership of the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas, and two centres developed around their respective places at Santipur and Kharda. Their descendants have continued to initiate people. Caitanya did not organize any monastic order. But soon a monastic order developed without any central organization or headquarter. Large number of Buddhists entered the orthodox fold through this order, which was not only heterodox but also continued to practise certain strange practices. While some of the monks lived very chaste lives, others lived openly with women, and they brought undeserved ill fame to all the monks of this order. The fact is that all the wandering minstrels of Bengal like the Bauls, Sahajiyās and others claimed Caitanya as their patron saint. How far their claims are legitimate is a matter of dispute. There is no doubt, however, that these lowly people, who never engaged in any trade or profession, preserved a part of the esoteric cult which had taken long time to develop in Bengal and is now practically all but lost.

Vaiṣṇava Philosophy

The five Vaiṣṇava saints, namely, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka, Vallabha, and Caitanya established five sects. Each sect had its distinct philosophy based on their interpretation of the Vedānta texts, particularly of the Br.S. It has been mentioned above that first four Ācāryas wrote their own commentaries on the Br.S. Caitanya did not write any commentary nor any other text. The Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava commentary on the Br.S., known as the *Govinda-bhāṣya*, was written by Baladeva Vidyabhūṣaṇa in the 18th century. All the Vaiṣṇava schools of philosophy are, however, different forms of Vedānta philosophy, hence they will be discussed later under Vedānta. It may be noted here that Indian philosophy from the time of Śaṁkara was mainly Vedānta philosophy, and from the time of Rāmānuja philosophers were mainly concerned with the interpretation of Vedānta texts according to the tenets of their particular school. The main contribution of the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava school was their scholarly analysis of *bhakti* and its components, but their treatment falls beyond the scope of the present work.

CHAPTER XIII

ŚAIVISM

HISTORY OF ŚAIVISM

Beginnings of Śaivism

IT is usually held that the Vedic Rudra later developed into Śiva, the principal deity of one of the two most important cults of India, though some eminent scholars were of the opinion that Rudra was a Dravidian conception. A. B. Keith, however, after discussing the problem concluded: 'The evidence unfortunately hardly carries us any further towards ascertaining the amount of pre-Dravidian influence on Vedic civilization, and it must be added that much of it seems to be of very dubious value.'[1]

The controversy might have stopped at this point, but for Sir John Marshall's discovery of a 'roughly carved seal' at Mohenjodaro, on the basis of which he wrote in the preface of his monumental work: 'Among the many revelations that Mohenjodaro and Harappa have had in store for us, none perhaps is more remarkable than the discovery that Saivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic age or even further still, and that it takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world.' The description of the seal which he gave in the text shows, however, that his conclusion set forth in the preface was, to say the least, coloured by preconception. 'The god who is three faced', Sir John wrote, 'is seated on a low Indian throne in a topical attitude of *yoga* . . . the lower limbs are bare and the phallus (*ūrddhva-meḍhra*) . . . . seemingly exposed, but it is possible that what appears to be a phallus is in reality the end of the waist band . . . . Crowning his head is a pair of horns meeting in a tall head dress. On either side of the god are four animals, an elephant and a tiger on his proper right, and a rhinoceros and a buffalo on his left. Beneath the throne are two deer.'[2]

Sir John's conclusion, as given in the preface quoted above, has been accepted as 'fact' by most scholars. It has to be asked, however, as to what evidence did he have which enabled him to assert that the figure represented a god? Would we be wrong if we were to ascribe the identification to the inveterate habit of archaeologists to label any unidentified figure as god? It would be particularly tempting in an idolatrous country. Otherwise it has to be assumed on the basis of a single seal (in which the phallus and the waist band are liable to be confused), that all the specific attributes of Śiva, as

[1] A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, II, pp. 629-30.

[2] Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, I, preface, p. vii; and p. 52, pl. xii, no. 17.

Maheśa, Mahāyogin, Paśupati, and Dakṣiṇāmūrti were anticipated in the remote Chalcolithic age. It appears to us, therefore, advisable to suspend our judgement and ignore the Mohenjodaro seal till Sir John's conclusion is corroborated by other evidenee.

Some small pieces of stone found in several Chalcolithic sites have been identified as Śiva-liṅga, and correlated with the opprobrious term *śisna-deva* of the RV. The word *śisna-deva*, however, does not mean 'phallus-worshipper', as we have shown above.[1]

Śaivism is a complex cult. The problem of its origin need not be made even more intricate by accepting conjectures as proved facts. In this connection, the following observation by A. B. Keith still appears to be valid: 'It must be recognized that the deity later known as Śiva came at an early period to be the most prominent member of the Hindu pantheon, and to represent that striving at pantheistic monotheism which in one or other of its forms is so characteristic of all the developments of Indian religious thought. It is probable that several conceptions have merged in the idea of the later Śiva. Originally a god of storm which destroys (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 77) he later amalgamated with a god of the forest or wood (Oldenburg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 216-224), or rather perhaps with the vegetation spirit which has been rendered so familiar by the studies of Frazer following Mannhardt. Possibly, too, traits of his character are derived from the idea of the evil powers of the spirits of the dead, as suggested by V. Schroeder (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, IX, p. 248) who regards him as chief of the spirits of the dead. But at any rate he cannot be regarded as a late deity, just as Viṣṇu also belongs to an early period.'[2]

Keith's conception of Śiva is borne out by the *Śatarudrīya* hymn of the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* (XVI).[3] There Rudra is invoked as a patron of craftsmen, cartwrights, carpenters, smiths, potters, hunters, waterman, and foresters. He is the leader of armies, lord of the regions, and of the beasts. He is the god of the brave, of the foot-soldiers, of those who fight in chariots, and who earn their living by the bow and sword. He is blue-necked and of a red countenance. His cry 'echoes in the thick of the battle and his voice resounds in the war drum.' He is also the patron of thieves and freebooters. He is the lord of the *vrātyas*. He dwells in the forests, is the lord of the open field, and protector of the cattle which roam there.

Thus the *Śatarudrīya* credits Rudra with activity in every natural sphere: in the mountains, woods, forests, and open fields. It also associates Him with hunters, thieves, and brigands, men beyond the pale of decent society. He is invoked under many names. Rudra usually means roarer, and Sāyana once explains Rudra as: '*Rut* means suffering or sin etc., which causes suffering.

[1] Above I, p. 69.

[2] *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, ed. and tr. by A.B. Keith, introduction, p. 33-4.

[3] The *Śatarudrīya* is also found in the *Taittarīya Saṃhitā*, IV, 5. 1-11; *Kaṭhaka Saṃhitā*, XVII. 11-16; and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, II. 9. 1ff.

Thou art the god so called who drives this away.'[1] In his benign aspect he is Śiva, Śaṅkara, and Śambhu. He is also Bhava and Sarva.

Śiva in the Epics

It is in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* (Mbh)[2] that we come across the conception of classical Śiva more or less fully developed.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* (6.105.1-2) relates that, after Rāmacandra had put Sītā to the fire ordeal, Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera), Yama, Indra, Varuṇa, Mahādeva Vṛṣadhvaja with three eyes, and Brahmā lord of the three worlds came down to Laṅkā to meet Rāmacandra. They acknowledged Rāmacandra as the great Lord Nārāyaṇa (6.105.17), but in 6.107, Mahādeva arranged or rather granted a boon which enabled Rāmacandra to see his dead father and fly in a divine chariot.

Later (7.31.38), there is a reference to a golden *liṅga* which Rāvaṇa carried everywhere with him. It is also related (7.53.5-10) that Rudra, later called Mahādeva, pleased with the prayers of the demon Madhu, gave the latter his own trident. Mahādeva and his consort Pārvatī or Umā are referred to in 7.4. 27-9; 7.13.22-31; and 7.78.11-29. The destruction of Kāma is related in 1.22.10-14.

It is noteworthy that, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (2.46.67-73) Gaṅgā or the river Ganges is deified, and Sītā prays to her for her safe return from the forest. But she refers to Gaṅgā as the 'wife of the ocean' (*bhāryā udadhirājasya*), and does not mention her relation with Śiva. In a previous chapter (1.34.13-14), Gaṅgā is said to be the eldest daughter of Himavat and Umā the next daughter, and Umā married Śiva.

There are copious references to Śiva in the Mbh. but for want of space it is not possible to mention all of them here. It is first related (3.114.7-10) that when the Pāṇḍava brothers visited the river Vaitaraṇī, the sage Lomaśa related to them that in ancient days the gods had performed many sacrifices there, and that Lord Rudra came there and took away the sacrificial animals claiming them to be his share. Then the gods begged him not to take away things which belonged to others, and, pleased with their prayer, he released the animals and left the place. Then Lomaśa added a verse according to which Śiva was to receive the best share of every sacrificial offering (3.114.11-12).

Possibly the earliest version of the story is given in Mbh. 10.17 and 18. There it is first stated that Brahmā intending to create animate beings asked Śiva for his help. Śiva submerged himself[3] and engaged in *tapas* (austerity)

[1]Translation by J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV, p. 307. Sāyaṇa has given six explanations of Rudra for which see ibid, p. 303 fn. Sāyaṇa's commentary cited above is on *RV*, II, 1,6, where Agni is referred to as Rudra.

[2]All the references to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* (Mbh.) are to the critical editions published respectively from the Oriental Institute, Baroda, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

[3]This part is obscure, but the Mss. tradition is clear, as even the late Mss. do not give any additional verse. See editor's note in the critical edition. In 10.17.11, Śiva is referred to as Harikeśa.

for such a long time that Brahmā tired of waiting for him created the beings whereupon Bhagavān Rudra cut off his phallus and threw it away, as he felt that the organ had no further use. This incident explains the phallus symbol, but actual phallus worship is not mentioned here. However, it is added that, Bhava then went away to Mujavant mountain and engaged himself in austerity (10.17.6-26). The next chapter relates that while Śiva was thus engaged, the gods had evolved the sacrificial rites without assigning him a share, because they were ignorant of the proper nature of Rudra. There follows a description of how Rudra, with his matted hair (*kapardī*), began to destroy the *yajña*. Ultimately, however, he was propitiated and threw his anger into the ocean which then became submarine fire (10.18.1-26).

Kṛṣṇa describes destruction of Dakṣa-*yajña* by Śiva in 13.145, while describing the greatness of Śiva. He begins by recommending the recitation of the *Śatarudrīya* every morning (13.145.4), and then states that there is nothing higher than Mahādeva. But if he is angry, he can destroy the world (13.145.8-10). As an example, Kṛṣṇa cites the story of Rudra's destruction of Dakṣa-*yajña* and the latter's propitiation by the recital of the *Śatarudrīya* by the assembled gods. They also provided a special share of every sacrifice for Rudra, whereupon he restored life to everything he had destroyed (13.145.11-23). Kṛṣṇa then relates the destruction of Tripura (13.145.24-28); 13.145.30 introduces Umā but not as Śiva's consort, though 13.145.33 refers him as Umāpati.[1] It is then said: 'He is verily, Rudra. He is also Śiva, He is Agni, He is Sarva, He is Sarva-jit (all-conqueror), He is Indra, He is also Vāyu, He is Aśvin twins, He is lightning, He is Candramas, He is Īśāna, He is Sūrya, He is also Varuṇa, He is Kāla, He is Death, He is Yama. . . His attributes cannot be told in one hundred years' (13.145.36-41).

Another version of the destruction of the Dakṣa-*yajña* is also available in the Mbh. Here Bhīṣma relates the story:Mahādeva Paśupati was in Kailāsa surrounded by his followers which included *rākṣasas* and *piśācas* and was worshipped by Gaṅgā, gods and sages, while Nandin stood by with the trident (12.274.13-17). Then Dakṣa-Prajāpati started the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, and the gods, with Śiva's permission, proceeded to attend the sacrifice. Thereupon Umā asked Śiva as to whither the gods were going, and on being told that they were going to the *yajña*, demanded to know why Śiva was not going there. Śiva explained that the gods had already arranged the distribution of the shares of the sacrifices and no share had been kept for him. Umā said that she was very grieved to hear this, since Śiva was the most powerful among the gods, and that the insult was such that she was shivering (12.274.8-28). Thus goaded by Umā, Śiva went to the sacrifice and destroyed it. He was appeased only when Brahmā assured him a share in every sacrifice (12.274.29-44).[2]

[1]We have left out the details related in these verses, but apparently two or more traditions are mixed up here.

[2]The rest of the chapter relates the creation of fever and sudden appearance of Vṛtra, who goes to Viṣṇu-loka.

Liṅga worship is eulogized in Mbh. 7.172.87 and 90 and it is said that such worship is most pleasing to Vṛṣabha-dhvaja. *Liṅga* is extolled in 13.14.100-102, and certain verses of this chapter, not included in the Critical Edition, mentions *liṅga* with the sign of *bhaga*.

Marriage of Śiva and Umā is mentioned in 13.83.60-61, and the rest of the chapter and the next chapter relates the birth of Kārttikeya. The destruction of Kāma, who thereafter became *anaṅga* (bodyless) is mentioned in 12.183.10 (5), a prose passage, without any further embellishments or details.

Regarding the origin of the name Vṛṣabha-dhvaja, it is related that, one day while the divine cow Surabhi was suckling her calf, some milk from its mouth dropped on Śiva's body, which made him exceedingly angry. Then, according to 13.76.23-29, Prajāpati appeased him by giving him the calf as his mount and standard, while according to 13.128.12 it was Brahmā who gave these to him after appeasing him by *Arthaveda* (*Atharvaveda*).

In 13.146.2-28, Kṛṣṇa explains the derivation of many names of Śiva, some of which are derived from his terrific aspect while others from his benign aspect. A curious explanation of the name Rudra is given, in which it is stated that among others he eats meat and marrow, and drinks blood (13. 146.7). It is interesting to note that 14.62.19 and 14.64.4 contain references to Śiva's worship in which meat is offered. This worship was performed by Yudhiṣṭhira on the Himalayas where he had gone to recover buried treasure, and the episode may indicate a tribal form of worship.

'The word "*śiva*", according to Prof. S.N. Dasgupta, 'is supposed to have been derived irregularly from the root "*vaś kāntan*". This would mean that Śiva always fulfils the desire of his devotees.'[1] This is the impression that one gets after reading the Mbh. Śiva, referred to as Bhaga-netra-hara, gave Gāndhārī the boon of one hundred sons (1.103.9-10). Draupadi's five husbands were due to Śaṁkara's boon given her in a previous birth (1.157.8-14). Then, there is the famous story of Arjuna's long prayer to Mahādeva: Mahādeva's appearance as a Kirāta: their fight: Arjuna's defeat, and ultimately Śiva pleased with Arjuna's powers presents him the famous *pāśupata* weapon (3.40 and 41,42). Mahādeva also granted to childless Sagara the boon of sixty thousand sons (3.104.6-23). Their descendant, Bhagīratha, was able to bring the Ganges down to earth through a boon granted him by Mahādeva (3.107, and 108) and the God checked her descent by allowing her to fall on his forehead (*lalāṭa-deśa*, 3.108.8). For his benevolent acts Śiva is called *bhakt-ānukampī bhagavān* (Lord who favours his devotees, 7.41.13). Arjuna, as well as Kṛṣṇa daily offered prayers to Śiva (7.56.3 and 8.21.13). The popular devotion to Śiva is best attested by the *Śiva-sahasranāma* chapter (13.17.24-149), which gives 1008 names of Śiva.

The Mbh. shaped the outlines of the final image of Śiva, which was rounded and decorated by the Purāṇas, but not altered in any marked manner. The Mbh. is usually regarded as a Vaiṣṇava text. It is, therefore, surprising to find so many and such respectful references to Śiva. This attitude has to

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, V, p. 4.

be ascribed to the growing popularity of the deity, which is attested by other literary sources and archaeological findings.

Literary Sources

Megasthenes mentions an Indian god named Dionysus, and he compares the hunting expedition of the king with the procession of Dionysus. He also says that the worship of Dionysus was specially popular in the hills.[1] 'Two classical writers, Hesychius and Stobacus prove that Śiva was an object of worship among the people of north-western India. Hesychus says that "bull was the god of India", evidently referring to the theriomorphic form of the god.'[2]

Regarding Sanskrit texts, it has been noted in the previous chapter that Kauṭilya mentions a Śiva temple and Patañjali speaks of Śiva images. Another reference to Śiva image is found in *Āpastamba Gṛhya-sūtra* (7.20.3). Pāṇini (4.1.49) himself mentions the names Bhava, Sarva, Rudra, and Mṛḍa, while Patañjali mentions the names Rudra, Śiva, Girīśa, Mahādeva, Tryambaka, Bhava, and Sarva. Patañjali also mentions the Śiva-bhāgavatas (on Pāṇini 5.2.76), which is the earliest reference to a Śaiva sect.

As noted below Śiva worship is referred to in early Tamil literature.

Archaeological Sources

Though Śiva is not mentioned in the early inscriptions, the popularity of his cult is attested by the frequent occurrences in the inscriptions of the period between 200 BC to 300 AD of such personal names as Mahādeva, Rudra, Rudraghosa, Śivadeva, Śivaghosa, Śivanandi, Śivasena, Sivaskanda, Sivayasas etc.

Representation of Śiva emblems on coins can be traced to an early age. The deity is represented on coins in three forms anthropomorphic, theriomorphic (as a bull), and phallic. These emblems on punch-marked, die-struck, or cast coins have been found in different parts of northern and central India.

A.K. Coomaraswamy has thus compared the early representation of Buddha and Śiva: 'In Buddhist art, we find at Bharhut and Sanchi the tree, wheel etc., on or behind an altar, clearly designated in the inscriptions as Buddha (*Bhagavato*) and worshipped as such . . . . Later on the figure of a human teacher takes its place upon the throne, the old symbols being retained as specific designations . . . . In the same way with Hindu types; thus we find at first the humped bull alone, then a two-armed, and finally a four-armed figure accompanying the bull, once the representative of the deity, now his vehicle, while other symbols are held in the hands as attributes.'[3]

The earliest representation of Śiva has been traced to the unique gold coin

[1]McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 34, 35, and 71. Some scholars are inclined to identify the Sibi tribe mentioned by classical authors with Śaiva. But such identification does not seem to be convincing.

[2]J.N. Banerjea, *Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion*, Calcutta, 1966, pp. 71-2.

[3]A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1927, p. 45.

of an uncertain Indo-Scythian king. The reverse side of the coin bears the representation of a humped bull with the legends, respectively in Greek and Kharosthi scripts, *Taurus* and *Uṣabhe* (*Vṛṣabha*), which apparently stand for Śiva. The same device occurs on the coins of the Hūṇa ruler Mihirakula with the legend *jayatu vṛṣaḥ*.[1] This device occurs also on the coins of Mūladeva, Viśākhadeva, Sivadatta, Vijayamitra of Ayodhya, Bṛhaspatimitra II, Aśvaghosa, Agnimitra, Jeṭṭhamita of Kausambi, and also on the coins of Mālava, Arjunāyana, Andhra, and some other early kings and tribes.

Śiva in an anthropomorphic form first appears in the Ujjayini coins datable to the period between the third to the second century BC. Two-armed Śiva with a trident and a knotted club is shown in the Sirkap inscribed bronze seal of Śivarakṣita, on some copper coins of Maues and Gondopharnes, on the coins of Wema Kadphises, and on those of his successors, namely, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva.

The Kuṣāṇa king Wema Kadphises is usually held to have been a follower of the Śaiva-Pāśupata creed. The legend *Śiva rakṣita* (protected by Śiva) on the Sirkap bronze seal mentioned above, shows that there was a Taxilian[2] of second to first century BC, whose patron deity was Śiva, and it is quite likely that many other people of this region were of the same persuasion. It is most likely that Puṣkalāvatī, the old capital of Gandhāra, had the 'bull' emblem of Śiva as one of its tutelary deities, which is indicated by the Indo-Scythian gold coin mentioned above. For, apart from the legends *Taurus* and *Uṣabhe*, it also contains the legend *Pakhalavadi-devata* (*Puṣkalāvatī-devatā*, 'the god of Puṣkalāvatī') written in Kharosthi on its two sides, along with a female figure holding a lotus which Dr. J.N. Banerjea has identified as Ambikā or Pārvatī. Dr. Banerjea has also identified *deva* or *sudeva* on the coins of Gondopharnes with Śiva. Various iconic forms of Śiva are found in later Kuṣāṇa coins.

Śiva shrines are depicted in the reverse of some Audambara coins.

A Kharosthi inscription of the first century AD probably contains the earliest epigraphic reference to a Śiva shrine, which it calls *Śivathale*, the word *thale* indicating a 'shrine' or a 'sanctuary'.

Liṅgas also figure on coins found at Mathura and belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period. Several other coins inscribed with a *liṅga* or a 'tree', which symbolized *liṅga*, are found in coins of 2nd to 1st century BC. Sculptural representation of *liṅga* is also available. The most well-known and usually regarded as the earliest specimen is the Guḍimallam Liṅga, socalled because it is found at the village of that name situated six miles to the north-east of Renigunta railway station in Andhra. It is cut out of hard stone about a foot thick, and fixed in a hole cut into the floor without any altar. The shaft bears on it the two-armed figure of Śiva in high relief standing on the shoulders of the Apasmārapuruṣa (malformed dwarf); below the diaphanous lion-cloth his

[1]For references to these and other coins see J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1956, pp. 113ff., and P. Banerjee, *Early Indian Religions*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 37-9.

[2]Srikap is in Taxila. For details see above I, p. 135.

sex organ is clearly visible, but it is not the *ūrddhva-liṅga* sign which became common in the post-Christian era. *Jaṭābhāra* (matted hair) adorns his head, and his body is sparsely decorated with ornaments. Gopinath Rao dated it in the 2nd century BC, while A.K. Coomaraswamy placed it a century earlier because of the resemblance of Śiva's figure with the Sanchi Yakṣa.[1]

The mode of depicting Śiva in the combined anthropomorphic and *liṅga* form continued with some modification in subsequent periods as the Liṅgodbhava *mūrti* and different varieties of Mukhaliṅga.

Mukhaliṅgas are known from the Gupta period onwards, and they are usually of *eka-mukha* (one-face) or *catur-mukha* (four face) type. According to Śaiva texts, Śiva actually has five faces, namely, Īśāna, Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, and Tatpuruṣa, but the first face must never be perceived even by the *yogins*. The faces are usually carved round a single shaft.

In his anthropomorphic form, Śiva is often associated with his consort Pārvatī also known as Umā. One of the earliest sculptures of this type is a red sandstone relief in the Mathura Museum which belongs to the late Kuṣāṇa period.

The figures of Śiva are classified under two broad heads: *ugra* (terrific), and *saumya* (benign). These are further classified under various types in later Śaiva texts, called the Āgamas. Some figures illustrate stories taken from Śaiva mythologies.

One of the benign types of Śiva image is called Dakṣiṇāmūrti. Explaining the etylology of the name, Gopinath Rao said that 'because Śiva was seated facing south when he taught the sages *yoga* and *jñāna* he came to be known as Dakṣiṇāmūrti.' In this connection it may be recalled, however, that the *Śvetāśvatara* (4.21) says: *Rudra yat te dakṣiṇam mukham tena māṁ pāhi nityam* (O Rudra! protect me ever with that face of thine which is propitious). This explanation does not conflict with Gopinath Rao's suggestion, namely that 'Dakṣiṇāmūrti is viewed in four different aspects, namely as a teacher of *yoga*, of *jñāna*, of *vīṇā*, and also as an expounder of other *śāstras*'. J.N. Banerjea, while accepting Rao's suggestion added that, 'the dancing images of the god may be grouped under this head, for as "the king of dancers" (Naṭarāja) he was the greatest exponent of the science and art of dancing.'[2] In that case the importance of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti becomes very great indeed, for the Naṭarājas are the most famous Śiva images. However, Naṭarāja can be explained by another story which need not be related here.

Early examples of Naṭarāja images are mostly hieratic with little artistic merit, but later the bronze Naṭarāja developed in south India, which J.N. Banerjea rightly hails as 'a sublime creation in the domain of universal art.' This dance mode of Śiva depicts him with his right leg firmly placed on the

[1]For detailed description of Guḍimallam and other Śiva *liṅgas* see T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, Madras, 1916, pp. 75-99, and J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 456-64.

[2]T.A. Gopinath Rao, op. cit., p. 273; J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 470.

back of the wriggling Mūyaḷaka or Apasmārapuruṣa (the personified evil), his left leg raised high up in a slant, his front left hand in the *dola* or *gaja-hasta* pose pointing to the raised foot, the front right hand in the *abhaya* pose, the back right and left hands carrying a kettle-drum and a ball of fire respectively, the whole composition being placed on a well-decorated pedestal. The symbolism of the cosmic dance of the Great God is explained in a Tamil text: 'Creation arises from the drum; protection proceeds from the hand of hope (the *abhaya* pose in the front right one): from fire proceeds destruction: the foot held aloft gives *mukti*[1] (deliverance).' The great Śaiva saint, Tirumular, explains the Naṭarāja of Cidambaram: '*sriṣṭi* (creation) is in the drum; *sthiti* (preservation) is in the *abhaya* hand: *saṁhāra* (destruction) in the hand holding the axe: in the pressing foot is *tirobhāva* (or hiding); and *anugraha* (blessing) in the uplifted foot.'[2] These five aspects of Śiva are known as his *pañca-kṛtya* (five functions). The ring of fire (*prabhā-maṇḍala*) surrounding the figure symbolizes the dance of nature (*prakṛti*).

On Śiva icons, Rene Grousset writes:

'The other characteristic of Indian sculpture is an anthropomorphism, a representation of divinity in the image of man, equal to that of Hellas. But in this land of luxuriant growth it was translated into works of a cosmic grandeur which no Zeus ever reached. In this respect, as shown by the Shivaite sculpture of the Deccan from the ninth to the sixteenth century, India appears to us a kind of tropical Greece, fed by all the sap of an over-fertile soil, and at the same time inspiring her artists with unbridled visions of the genesis of the gods. The reliefs of the rock-temples of Ellora and Elephanta, contemporary with the era of Charlemagne in Europe, prove this. Only the Michael Angelo of the Sistine Chapel, or Rodin, can stand comparison. The religion which inspired these reliefs was that of Śiva, conceived as a symbol of the cosmic force, an incarnation of Nature, the eternal creator and destroyer. Yet, a classical austerity is everywhere present. From the very entrance, it governs the formidable elephant-battles with which the frieze seems to support the temple-mountain. Even in the cosmic dance, or as the god of terror, Shiva's body is simple and pure of line; the smooth, chaste and gentle nude which declining Buddhism had handed to Shivaism.

'Like the Seven-Pagodas, the Kailās of Ellora offers us admirable pageants, as for example that of the titan Rāvana shaking the mountain on which Shiva and the goddess Pārvatī are enthroned: the subterranean violence of the titan, the serenity of the god as he crushes him with a gesture, the wholly feminine emotion of the goddess, who clings distractedly to her spouse, show a power of breadth and vision which Greek art never knew and for whose like we can only turn once again to the Sistine Chapel. Such is the power of that Indian classicism that it even succeeds in embracing the strangest conventions of Shivaite iconography: for example, in the cosmic dance

[1]A.K. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Śiva*, p. 87.

[2]C.V. Narayana Ayyar, *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India*, Madras, 1936, p. 362.

the god is represented with four arms. Disconcertingly repellent at first sight, this multiplicity of arms soon accords so well with the requirements of an internal law, that the divine dancer appears in perfect harmony with his dreadful joy.'[1]

Royal Patrons of Śaivism

Epigraphic evidence from the Gupta period onwards prove the popularity of Śaivism all over the country. The Mathura Pillar Inscription of Candragupta II[2] mentions the installation of two Śiva images or *liṅgas*, while the Damodarpur Inscription No. 4[3] shows that before the end of the 5th century AD, Śiva was worshipped in *liṅga* from even in the most inaccessible part of north Bengal. In east Bengal, the Gūnaighar grant of AD 506 represents[4] *Mahārāja* Vainya-gupta as *Mahādeva-pādānudhyāta* (meditating on the feet of Mahādeva). Kālidāsa, the greatest Indian poet, who lived during the Gupta age, was a Śaiva. Bhāravi, another famous Sanskrit writer, wrote a *mahā-kāvya* called the *Kirāt-Ārjunīya*, whose main theme was the conflict of Arjuna with Śiva in the guise of a *kirāṭa* (hunter), a Mbh. story, which is depicted in relief in the famous rock at Mahavalipuram, most probably during the reign of the Pallava monarchs.

Śaśāṅka, who came after the Guptas, was a zealous devotee of Śiva, while the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman of Kamarupa opens with an invocation to Śiva. The records of the Pāla kings also contain references to Śiva worship. Vijayasena, the founder of the Sena dynasty in Bengal, was a devotee of Śiva. He assumed the *birudas* of *parama-māheśvara* and *ari-vṛṣabha-śaṁkara*, and built a Śiva temple. His son and successor, Ballālasena, also was an ardent devotee of Śiva, but the next king, Lakṣmaṇasena, was a Vaiṣṇava.

The great centre of Śaivism in east India, however, was at Bhuvanesvara, the temple city of the 'lord of the world,' which contains the most prolific number of temples in Orissa. The construction of these temples is attributed to the Keśarī kings, who are supposed to have ruled in Orissa between the sixth to the twelfth century AD.[5] The earliest temple of this group is probably the Parameśvara of *c.* AD 750 while the most famous is the Liṅgarāja (*c.* AD. 1000), which A.K. Coomaraswamy has described as 'perhaps the most majes-

[1]René Grousset, *The Sum of History*, English version by A. and H. Temple Patterson, Hadleigh, Essex, 1951, pp. 106-07.

[2]*EI*, XXI, p. 4.

[3]*EI*, XV, p. 140.

[4]*Indian Historical Quarterly*, VI, 1930, p. 40.

[5]The history of the Keśarī dynasty is known only from the *Madalāpāñjī*, an Oriya chronicle maintained in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. The historicity of this chronicle, however, is doubtful, and it is possible that the first Soma king, Mahāśivagupta, is identical with Yajāti-keśarī, the founder of the Keśarī dynasty according to the *Madalāpāñjī*. There are, however, other references to the Keśarī kings, and the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara-nandin mentions one Karṇa-keśarī, king of Utkala. Other kings of Orissa with names ending in '*keśarī*' are known.

tic India temple now standing.'[1] One of the most beautiful temples of this group, however, is the Mukteśvara, a small structure (34 feet height).

In south India, the Pallava king Mahendra-varman abjured Jainism and was converted to Śaivism by the saint Appar.[2] Thereafter Kanchi became a stronghold of Śaivism, and Mahendra varman and his successors raised many Śiva temples. The upsurge of Śaivism in south India during this period was due to the Śaiva saints whose works will be discussed later in this chapter. The Śaivas claim that Śaṃkara (*c.*AD. 788-820) was a Śaiva. This popular belief is probably based on Śaṃkara's family tradition, but the great Ācārya held Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism in equal respect. He not only commented on the *Gītā*, but on the *Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma* as well. It is indeed strange that he left no commentary on the *Śiva-sahasra-nāma*, though both are found in the Mbh.

Among the Pratīhāra kings the tutelary deity changed from generation to generation indicating the absence of sectarian rivalry. Of the Pratīhāra kings, Vatsarāja, Mahendrapāla, II, and Trilocanapāla were Māheśvaras. Śilūka of the Mandor family was a Śaiva, as was Mathanadeva of Rajor. Mewad was studded with Śiva temples, of which the most famous was the Ekaliṅga Mahādeva temple near Chitor, traditionally said to have been set up by Bappa (*c.* AD 753), and the *Mahārāṇās* of Udaipur are still known as '*Ekaliṅgaji's dewān.*'

The Cāhamāna kings of Ajmere were great devotees of Śiva, as were the Nadol and Jalor Cāhamānas. The drama *Harakeli* depicts at the end Śiva appearing in person and blessing Vigraharāja IV. Harṣanātha was the family deity of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* (5.43 and 45), Vākpati and Sindhurāja built Śiva temples on the Puskara lake in Ajmere, and Vākpati's mother, Rudrānī, daily lit a thousand candles before those installed *liṅgas*. The Cāhamāna inscriptions refer only to the Pāśupata and the Kāpālika sects to be noticed later.

The Gāhaḍavāla kings were the lord of Vārāṇasī, the greatest Śaiva *tīrtha*. In the inscriptions also the kings are usually described as *paramamāheśvaras*, but they were very catholic in their outlook, and erected temples in honour of other deities.

The Kalacuris of Tripuri, with a few exceptions were Śaivas. So were the Candellas, whose great achievement was the Kandariya Mahadeo temple at Khajuraho. The Candella inscriptions generally beings with an invocation to Śiva under various names, and a Khajuraho inscription records the erection by Dhaṅga of a magnificient shrine of Śambhu where two *liṅgas* were installed, one of stone and the other of emerald.

One of the most famous Śaiva shrines in the country was at Somanātha in Saurashtra, which was destroyed by the Turkish invaders but was rebuilt. (The port-city took its name from the famous deity whose shrine made it

[1]A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 115.

[2]For Mahendra-varman and his anti-Śaiva play *Matta-vilāsa-prahasana* see also above I, p. 290. See also Ç.V. Narayana Ayyar, op. cit., pp. 258-59.

holy). The other great temple was the Rudramahālaya at Sidhpur, which existed when Mūlarāja I ascended the throne, but a temple of the same name was built, presumably on the site of the old temple, by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. This temple was completely destroyed by the Turkish invaders, but from its ruins it has been surmised that it was the largest temple ever built in India. Besides these two famous temples, many other Śiva temples were built in Gujarat, usually named after the king or his relatives, or the other donees.

Gujarat was also the home of Lakulin, the founder of the Lakulīśa Pāśupata sect, which will be described later.

The Eastern Cālukyas were Śaivas. Their successors, the Kākatīyas, were even more ardent devotees of Śiva. Beta II excavated a tank called Śivapuri. Rudra built a Śiva temple and his brother and successor, Mahādeva, came under the influence of a Śaiva teacher named Dhruveśvara, and devoted his time to religious performances. An inscription, apparently of his reign, states that, after acquiring sovereignty he 'cared a straw for it and became completely engrossed in the worship of Śiva.' The result was disastrous.[1]

The Coḷas were the greatest and the most famous patrons of Śaivism in south India, and it is the great Śiva temples built by them that preserve the memory of their imperial grandeur. The most well-known Coḷa monument is the Bṛhadīśvara or the Rājarājeśvara temple built by Rājarāja the Great at Tanjore. According to the temple records the construction of this mighty edifice was begun about AD 1003 and completed in AD 1010. Another great temple was built by Rājendra Coḷa in his new capital, Gangaikondacolapuram, but little of it remains today.

The Pāṇḍya kings, like the Coḷas, continued to follow Śaivism. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I covered with gold plates the roof of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram.[2]

ŚAIVISM IN PRACTICE

Introduction

According to Prof. S.N. Dasgupta 'the earliest Sanskrit philosophical literature in which we find a reference to Śaivism is a *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara (eighth century) on *Brahma-sūtra* II.2.37.'[3] Commenting on this *sūtra*, which is 2.2.36 according to Rāmānuja. Śaṃkara mentions the *māheśvarāḥ*, which is explained by Vācaspati as 'four Māheśvara sects', namely, Śaiva, Pāśupati, Kāruṇika-siddhānta, and Kāpālika. The *Bhāvadīpikā* on Śaṃkara's commentary after giving the names of these four sects, adds that the Kāruṇikasiddhāntins are also known as Kāskasiddhāntins (*Vārtikaṭīkā*), Kālasid-

[1] See above I, p. 478.

[2] The Chidambaram temple also contains one of the five *Ākāśa-liṅgams* of crystal which Śaṃkara is said to have brought from the Himalayas. The other four are the Yoga-liṅgam in Kumbakonam, Bhoga-liṅgam at Śṛṅgerī, the Mukti-liṅgam at Kedāra, and the Vara-liṅgam in Nepal.

[3] S.N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, V, 1955, p. 1.

dhāntins (*Bhāṣya-bhāva-prabhākara*), and Kāṭhakasiddhāntins. However, Rāmānuja commenting on the same *sūtra*, gives the name of the four sects as Kāpālas, Kālāmukhas, Pāśupatas, and Śaivas. It seems, therefore, that the Kāpālas or the Kāpālikas, as they are usually called, were also known as Kāruṇika-siddhāntins and its variations mentioned above. On the other hand, in the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, Mādhava describes the philophies of the following four schools: Nakulīśa-Pāśupata, Śaiva, Pratyabhijñā, and Raseśvara. Of these Pratyabhijñā, also known as 'Kashmir Śaivism, will be described later, and we shall omit the Raseśvara system, which depended for emancipation on a particular preparation of mercury.[1] A few more Śaiva sects are known, but we shall confine our attention to the main Śaiva sects which evolved distinct schools of philos- ophy, namely, Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas, Śaiva-siddhāntins, Vīra-Śaivas, and Pratyabhijñā or the Trika system. These four schools can be identified with four regions, namely Gujarat, Tamil-nad, Karnataka and Kashmir respectively. Two other important sects were the Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas, who do not seem to have evolved any system of philosophy, but the sects were important. A less important sect was the Mattamayūra known from several inscriptions. Most probably they followed the Śaiva-siddhānta philosophy.

ŚAIVA SECTS

Kāpālikas

The earliest reference to the Kāpālikas is probably in the *Maitrī Upaniṣad* which devotes a section (7.8) in denouncing certain false doctrinaires including 'others who falsely wear the red robe, ear-rings, and skulls (*ye anye vṛthā kāṣāya-kuṇḍalinaḥ kāpālinaḥ*).

Ānandagiri, Śaṃkara's contemporary biographer, speaks of two schools of Kāpālikas, one brahmanical the other non-brahmanical. Both the types indulged in meat-eating, drinking, and sexual orgies, and lived dirtily. No literature about their philosophical view is now available. It is known, however, that they worshipped Bhairava, and believed that there were minor divinities who performed various functions in creating and maintaining the world according to the will of Bhairava.

Commenting on Br.S. 2.2.36, Rāmānuja says: Thus the Kāpālas say: "He who knows the true nature of the six *mudrās*, who understands the highest *mudrā*, meditating on himself as in the position called *bhagāsana*, reaches *nirvāṇa*. The necklace, the golden ornament, the ear-ring, the head-jewel, ashes, and the sacred thread are the six *mudrās*. He whose body is marked with these is not born again."[2]

[1]According to this doctrine, 'mercury is called *pārada*, because it is a means of conveyance beyond the series of transmigratory states.' *Sarvadarsanasaṁgraha*, translated by E.B. Cowell and A.E. Gough, London, 1914, p. 137.

[2]Translated by G. Thibaut, *SBE*, XLVIII, reprint, 1962.

Two inscriptions prove the prevalence of the worship of Śiva as Kapāleśvara. The first inscription found a Nirmand (Kangra Dt.) dated probably in the 7th century AD, records the allotment of a village to a group of *brāhmaṇas* who studied the *Atharvaveda* at an *agrahāra*, for the purpose of worshipping the god Tripurāntaka, who, under the name Mihireśvara, had been installed by the donor's mother Mihiralakṣmī at a previously established temple of the same god under the name of Kapāleśvara.[1] The other inscription found at Igatpuri (Nasik, dt. Maharashtra) records the grant of a village 'for the worship of a god Kapāleśvara, and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple.'[2]

The revulsion for the Kāpālika rites is reflected in Sanskrit literature. The drama *Mālatīmādhava* describes the Kāpālikas as people with matted hair tied in an upward knot, and carrying a *khattvāṅga* (a club or a staff with a skull at the top considered as the weapon of Śiva). Such a Kāpālin wanted to sacrifice a woman to the goddess Cāmuṇḍā on the Śrīśaila. Another drama, the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana*, is a satire on the immoral and outlandish practices of the Kāpālikas, which are described in some detail. The play depicts the revelry of a Kāpālika mendicant, his loss of the human skull which he used as a drinking bowl, his scuffle with a Buddhist monk whom he accuses of stealing the skull, which is ultimately recovered from a mad man who had retrieved it from a dog.

In the drama *Prabodha-candrodaya*, a Kāpālika introducing himself says: 'My necklace and other ornaments are made of human bones; I break my ceremonial fast by drinking consecrated wine from the skull cup of a *brāhmaṇa* corpse; our sacrificial fire is kept burning with the offering of human flesh, skull, lung etc. We propitiate our terrific and fierce god by offering him human blood and sacrifice.' Kṛṣṇamiśra, the author of the *Prabodha-candrodaya* says that 'extremists like the Kāpālikas have been driven out of many countries and they have (now) gradually concentrated in the countries of the Mālava and the Ābhīras', by which he probably meant western India in general.

Kālāmukhas

The Kālāmukhas (lit. 'black faces') were so-called because they marked their forehead with a black streak. About their philosophy Rāmānuja writes (on Br.S. 2.2.36): 'Similarly (i.e., like the Kāpālikas), the Kālāmukhas teach that the means for obtaining all desired results in this world as well as the next are constituted by certain practices—such as using a skull as a drinking vessel, smearing oneself with the ashes of a dead body, eating the flesh of such a body, carrying a heavy stick, setting up a liquor jar and using it as a platform for making offerings to the gods, and the like. "A bracelet made

[1]J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 286-91. Mihireśvara apparently indicates that the *liṅga* was named after the donor's mother following the usual custom, and do not represent a syncretic form of Sūrya and Śiva worship.

[2]Igatpuri Copper Plate of Nagavardhana (nephew of Cālukya Pulakesin II), *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XIV, p. 26.

of Rudrākṣa-seeds on the arm, matted hair on the head, a skull, smearing oneself with ashes etc."—all this is well-known from the sacred writings of the Śaivas. They also hold that by some special ceremonial performance men of different castes may become *brāhmaṇas*, and reach the highest *āśrama*: "by merely entering on the initiatory ceremony (*dīkṣā*) a man becomes a *brāhmaṇa* at once; by undertaking the *kapāla* rite, a man becomes at once an ascetic." [1] From Rāmānuja's description, it seems that there was little difference between the Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas.

It should be remembered, however, that the evidences cited so far are from the opponents of the Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. There is no doubt that the Kāpālikas were generally feared and hated for their horrible practices, but probably excepting for a minority, the followers of the two sects were not guilty of all the vices ascribed to them by their derogators.

The Kālāmukhas had spread over a vast area where they were generally in charge of temples. Their centres were spread almost all over Karnataka. Some of the Kālāmukhas also acted as *rāja-gurus* (royal preceptors), and the title *rāja-guru* was prefixed to their names. The Kālāmukha pontiffs of the Koṭīśvara temple received the patronage of the Cālukya king Someśvara II, and of many other princes and high dignitaries. During the 11th and 12th centuries the Kālāmukhas managed great educational institutes which were attached to Śiva temples.[1] The Pāñcaliṅga *maṭha* of Belegame which comprised of five *maṭhas* 'was a great seat of learning and *Kedāra* (field) where crops grow in the shape of the hair of the human body standing erect from joy at the worship of Śiva-*liṅga*, the place appointed for the performance of the rites of the Śaiva-Brahmacarin ascetics, the place for the study of the four Vedas, namely the Ṛk, Yajur, Sāma, and Atharva with the angas.' It is also stated that 'it was the place where commentaries were composed on the Kaumāra, Pāṇinīya, Sākaṭāyana, Baudhya, and other six systems of philosophy, where books were composed on the Akula Siddhānta, on Patañjala, and other *Yoga-sūtras*, on the eighteen Purāṇas, and the Dharmaśāstras, as well as on all kinds of *kāvya* and *nāṭaka*; a place for all kinds of *nātikā* (dancing); the place where food was freely distributed to sufferers, to the destitute, to the lame, to the blind, to the deaf, to story-tellers, singers, drummers, genealogists, dancers, and eulogists, to the naked, the wounded, Kṣapaṇkaka, Ekadaṇḍī, Tridaṇḍī, Haṁsa, Paramahaṁsa, and other beggars from various countries; the place where suitable medicine (was given) to various kinds of diseased persons; a place of security from fear for all living beings.'[2]

Mattamayūra

A warlike tribe called the Mattamayūra is mentioned in the Mbh. (2.29.5), but nothing is told about them. The same chapter (vv. 11 and 15) mentions

[1]Venkatasubbiah, A Twelfth Century University in Mysore, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, VII, p. 179, quoted by A.P. Karmarkar, *The Religions of India*, I, Lonavala, 1950, p. 244.

[2]B.L. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, quoted by Karmarkar, op. cit., p. 245.

Hūṇas, Pahlavas, and Mlechhas, from which it appears that some of the verses, if not the entire chapter, were late accretions.[1] It is, however, possible that there was a Mattamayūra tribe in western India, and a locality in central India, plausibly identified with Kadwaha, fifteen miles south of Ranod in the former Gwalior state, took its name from them.

Several inscriptions record the line of teachers of a Śaiva sect called Mattamayūra, which evidently derived its name from association of a place of that name.[2] The importance of this sect is that most of the Kalacuri kings as well as the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati were disciples of Mattamayūra teachers. The names of Mattamayūra teachers ended either in *śambhu* or in *śiva*.

The inscriptions give some information about these teachers by way of praising them. The Chandrehe plates of Prabodhaśiva describe him as one who, always avoiding the company of woman' 'realized God by the performance of religious austerities, and meditations' 'and who lived on the fruits of *priyala* (Buchanania Latifolia), *āmalaka* (Embelic Myrobalan), and *saluka* (the esculent root of different kinds of lotus),' and who 'caused the wonder of the world by practising austerities even in his boyhood on the banks washed by the river (Sona) imitating his spiritual preceptor.'[3]

The Gurgi stone inscription of Kokalla II[4] describes the town of Madhumati as the abode of the Śaiva Siddhāntikas (*Madhumati dhāma Siddhantikānām*) in which line were born 'great performers of austerities devoted to the performance of vows, (who) taught the disciples the liberal doctrine of Śiva, which was devoid of all faults.' All the teachers of this line were *yogins*, with religious knowledge and famed for their building activities, and monasteries, and other social activities.

The Mallapuram Pillar Inscription says that the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati's spiritual preceptor was one Viśveśvara-śambhu originally of Pūrva-grāma (village) of Dakṣiṇa-rāḍha in Gauḍa-deśa, that is, somewhere in the Burdwan District of West Bengal. His preceptor came from Kerala, which shows the all-India nature of the organization. Viśveśvara-śambhu established the Golaki-*maṭha*, a temple, an alms house, a college, and a maternity hospital (*prasūty-ārogya-śālā*).[5]

Names of several other teachers ending in *Śiva* are available from inscriptions. They were either recipients of royal patronage, or preceptors of kings.

H. Goetz advanced the theory that the Mattamayūra teachers were responsible for the sensual bas-reliefs of many of the Khajuraho temples. Prof. J.N.

[1]This part of the Mbh. seems to be very late. Mbh. 2.28.49 mentions two cities called Antākhī and Romā (read as *aṭavī* and *ramyā* in Citrasala ed. 2.31.72) which are undoubtedly Antioch and Rome. Hence this verse could not have been composed before 1st century BC, and those containing references to Hūṇa etc., must have been composed much later.

[2]For the list of teachers see MM. V.V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, introduction.

[3]*EI*, XXI, p. 148. [4]*EI*, XXII, p. 127. [5]See above I, p. 480.

Banerjea has convincingly shown that such a view is unwarranted and erroneous.[1]

Nothing is known of the philosophy of the Mattamayūra sect. As we have seen, they claim to be Siddhāntins whose doctrine is given below.

SCHOOLS OF ŚAIVA PHILOSOPHY

Pāśupata

It is usually held that the Pāśupata sect is mentioned in the Mbh. 12.337. 59, but for reasons given elsewhere, the evidence of the particular chapter of the Mbh. in which the Pāśupatas are mentioned may be disregarded.[2] In ancient times the term 'Pāśupata' may have been used generally for the Śaivas, as Śaṃkara uses the term 'Māheśvara' for them, without denoting any specific sectarian characteristic beyond the fact that the people so designated were worshippers of Śiva-Paśupati. The Pāśupata sect, however, which gives its name to a particular school of philosophy, which has come down to us, is much later. This Pāśupata sect and its philosophy were the products of a school of thought established by one Lakulin. Most probably he was the founder of the Pāśupata sect, or, if the sect existed before him, he gave it a permanent shape as Rāmānuja did for Vaiṣṇavism.

Lakulīśa or Nakulīsa is also known as Lakulin or Nakulin. The name is derived from *lakuḍa*, a word meaning 'a staff', which is depicted in all his images, found usually in Pāśupata temples. He was born at Kāyāvarohana, modern Karvan on the Miyamgam-Dabhoi railway in Gujarat. Lakulin was believed to have been an incarnation of Śiva-Paśupati, hence the sect found by him is known as the Lakulīsa-Pāśupata or simply Pāsupata. The historicity and the probable date of Lakulīśa can be determined by two inscriptions.[3]

The first of these inscriptions is the Mathura Inscription of Candra-gupta II of G.E. 61 (AD 380-381). This inscription records that a Māheśvara teacher named Uditācārya established shrines for two *liṅgas* called Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara, named after his preceptor, Upamita, and the latter's preceptor,

[1]H. Goetz, The Historical Background of the Great Temples of Khajuraho, *Arts Asiatiques*, V, 1958, p. 35ff; J.N. Banerjea, The Mattamayūras and the Kaula Kāpālikas, *Vogel Commemoration Volume*, quoted in J.N. Banerjea, *Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion*, p. 109, note, 14.

[2]Chapter 12.337 of the Mbh, corresponding to the Chapter 12.341 of the Citrasala edition, is a part of the Nārāyaṇīya section which is full of contradictions and is palpably a late interpolation. For detailed analysis of this chapter see A.K. Majumdar, *Caitanya: His Life and Doctrine*, Bombay, 1969, pp. 9-20.

[3]Mathura Inscription of Candra-gupta II, *EI*, XXI, p. 1, Cintra Prasasti of Sāraṅgadeva, *EI*, I, p. 271. Two other inscriptions mentioning Lakulin are: Ekaliṅgaji Temple Inscription of 971-972, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXII, p. 151; and An Inscription from Mysore, ibid, I, pp. 151-53.

Kapila.[1] Uditācārya is described as tenth in descent from one Kuśika. This Kuśika is mentioned in the Cintra Praśasti of VS 1343 (AD 1286), which mentions that Lakulīśa, who was an incarnation of Śiva, first appeared at Karohan in Lāṭa, that is, southern Gujarat, and that four sons of one Uluka became his disciples. They were Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣa, and Maitreya, and they gave their names to the four branches founded by them. Tripurāntaka, who really issued the Cintra Praśasti belonged to the Gārgya branch. His claim that Lakulīśa was born at Karvan or Karohana is supported by the *Kārvan-māhātmya*. According to the *Sarasvatī-purāṇa*, Jayasiṁha Siddharāja built a temple of Lakulīsa.

Now, Uditācārya of the Mathura Pillar Inscription claims to be tenth in descent from Kuśika (*Kuśikād·daśama*); hence he was eleventh in descent from Lakulīsa. Allotting twenty-five years to each generation, Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar, who edited the Mathura Pillar Inscription, assigned to Lakulīsa the dates AD 105-130, or the first quarter of the second century AD, which, he showed, is practically corroborated by the *Vāyupurāṇa*. It may be doubted as to whether a generation in spiritual succession corresponds to a human generation, but it seems that at the present state of our knowledge, the date suggested by Prof. Bhandarkar may be accepted. The identification of the Śiva-Bhāgavatas, mentioned by Patañjali, with the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas is purely conjectural and need not be taken seriously. Wema Kadphises is called *Mahiśvara* in one of his coins, but that does not prove that he was a Pāśupata. The worship of Śiva as a cult deity is certainly very old, and the terms Maheśvara, Śiva-Bhāgavata etc., merely indicate the existence of the cult. The Śiva worshippers may also have been referred to as the Pāśupatas, but there is no evidence that Pāśupata was the name of a specific Śiva cult before Lakulīsa. A strong argument for accepting Lakulīśa as the founder of the sect is his typical representation with a staff in his hand found in relief in many Śiva temples, which do not carry the representation of any other human being.

Another list of teachers which begins with the name of Nakulīsa and followed by four of his principal followers mentioned above is given in the *Pāśupata-sūtra*, which also says that Śiva incarnated Himself as Nakulīsa and was the author of the *Pāśupata-sūtra*. The seventeenth teacher of this list is called Rāśīkara, who has been identified with Kauṇḍinya, the commentator of the *Pāśupata-sūtra*.

Neither the *Pāśupata-sūtra* nor the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* give us any philosophy of Śaivism. They deal only with the rituals and the ascetic modes of life which will be dealt with later. When Śaṃkara refutes the Śaiva philosophy (on Br. S. 2.2.37), he does not controvert any philosophical system. He merely brands the Māheśvaras as those who believe that the 'Lord is the cause of the world only in so far as he is the general ruler .... that the

[1]It was usual to name a Śiva-liṅga after a person's name with the termination '*īśvara*', which in a compound meant 'lord of'. Viṣṇu images were also named after a person, but there the termination generally used was '*svāmin*.'

Lord is not the material cause, but merely the ruler, that is, the operative cause of the world: a doctrine entirely opposed to the Vedantic tenet of the unity of Brahman ....

'The Māheśvaras maintain that the five categories, viz. ... effect, cause, union, ritual, (and) the end of pain (*kārya-kāraṇa-yoga-vidhi-duḥkhānta*), were taught by the Lord Paśupati to the end of breaking the bonds of the animal (i.e., the soul); Paśupati is, according to them, the Lord, the operative cause. Similarly the Vaiśeṣikas and others also teach, according to their various systems, that the Lord is somehow the operative cause of the world ....'[1]

Śaṃkara's description of the Pāśupata system is corroborated by Kauṇḍinya, who, in the introductory part of his commentary on the *Pāśupata-sūtra*, says that the five subjects of discussion in the Pāśupata system are *kārya-kāraṇa-yoga-vidhi-duḥkhānta*.

The teaching of the Pāśupata system is that when a person follows the ascetic practices recommended by the Lord (i.e., the *Pāśupata-sūtra*), he attains liberation through his grace. Ordinarily, the idea of *karuṇā* or grace implies the idea of kindness or favour to one in distress. In the later Śaivāgamas, however, *karuṇā* is interpreted as a divine creative movement for supplying all souls with fields of experience in which they may enjoy pleasure or suffer pain.[2] The word *paśu* (lit. 'an animal') means all beings who are in human bondage. The word *paśu* is also related to the word *pāśa*, meaning 'cause and effect,' and is technically called *kalā*. All *paśus* are bound by *pāśa*, the sense-images and their objects, and become attached to them. The *paśus* are, however, all pervasive and of the nature of pure consciousness, but they can only perceive their bodies, and, failing to understand the nature of cause and effect, they cannot go beyond them. The Lord is called 'Paśupati' (Lord of the *paśus*) because He protects all. Liberation from sorrow cannot be attained by *jñāna* (knowledge), *vairāgya* (non-attachment), *dharma* (virtue), or by *aiśvarya-tyāga* (giving up of miraculous power), but only by His *prasāda* (grace).

According to Kauṇḍinya, *yoga* means 'continuous contact of the soul with Īśvara' or God (*atm-eśvara-saṃyoga yogaḥ*). This contact or *yoga* is to be established by *yoga-vidhi*. The effect (*kārya*) of *vidhi* (action) is the cessation of pleasure and pain. Kauṇḍinya says that the teachings of Sāṁkhya and Yoga systems are impure. To be liberated (*mukta*) means to be connected with Lord Śiva, and not to be dissociated from all objects.

Though Śaṃkara denounces the Māheśvara as a *Veda-bāhya* (non-Vedic) doctrine, only a *brāhmaṇa* could be a Pāśupata ascetic, and he was forbidden to address a woman or a *śūdra*. He was not to take too much delight on acquiring miraculous powers. He could dispense with all external practices

[1]Translated by G. Thibaut, *SBE*, XXXIV, 1962, reprint. It may be noted that the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophers were generally Śaivas, though some later Nyāya scholars were Vaiṣṇavas.

[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 4.

in order to remain incognito and to be treated as a lowly person.

According to the *Bhāva-dīpikā* commentary on Br.S. 2.2.37, *vidhi* is divided into *vrata* (vow) and *dvāra* (means). *Vrata* includes bathing in ashes thrice a day, lying on ashes, and *upahāra* (exultation) which is of six kinds: i. *hasita* (loud laughter), ii. *gīta* (singing the praise of Śiva), iii. *nṛtya* (dancing according to prescribed texts), iv. *huḍūp-kāra* (curling the tongue and emitting the sound *huḍūp* with a roar like a bull), v. *japa* (muttering of prayers), and vi. *namaskāra* (making obeisance). *Dvāra* is also of six kinds: i. *kāyana* (pretending to be asleep ii. *spandana* (trembling like an epileptic); iii. *manda-yāna* (limping like a man with a defective leg); iv. *śṛṅgāraṇa* (pretending to be overwhelmed with lust on seeing a beautiful woman); v. *apit-karaṇa* (behave like a mad man); and vi. *apitad-bhāṣaṇa* (being learned, to talk uselessly like an ignorant man). The *vrata* and *dvāra* corresponds to the *yama* and the *niyama* of the Yoga system.

A person following these rules of conduct will naturally be regarded as an outcaste. This will lead him on the path to *vairāgya*, and the insults, which he should bear meekly, will advance him spiritually.

The Supreme Lord is *vāg-viśuddha* (untainted by word), because He is not associated with anythihg which can be expressed by speech. Hence He should not be approached with the association of any qualities to Him. He should be meditated upon as *niṣkala* (without parts, that is formless). When the self dissociated from experiences, impressions, and desires, is fixed on Śiva, it becomes *nikriya* (static), and in that state is also called *niṣkriya*. At this stage, the aspirant becomes omniscient, and by the grace of the Lord transcends sorrow.

As has been stated above, both the *Pāśupata-sūtra* and its commentary by Kauṇḍinya deal almost exclusively with rituals, and not with metaphysics. In the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* the Pāśupata system is not identified with any system of philosophy, but with different kinds of asceticism, and definitions of certain kinds of categories, ending with a refutation of the opponent's point of view. It is, however, significant that Mādhava, at the beginning of his chapter called 'Pāśupata System of Lakulīśa', states, 'Māheśvaras adopt the Pāśupata system.'

Śaṃkara's refutation of the Māheśvara view (Br.S. 2.2.37) shows that he regarded the Māheśvaras as those that hold God as only the instrumental agent of the world, and that the material cause of the world is quite outside Him. This view is also apparent from the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*. According to Śaṃkara's *vivarta* view of Vedānta, Brahman is both the material and the instrumental cause of the world. The world is in reality nothing but Brahman, though it appears as a manifold world through illusion, just as a rope may appear as a snake through illusion. The other, or the *pariṇāma* view, held by the Sāṁkhyas, is that there is a material transformation leading to the production of the world. The Naiyāyikas hold the deistic view, that since the world is an effect and a product of mechanical arrangement, it must have an intelligent creator who shapes and fashions the world out of atoms. God thus can

be proved by inference, as any other agent can be proved by the existence of the effect. Śaṃkara has ascribed this Naiyāyika view to the Māheśvaras, and actually quotes *Nyāya-sūtra* 1.1.18, namely *pravartanā-lakṣaṇā doṣāḥ* (imperfections have the characteristic of being the causes of action). This is basically the view which Śaṃkara refutes (Br.S. 2.2.37 to 2.2.41). In the Br.S. there is no aphorism which refutes the Nyāya view, hence it appears that Śaṃkara took the opportunity of criticizing their view when he refuted the Māheśvaras, that is, the Lakulīsa-Pāśupatas, because they had many common metaphysical aspects. Actually, Haribhadra in his *Saḍ-darśana-samuccaya* states that Gautama and Kanāda, founders respectively of the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika systems, were Śaivas, and the commentator Guṇaratna says that the Naiyāyikas are called Śaivas and the Vaiśeṣikas Pāśupatas.

SOUTH INDIAN ŚAIVISM

Tamil Śaivism

Śaivism in south India is traceable from very ancient times having been mentioned in the Saṅgam literature.[1] The *Ahanānuru* describes Śiva as the Lord who wears *konrai* flowers. His eyes never close nor wink. His consort is Umā. His weapon is a battle axe, and He wears the crescent moon on his matted locks. He is blue-necked. The universe is his footstool. He is unknowable even by the gods and the sages. In the *Puram*, there is a reference to the destruction of the 'three cities' (Tripura) by Śiva. The *Śilappadikāram* (Canto 26) states that the Cera king Śeṅguṭṭuvan worshipped both Śiva and Viṣṇu, and in Canto 12, mentions a temple dedicated to Śiva. The *Śilappadikāram* even mentions the *pañcākṣara*—the famous Śaiva *mantra*: *namaḥ Śivāya*. Śiva temples are also mentioned in the *Maṇimekhalai* (Canto 1). In Canto 27 of the *Maṇimekhalai*, a Śaivavādin expounds the doctrine of eight forms of Īśvara, and of His absolute lordship over creation and dissolution.[2]

The popularity of Śaivism in south India, however, is mainly due to the great devotional literature written in Tamil by four Śaiva saints, or Nāyanmārs. Traditionally there were sixty-three Nāyanmārs, or Adiyars of whom four, namely, Appar, Tiru-jñāna-sambandhar (or Sambandar), Sundaramūrti (or Sundarar) and Māṇikkavācagar are collectively known as the *Samayācaryas* or 'great teachers'.

The Śaiva texts give the lives of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs, on Nāyanārs. Some of them were *brāhmaṇas*, some *non-brāhmaṇas*, and some like Vāyilā Nāyanār, 'the dumb saint', was a *śūdra*. It is evident that to the people in

[1]It is extremely difficult to assign any precise period for the Saṅgam Age. Second century AD may be said to have marked the most glorious period of the age. See also I, pp. 229-30.

[2]See *Silappadikāram*, XI, lines 128-30. Maṇimekhalai is a young girl in search for a true faith. For summary of the *Maṇimekhalai* see C.V. Narayana Ayyar, op. cit., p. 119.

general the caste of a real *Śiva-bhakta* was not of much importance. At this time, Jainism was in ascendancy in south India, and their gradual loss of popularity was partly due to the Nāyanmārs. Ultimately, the worship of the Nāyanmār saints became as, if not more important that Śiva worship.

As stated above, biographies of all the sixty-three saints are available, but we shall give short account of the four Samayācāryas. It may be mentioned in passing that their rivals, the Jainas also have sixty-three 'great men' or *śalākā-puruṣas* whose biographies are also available, and it is possible that the number of the Nāyanmārs was intended to correspond to the Jaina *śalākā-puruṣas*.

Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi (11th century) arranged the Tamil hymns into eleven *Tirumūṛais*, of which the first seven called the *Tevāram*, bring together the hymns of Sambandar, Appar, and Sundarar, while the eighth, called the *Tiruvācakam*, contains the works of Māṇikkavācakar ('he whose words are like rubies'). The ninth is a miscellaneous collection, the tenth is the collection of Tirumūlar's hymns, while the eleventh and the last *Tirumuṛai* is another anthology including those of Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi.

Before all these teachers came Tirumūlar, the author of the *Tirumandiram*, one of the most authoritative works of Śaiva doctrine of south India. What Tirumūlar actually did was to translate the Sanskrit Śaiva Āgamas, then current both in north and south India, into Tamil. His purpose was to reconcile the Āgamas with the Vedas for he says: 'The Āgama, as much as the Veda, is truly the word of God; one is general and the other is special; though some hold these words of the Lord, the two *antas*, to be different.'

Tirumūlar flourished during the 6th century AD, or even earlier. Therefore, he was anterior to the four Samayācāryas mentioned above. However, it is doubtful whether they were conversant with the *Tirumandiram*. Their purpose was to establish an emotional link with Śiva so that their teachings concentrated upon unadulterated *bhakti*, which did not depend upon Tirumūlar's or indeed any other Śaiva philosophy. To convert the people under the influence of Jainism they had recourse to miracles and not on arguments or theories. The value of *Tirumandiram* came to be realized after Śaivism had struck deep roots in Tamil soil, and, the struggle with Jainism being over, time had arrived for a dispassionate study of the philosophical basis of Śaivism. Tirumūlar lived in the days of some of the early Nāyanmārs for whom he cherished a deep veneration. He curses the people who speak ill of them and says: 'Those who are the enemies of the Śaiva devotees who go about begging, will fall into hell.'[1]

Tirumūlar explains esoterically some of the current Śaiva myths. Thus he explains Śiva's destruction of three cities as the destruction of the three impurities inherent in every human being. Some of his explanations are, however, very abstruse.

Tirumūlar speaks of four forms of Śaivism which he calls Śuddha (pure) Śaivam, Aśuddha (impure) Śaivam, Mārga Śaivam, and Kaḍum Śuddha

[1]ibid, p. 216.

(extremely pure) Śaivam. Mārga Śaivam means *sanmārga* (true path) which has three aspects; i. *śakhā-mārga*, in which God is conceived as a friend; ii. *satputra-mārga*, in which God is regarded as a parent; and iii. *dāsa-mārga*, in which God is regarded as a master. Then there are four *sādhanās*: i. *caryā* (service); ii. *kriyā* (worship); iii. *jñāna* (attainment of knowledge); and iv. *yoga*. Tirumūlar devotes a chapter of his work to *yoga*, which is based on Patañjali, but differs from the latter in several respects. There are also four realizations: i. *sāloka*, or living in the world of the Lord; ii. *sāmīpya*, living in proximity of the Lord; iii. *sārūpya*, attaining the Lords' from; and iv. *sāyujya*, union with the Lord. There is descent of Śakti also in four degrees of intensity; i. *manda* (mild); ii. *mandatara* (milder); iii. *tīvra* (intense); and iv. *tīvratara* (more intense). The Vaiṣṇavas have similar ideas and use the same terms.

Tirumūlar also examined the *mahā-vākya*, *tat tvam asi*, and *aham Brahmāsmi*. As he is anterior to Śaṃkara by about two to three hundred years, this point is of some importance. Tirumūlar says: '*Paśu*, which is the *tvam pada* of the Vedānta is said to be the *Pati* when it casts off the *pāśa* (bondage) which lies beyond *Nādāntam*. The *tat pada*, which is the final knowledge of Bodhāntam uniting with the *Pati*, is Siva-*sāyujya*'. Again he says: 'Becoming Śiva is Vedānta-siddhānta . . .If Sadāśiva that becomes Śiva reaches oneness, the wonderful Vedānta knowledge becomes *Siddhāntam*.'[1]

Appar was a contemporary of the Pallava king Mahendravarman (*c.* AD 600-630). It has been stated above, that Mahendravarman wrote the play *Matta-vilāsa-prahasana* satirizing a Śaiva ascetic, but under the influence of Appar, he became an ardent devotee of Śiva. Appar was born in a Vellāḷa (farmer) family of Jainas, but on being converted to Śaivism, he ardently took up the cause and led a peripatetic life in course of which he reached the court of Mahendravarman where he passed all the ordeals proposed to the King by his Jaina teachers. Once he wrote to the Pallava king:

'We are slaves of nobody, we fear not death;
Sinless, we shall not taste the torments of hell;
Proud are we that we know no ill, no bondage;
Ignorant of pain, we are forever happy.'

In another of his songs, Appar says that Śiva is beyond twenty-five *tattvas* (of Sāṁkhya), and in another he speaks of the ninety-six categories of Śaiva doctrine. Śiva, according to him, is immanent and transcendental reality. Appar seems to recognize three forms of or aspects of Śiva: 1. Śiva, one of the trinity, who destroys the universe; 2. Parāpara, combination of Śiva and Śakti; 3. Stambha, or 'the pillar of light', absolute consciousness,[2] beyond conception. Attainment of Stambha through steady concentration and unflinching devotion is the final goal of spiritual life. Appar says: 'We have shown the way of worshipping Īśa thus: let the body be the temple and mind the worshipping slave; let truth be the sanctity, and jewel of the heart be the

[1]ibid, pp. 235 and 282-83.

[2]This is represented by the Liṅgodbhava form of Śiva-liṅga.

liṅga; and let love itself be the *ghī*, milk and water (i.e., accessories of image worship).' He also says: 'The rare jewel of the *brāhmaṇa* is the Veda and Vedāṅga; for us the rare jewel is the *pañcākṣara* (*Namaḥ Śivāya.*)'

Sambandar was Appar's contemporary. He was born in a *brāhmaṇa* family, but even as a child became a fervent devotee of Śiva. Several stories tell of the miraculous association of Śiva and Sambandar, whose death at the age of sixteen was also a miracle. He was more anti-Jaina than Appar, and his famous *Periya-Purāṇam* states: 'The Jainas were ignorant people who moved about like monkeys without understanding the value of Sanskrit or Tamil scriptures.'[1]

Sambandar's conception of Śiva embraces two forms: higher and the lower. In His higher form, Śiva is the ultimate Being, from whom Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and everything originates. The lower form of Śiva is that of Rudra or Śiva who helps the *jīvas* (embodied souls) by liberating them from their bondage, and leading them to *mokṣa* (final liberation). Actually, Sambandar was restating the Upaniṣadic doctrine, substituting Śiva for Brahman.

Māṇikkavacagar was also a contemporary of Appar. The dates of these saints are not definitely known, but they seem to have lived during the 7th century AD, Appar: AD 600-681, Sambandar: AD. 644-660, and Māṇikkavācagar: AD, 660-692.

In contrast to the writings of Appar and Sambandar, Māṇikkavācagar's writings do not betray any animus against the Jainas. Possibly the first two saints had to face stiff opposition from the Jainas in establishing Śaivism as the dominant faith of Tamil land.

Māṇikkavācagar was born in a *brāhmaṇa* family at a place near Mādura called Vadavur; hence he is also known as Tiru-vādavūrar. His scholarship attracted the Pāṇḍya king, who appointed him as the chief-minister. After serving faithfully for a few years, his mind turned away from mundane matters, and, after a chain of miraculous happenings, he found himself free of the shackles of office. He devoted the rest of his life to the service of God, and, after singing His praise at many shrines in south India, finally settled at Chidambaram.

Māṇikkavācagar's *Tiruvācakam* is considered to be the Tamil Upaniṣad. It has been rendered into English by G.U. Pope, who says of Māṇikkavācagar's poem: 'Scarcely ever has the longing of the human soul for purity and divine fellowship found worthier expression.'[2] Māṇikkavācagar's *bhakti* and self-abnegation are illustrated by the following verses:

Grass was I, shrub was I, worm, tree,
Full many a kind of beast, bird, snake,
Stone, man, and demon. 'Midst Thy hosts I served.
The form of mighty Asuras, ascetics, gods I bore.
Within these immobile and mobile forms of life,
In every species born, weary I've grown, great Lord!

[1]C.V. Narayana Ayyar, op. cit., p. 336.
[2]G.U. Pope, *The Tiruvācakam or Sacred Utterances*, Oxford, introduction, p. xxxiv.

Glorious, exalted over all, the Infinite,
To me small slave, lowest of all, thou hast assigned.
A place in bliss supreme, that none beside have gained or known!
Great Lord, what can I do for thee!
All ye His servants who've become, put far away each idle sportive thought;
Seek refuge at the fort where safety dwells; hold fast unto the end the sacred sign;
Put off from you this body stained with sin; in Śiva's world He'll surely give us place!
Bhujaṅga's self, whose form the ashes wears will grant you entrance, 'neath His flow'ry feet![1]

Sunadaramūrti or Sundarar was the last of the Śaiva *Samayācāryas*. He was born in a family of Śaiva temple priests some time between AD. 710 to 735[2], and enjoyed a short life of eighteen years packed with incidents. It is said that on the eve of his marriage, Śiva appeared before him, and claimed him as a bond-slave. So the marriage was stopped, and Sundarar became a travelling minstrel visiting various Śiva temples and singing His praise. Sundarar then married twice, then lost his eyesight, which was later restored. Sundarar's hymns reveal that his attitude to Śiva was that of a friend who could even take liberaties with Him. Sundarar's fervent devotion, and burning desire to live in the presence of God were not diminished by his mode of approach to Him. When he became blind, Sundarar wrote: 'If it is just that you should deprive me of my sight, you will at least give me a staff.' He received a staff at Tiruvenapakkan. Then he went to Conjeevaram, and regained the sight of his left eye, and at Tiravarur, when he praised Śiva, he regained the sight of the other eye. Then he had to seek Siva's intervention to pacify his first wife Paravai, who had been offended when Sundarar married the dancing girl Śaṅgili. Sundarar used to ask Śiva for various costly objects from time to time and received those in some miraculous manner. All these incidents are recorded in his songs, and these episodes, however marvellous, were centred round human experience and made him immensely popular.

Sundarar's songs are sung in Tamil land even today by *bhaktas* and temple musicians. For this capering youth was a true and pure *bhakta*. In one of his songs, he says:

I'm the slave of all His devotees true,
The slave of all the laureates of the spirit,
The slave of those whose minds do rest in God,
The slave of all the inhabitants of Tiruvārūr,
The slave of the priests who daily conduct the divine service thrice,
The slave of the ascetics anointed all over,

[1]ibid, pp. 336 and 339.

[2]C.V. Narayana Ayyar, op. cit., p. 462. For the dates of Appar and Sambandar see ibid, p. 424.

The slave of the *bhaktas* beyond Tamiḷakam's confines,
The slave for ever of Tiruvārūr's Lord[1]

These lines are not the outpourings of a momentarily inspired poet, but of a man who, with a burning and all-effacing devotion, had realized that he was indeed the slave of the Lord. There lies his *ānanda*, supreme bliss; his liberation is in his bondage to his Śiva. And his overwhelming joy of experience flows out as hymns and songs vibrant with the life-giving vitality of a perennial stream.

Śaiva-siddhānta

The four *Samayācaryas* created a fervour among the people and rendered them Śiva-*bhaktas*, abjuring Buddhism and Jainism. The metaphysics of Śaivism was established by another group of saintly scholars called *Santānācāryas*, of whom four were most important. They were, Meykaṇḍa-deva (1st half of the 13th century), his disciple Aruḷnandi-śivācārya, followed by Maṛai-jñāna-sambandhar, whose disciple was Umāpati-Śivācārya. In one of his works, Umāpati gives the date of its completion which works out to AD 1313. Hence Maṛai-jñāna-sambandhar must have lived during the second half of the 13th century, and Umāpati at least up to the second decade of the 14th.

Meykaṇḍa's *Śiva-jñāna-bodham* is the foundation of Śaiva-siddhānta philosophy. It is a commentary on the twelve verses of the *Rauravāgama*, providing in a brief form the leading doctrines of the system. A popular verse says: 'The Veda is the cow; its milk is the three *Āgamas*; the Tamil sung by the four is the *ghī* extracted from it; and the virtue of the Tamil work full of wisdom (*bodham*) of Meykaṇḍār of the celebrated city of Veṇṇai is the fine taste of the *ghī*.'

Paśu is defined as pure consciousness (*cin-mātra*) covered with *mala* (impurities; bonds). Though there are many souls, they are spoken of in the singular number as *paśu* in the universal sense. The *paśu*, also known as *ātman* or *jīva*, transmigrates. The *jīva* is infinite, pervasive, and omniscient, but on account of its association with *malas* it experiences itself as limited, finite, and parviscient. Souls are many and distinct from one another, which is due to their association with different kinds of *malas*, which are integrated with them from beginningless time. The present birth of a soul is determined by its previous *karma*.

Mala is of three kinds: i. *āṇava* or *sahaja-mala*, with which a *jīva* is associated from beginningless time, and which remain till liberation ceasing transmigration; that is, it is similar to the *avidyā* of Advaita Vedānta; ii. *karma* or *āgantuka-mala*, which means the bonds created by the new *karmans* while working out its past *karmans*; iii. the third *mala* is called Māyā.

The Śaiva-siddhāntins believe that the prior existence of the effect, and the continued existence of the cause in the effect are absolutely necessary for causation. This doctrine is almost similar to the *Sat-kārya-vāda* of Sāṁkhya,

[1]English rendering by K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *HCIP*, III, p. 331.

but there is some difference in their respective conceptions: the Śaiva-siddhāntins believing in the spirit as the ground of resolution. However, faith in the *Sat-kārya-vāda* leads them to infer Māyā, because as the material cause of the non-intelligent world, there must be non-intelligent Māyā. Māyā is so-called, because the world is resolved (*ma*) into it, and is evolved (*ya*) from it.

Māyā is, however, neither independent nor dynamic, but the *parigraha-śakti* (assumptive power) of God. The relation between Māyā and God is that of *śakti* and *śaktimat* (possessor of *sakti*), and does not imply duality as subject and object. Māyā being a *śakti* of God, the world she produces is not illusory, though she creates the illusion (*moha*) of eternity, purity, and bliss, which are the qualities of *jīva* or self, in the non-eternal, impure, and painful non-self. On the other hand, the world is not an accomplished fact which God knows and fashions: Māyā is His freely assumed *śakti*.

Another blind force is *karman*. The creation and manifestation of human experience take place in accordance with their individual *karman* as revealed by God. Just as seeds do not produce the same kind of crop in every field, similarly same kind of *karman* may produce different results manifested to us by God.

The Supreme Reality is Śiva the Lord (*Pati*). Human intellect, unable to understand His nature, can attempt to realize His greatness. Śiva is superior to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra. He is the only eternal and Supreme Being. It is wrong to think of Him as attributeless, for void of qualities is the same as nothingness. When scriptures speak of Brahman as *nirguṇa* they mean that God is above the *guṇas* of Prakṛti, namely, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. There is no limit to His greatness. Śiva is *sat* and *cit*. As *sat* He is plenitude of being, and is incomprehensible. As *cit* or intelligence He is within the limits of human understanding. From these characteristics, all His other attributes are derived. He has eight qualities:, 1. independence; 2. purity; 3. self-knowledge; 4. omniscience; 5. freedom from *mala*; 6. boundless benevolence; 7. omnipotence; and 8. bliss.

Śiva is immanent in this universe and transcendental as well. The *Tiruvācakam* says: 'Behold: 'He is the male and the female and the neuter.' He is the universe, (*viśvādhika*). Though the Supreme Śiva becomes man, woman, and what is neither, ether, fire, and the final cause, He transcends all these forms. Meykaṇḍa says that Śiva is neither the object of perception, nor the content of thought.

In order to stress the transcendental nature of God, the Śaiva-siddhantins conceive of Śiva as the operative cause of the world, and not the material cause also. The first *sūtra* of the *Śiva-jñāna-bodham* contains the cosmological argument which seeks to establish the efficient causality of Śiva in relation to the world. It states: 'The universe, which is diversified as "he", "she", and "it", and is subject to the states of origination, sustention, and destruction, should have a cause which is eternally free and intelligent. That cause is Hara (Śiva).' The analogy of the potter is used to explain God's causality in relation to the world. Unless the potter as an active agent operates, mere

clay will not transform itself into a pot. God, like the potter, is the efficient or operative cause of the world. Māyā is the material cause of the world, as clay is of the pot, His *śakti* is the instrumental cause like the potter's wheel.

Para-Śiva, or the Supreme Lord, and Parā-Śakti, or the Supreme Śakti, are two-in-one. Śiva is pure intelligence (*jñāna*), and Śakti is pure energy (*kriyā*). Out of their union evolves i. the *icchā-śakti*, which is a combination of *jñāna* and *kriya* in equal proportion; ii. *kriyā-śakti*, which is a combination of *jñāna* and *kriyā*, with an excess of *kriyā*; and iii. *jñāna-śakti* or *aruḷ-śakti*, which is a combination of *jñāna* and *kriyā* with an excess of *jñāna*.

The *aruḷ-śakti* is the *jñāna-śakti* active at the time of liberation of the souls, while as *tirodhāna-śakti* it is active at the time when the souls are fettered.

Śiva has no purpose to be fulfilled through His creation except that the souls may be given opportunities for shedding their impurities. But of His five functions, namely, 1. *tirodhāna* (obscuration), 2. *śṛṣṭi* (creation); 3. *sthiti* (sustenance); 4. *saṃhāra* (destruction); and 5. *anugraha* (grace), the first four have the last as the goal. Like unto the Sun, He is impartial and the same to all beings. Due to the sun's rays the lotus blooms, the lens emits heat, and water evaporates, so does His grace affect different individuals in different ways.

The *jīva* is related to Śiva as body to soul. He pervades the soul as the latter *a* pervades all the letters (of the alphabet). The relation between *Śiva* and *jīva* is described by the Śaiva-siddhāntin as *advaita*, but *advaita* to him means not *abheda* (non-difference), but *ananyatā* (non-separateness). As a substance, the *jīva* is different from Śiva, in nature it is similar to Him. Even in *mokṣa* the *jīva* does not lose its individuality; even then it remains as an entity. Advaita Vedānta says: 'They are not two.' Śaiva-siddhānta says: 'There are not two.' To the Śaiva-siddhāntin, *advaita* does not mean *bheda abhāva* (absence of difference), but *sādṛśya* (similarity). Introducing the metaphysics of Śaiva-siddhanta, Umāpati says in his *Śivaprakāśam*:

'We expound here the beauty of Śaiva-siddhānta, the cream of the Vedānta, whose excellent merit consists in its exposition of the Advaita, postulating an inseparable relation like the body and soul, eye and the sun, the soul and the eye, supported as it is by the Dharma of the highest authoritative books, and unlike the *bheda*, and *bhedābheda* and *abheda* relations illustrated respectively, by light and darkness, word and meaning, gold and ornament, set forth by other schools, and which is further supported by perfectly logical methods, and is light to the truth-seekers and darkness to others.'[1]

Śaiva-siddhānta is distinguished from Vaiṣṇavism in that it does not recognize the doctrine of *avatāra* (incarnation), which indeed is not recognized by any Śaiva school except by Lakulin's followers. For *avatāra* implies birth with its concomitant sufferings, enjoyments, and death, form all of which Śiva is free. But Śiva appears in physical form in which He is worshipped by His devotees. And He comes in the form of the *guru* to save a man. Śiva is above all the God of Love and Grace. Tirumūlar says: 'Only the ignorant

[1]Quoted by T.M.P. Mahadevan, *HCIP*, V, p. 451.

distinguish between Śiva and *anbu* (love); wisdom lies in identifying the two.'

VĪRAŚAIVAS OR LINGĀYATS

Early History

The *Svāyambhuva Āgama,* a late Vīraśaiva text, traces its origin to five great religious teachers, namely, Reṇuka, Dāruka, Ghaṇṭākarṇa, Dhenukarṇa, and Viśvakarṇa, who were the earthly manifestations of the five aspects of Śiva: Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa, and Īśāna. These five teachers, born in the Kali age as Revanasiddha, Maruḷasiddha, Ekorāma, Paṇḍitārādhya, and Viśvārādhya, expounded the Vīraśaiva faith and founded the following five monasteries: Kedāra (Himalayas), Ujjinī (Bellar District, Karnataka), Śrīśaila (Karnataka), Balehalli (Karnataka), and Vārāṇasī (U.P.).

An inscription of the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Kāmadeva (AD 1181-1203) located in the Somanātha temple at Ablur (Dharwar District, Karnataka) records at great length the marvellous powers of one Śaiva *brāhmaṇa* called Ekāntada Rāmayyā. Briefly speaking, Ekāntada vanquished a reputed Jaina teacher by displaying his supernatural power, which consisted in cutting off his head publicly; at the end of a week the head joined the trunk, and he came to life again, for which he was given a certificate by the Kalacuri king Vijjala.[1]

Fleet identified Ekāntada Rāmayyā of the inscription with Ekorāma the teacher mentioned above, and Sir R.G. Bhandarkar accepted this suggestion.[2] One of the reasons was that, there is a group of *brāhmaṇa* Vīraśaivas called Ārādhyas, and Bhandarkar suggested that the Ārādhyas were the original Vīraśaivas, while Basava, whose history will be narrated presently, give it an anti-brahmanical character.

Bhandarkar's suggestion may be basically correct, but it has to be remembered that Ekāntada Rāmayyā and Basava were contemporaries, so that the former cannot be identified with the semi-mythical Ekorāma. Secondly, the inscription says nothing about Ekāntada's teachers.[3]

Actually, during this period, the Śaiva teachers launched a campaign to uproot Jainism, and inscriptions record the vigorous activities of two anti-Jaina abbots, named Goggidevarasa and Vīrapuruṣa. It does not appear, however, that they were Vīraśaivas, and it can be said that Basaveśvara, or Basava as he is usually referred to, was the founder of the present Vīraśaiva sect.

The unique feature of Vīraśaivism is that unlike other cult religions, it was a movement for social reformation as well. It abolished caste distinction, put

[1]J.F. Fleet, Inscription at Ablur, *EI,* V, p. 243.

[2]J.F. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,* pp. 559, 563. See also Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems,* reprint, Delhi, 1965, pp. 132-33.

[3]*EHDY,* I, p. 463-64; P.B. Desai, *Basaveśvara and His Times,* Dharwar, 1968, pp. 121-25.

men and women on equal footing, and allowed widows to remarry. In many respects, the socio-religious movement launched by Basava resembles that of Guru Nānak.

Basaveśvara

In about AD 1105, a son was born to the *brāhmaṇa* couple, Mādirāja and Mādalāmbike. This child was named Basava (Sk. Vṛṣabha, 'the divine bull', Śiva's mount). Mādirāja lived in Bagevadi, a provincial town in the Cālukya empire. Bagevadi was an *agrahāra*, rent free *brāhmaṇa* town, governed by an assembly of 500 elders, of which Mādirāja was the President.

Up to the age of sixteen, Basava lived the conventional life of a normal *brāhmaṇa* boy. He was invested with the sacred thread at the age of eight and went to the local school where he learnt Sanskrit and religious texts written in Sanskrit. He also learnt well his mother tongue, Kannada, which by this time had developed into a literary language.

At the age of sixteen, Basava decided to break away from the brahmanical religious traditions and social bonds. He discarded his sacred thread, and left his home and village. He first went to Kūḍala Saṅgama, where the river Krishna meets its tributary, the Malaprabha. It is now a village in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijapur District of Karnataka. In Basaveśvara's time, Kūḍala Saṅgama was an important place of pilgrimage. It was a temple city, a centre of education and of Śaivism. But the monks there belonged either to the Kālāmukha or to the Pāśupata sects. Here under the guidance of Īśānya Guru, Bāsava made a deep study of Śaiva scriptures.

After about twelve years' stay, Bāsava left Kūḍala Saṅgama in *c.* AD 1132, and came to Mangalavada, modern Mangalavedha near Pandharpur in Maharashtra, then the capital of the Kalacuri king Bijjala.[1] Here Basava came into contact with the king's treasurer, Siddha *Daṇḍādhīpa*, who belonged to Basava's community (Kamme *kula*). Siddha managed to secure for Basava appointment as a junior accountant, and gradually entrusted him with more and more responsible posts. Basava became a member of sonless Siddha's household, and, when the latter died, inherited his considerable property. He was also appointed as the royal treasurer by Bijjala (*c.* AD 1141). Basava then married Gaṅgādevī and Māyidevī.

While at Kūḍala Saṅgama, Basava had formulated new socio-religious principles, and, in his exalted position, put them into practice. His rapid rise to eminence, however, had created enemies, and they now tried to discredit him. First they reported to the king that Basava was embezzling state funds to feed large number of *jaṅgamas* (peripatetic Śaiva ascetics), whom he daily entertained. The king paid a surprise visit to the treasury, and, after personally checking the accounts, found the cash in order. Next it was reported to the king that Basava had taken food in the house of an untouchable. This report was true. The untouchable was a great devotee of Śiva, and Basava had gone to his house and eaten food cooked by him. Bijjala called Basava

[1]For Bijjala, see above, I, pp. 463-64.

for an explanation, and was silenced by Basava's forceful justification of his conduct. But thereafter, the relation between the two became so strained that Basava left Mangalavada and went to Kalyana in about AD 1153.

At Kalyana, Basava unfolded his spiritual life. Even while at Mangalavada, Basava had organized the Anubhava Maṇṭapa (academy of mysticism), which developed into a great religious institution at Kalyani, destined to leave deep impress upon the future course of Vīraśaivism. Allama Prabhu, the greatest contemporary Śaiva mystic of Karnataka, joined the *Maṇṭapa*, and led the devotees. They included men from various parts of the country, like Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Gujarat, and Kashmir. There were a number of female members of the *Maṇṭapa* the most famous being Akka Mahādevī. And there were men of all castes including the lowly tanner and the cobbler. Soon Basaveśvara attracted a large following, which became a powerful force not only in the religious and social spheres, but as was inevitable, in the political sphere also.

Then trouble came. Haralayya an untouchable and Madhuvayya a *brāhmaṇa* were Basava's disciples, and the former's son married the latter's daughter. King Bijjala called Haraḷayya and Madhuvayya to his court, and had them executed. This atrocity enraged some of Basava's followers. Basava counselled peace, but a group of reckless fanatics from among his followers disobeyed him, and Basava left Kalyana for Kūḍala Saṅgama, where his soul is said to have merged with the deity.

This event took place in about AD 1167. About the same time, some fanatic Vīraśaivas murdered Bijjala, which was followed by terrible retribution, and the Vīraśaivas were indiscriminately persecuted. One section among them proceeded to Ulavi under the leadership of Basava's nephew called Channabasavanna. Other Vīraśaivas scattered to different places and regions. Thus the Vīraśaiva movement received a set-back from which it recovered only after the lapse of nearly 250 years.[1]

Devotional Literature

This long period was rich in literary output. Some of the Vīraśaiva writers wrote in traditional verse form, but their unique mode of contribution to Kannada literature was *vacana*, which literally means 'sentence.' Lewis Rice has described the characteristics of the *vacanas* as: 'In form, the *vacanas* are brief disconnected paragraphs, each ending with one or another of the numerous local names under which Śiva is worshipped. In style, they are epigrammatical, parallelistic and allusive. They dwell on the vanity of riches, the valuelessness of mere rites or book-learning, the uncertainty of life, and the spiritual privileges of the Śivabhakta. They call men to give up the desire for worldly wealth and ease, to live lives of sobriety and detachment from the

[1]Some historians maintain on the basis of evidence furnished by Jaina sources that Basava had Bijjala murdered to avenge a private wrong. These anecdotes, however, seem to be *odium theologicum*, and not at all convincing. For the Jaina version and criticism see *EHDY*, I, p. 463 and P.B. Desai, op. cit., pp. 78-106.

world, and to turn to Śiva for refuge. They are seldom controversial, but almost entirely horatory, devotional, and expository. They are still recited by Lingyāyat *āchāryas* for the instruction of their followers.' Here are a few *vacanas* in free English rendering :

The fire enkindled in the hearth
may be extinguished with the earth;
Should the earth itself be ablaze,
what charm can quench its rage away?
Should even the fence nibble away
the corn stalks within,
Should the mother's own milk envenom
her suckling child—
Should thus the Preserver himself
Destroyer turn,
Where lies the anchor of my hope,
O Lord, Kūḍala Saṅgama!
Your grace can stir dry roots
with the freshness of spring;
From your grace can the sterile cow derive
abundant milk;
Poison itself can your grace transform
into holy nectar.
Your grace is the source of all good
O Lord, Kūḍala Saṅgama![1]

Kūḍala Saṅgama, as pointed out above, was the name of a place, but it was also the name of Basava's tutelary deity to whom he addressed all his *vacanas*. Akka Mahādevī, the great female saint, addressed all her *vacanas* to her tutelary deity, Chennamallikārjuna. In one of her best known *vacanas* she says :

Ye parrots singing
in mirthful ease;
And oh ye swans
frolicking near the lake;
And ye joyous cuckoos
piping full-throated;
And ye proud peacocks
strutting up and down in glee,
over hill and dale—
tell me, O tell me,
ye one and all,
did you ever chance to see,
my lover,
my own Chennamallikarjuna![2]

[1]S.S. Basawanal and K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Musings of Basava, A Free Rendering*, 1940, pp. 49, 118.

[2]Ibid, p. 124.

Akka Mahādevī's sentiments are very close to that of the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas, whose favourite was the *madhura-bhāva* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Vīraśaiva Philosophy

It has been stated above that Basaveśvara was the founder of the Vīraśaiva faith. Therefore, it is not surprising that Vīraśaivism is not mentioned by early writers like Vācaspati Miśra, or Rāmānuja. It is, however, significant, that Mādhava, who wrote the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* in the 14th century in Karnataka region, does not mention Vīraśaiva philosophy. This would indicate that the philosophy of Vīraśaivism had not been fully developed by that time. However, Prof. S.N. Dasgupta was of the opinion that, 'the kernel of Vīraśaiva thought is almost as early as the Upaniṣads, and it may be found in a more or less systematic manner by way of suggestion in the writings of Kālidāsa who lived in the early centuries of the Christian era. The *Sūta-saṃhitā*, a part of the *Skandapurāṇa*, seems to teach a philosophy which may be interpreted as being of the same type as the Vīraśaiva philosophy propounded by Śrīpati, though the commentator interprets it in accordance with the philosophy of Śaṅkara .... But it is difficult to say at what time the Vīraśaiva sect was formed and when it had this special designation .... It is unfortunate that *Siddhānta-śikhāmaṇi*, a work probably of the thirteenth century, should contain the earliest reference to Vīraśaivism in literature.'[1]

The Vīraśaiva philosophy is called Śakti-visiṣṭādvaita, that is, 'non-duality of God (Para-Śiva) as qualified by Śakti.' It is also called 'a doctrine of *bhedābheda*.' But this *bhedāveda* or 'difference in unity' is not of the nature of the tree and its flowers and fruits, as such a view will suggest a modification or transformation in the nature of Śiva. The Vīraśaiva idea of *bhedābheda* is to be interpreted with the notion that God, who is transcendent, appears also in the form of the objects that we perceive and also of the nature of our own selves. The two main exponents of Vīraśaiva philosophy are Māyideva, the author of the *Anubhava-sūtra* which forms the second part of the *Śiva-siddhānta-tantra*, and Śrīpati Paṇḍita, author of the *Śrīkara* commentary on the Br.S.

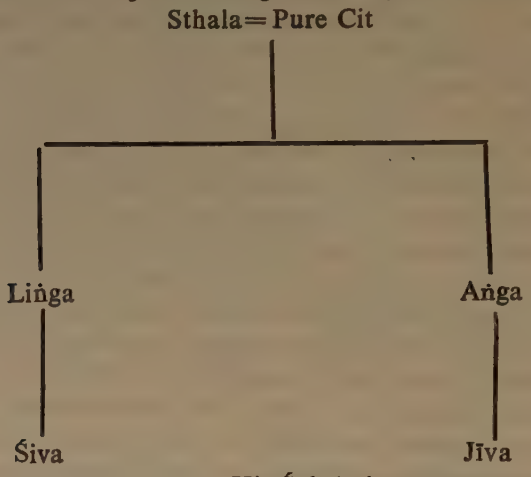
According to Māyideva, the Primal Reality is *sthala*, where '*stha*' means *sthāna* and '*la*' means *laya*. *Sthala* is the source of all energies; all beings have come from it and shall return there.

The essence of Sthala is Absolute Freedom, Eternal Self-revelation, and Supreme Selfhood (*pūrṇāhantā*). In this state the substance and its power are in undisturbed equilibrium. When the Primal Reality wants to play with Itself as Worshipped and Worshipper, there arises on its calm bosom what may be described as a slight tremor or vibration, similar to the agitation on the calm surface of the ocean before the rise of the heavy breakers. The agitation of Śakti is partial, because its *cit* and *ānanda* aspects are devoid of succession (*krama*), and never subject to agitation. It is the *icchā* and other aspects of Śakti which sometimes lose their equilibrium. However, as a result of this tremor, Sthala apparently loses its poise and appears in two aspects : *Śiva*

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., V, p. 46.

and *jīva*. When Sthala loses its equilibrium, the partially agitated Śakti transforms Herself into thirty-six *tattvas* and infinite variety of products.

Thus the universe with all its activities is an expression of His Self-delight, manifested in myriads of ways. It is the same Śiva which appears as pure consciousness and also as part of Liṅga and Aṅga:



As Sthala is of two parts, so His Śakti also assumes two forms by Her own pure spontaneity. As residing in the Liṅga, She is known as Kalā, and when in Aṅga, She is called Bhakti. In reality, Śakti and Bhakti are the same. As the *Anubhava-sūtra* (p. 8) says : *śakti-bhaktayor na bhedo'sti* (there is no difference between *śakti* and *bhakti*). When Śakti moves forward towards creation, it is called *pravṛtti*, while as *nivṛtti* or *bhakti* it leads to cessation. The natural tendency of Śakti is towards multiplication, and that of *bhakti* towards unification. The Self, as endowed with Śakti, is an object of worship, and as possessed of Bhakti is the worshipper.

The most distinguishing feature of Vīraśaivism is the Ṣaṭ-sthala doctrine. In the *Prabhu-liṅga-līlā* of Cāmarasa, it is stated that Allama imparted the doctrine of Ṣaṭ-sthala to Basava. Basava's nephew, Chennabasava, was also initiated into the doctrine of Ṣaṭ-sthala. The interpretation of Ṣaṭ-sthala as well as the number of *sthalas*, however, differ in different texts. The *Siddhānta-śikhāmaṇi* refers to 101 Sthalas. Similarly, the *Vīra-śaiva-siddhānta* contains a reference to 101 *sthalas*. But the *Prabhu liṅga-līlā*, the *Basava-purāṇa*, Śrīpati's commentary and the *Anubhava-sūtra* refer to the six *sthalas* only. 'The whole idea', as Dr. Dasgupta has said, 'seems to be that the macrocosm and microcosm being the same identical entity, it is possible to control the dissipated forces of any centre and pass on to the more concentrated point of manifestation of the energy, and this process is regarded as the upward process of ascension from one stage to another.'[1]

Liṅga, which is identical with Śiva, is threefold: 1. Bhāvaliṅga; 2. Prāṇaliṅga; and 3. Iṣṭaliṅga.

[1]ibid, p. 60.

1. Bhāvaliṅga is described as pure being (*san-mātra*), partless or indivisible (*niṣkala*), and accessible to intuition (*bhāva*) alone. It is the *sat* aspect of the Divine Essence and the highest (*para*) *tattva*.

2. Prāṇaliṅga is both above division and infinitely divided (*sakala* and *niṣkala*). It forms the *cit* aspect of the Divine Essence, and the subtle (*sūkṣma*) *tattva*.

3. Iṣṭaliṅga, called Mahat, is the source of the devotee's pleasure and also of his immunity from pain. It is to Iṣṭaliṅga that the afflicted soul appeals for succour. It is the *ānanda* aspect of the Divine Essence and forms the gross (*sthūla*) *tattva*.

Each of these Liṅgas is again twofold, making six in all :

1. Bhāvaliṅga=i. Mahāliṅga ii. Prasādaliṅga
2. Prāṇaliṅga=iii. Caraliṅga or Jaṅgamaliṅga iv. Śivaliṅga
3. Iṣṭaliṅga=v. Guruliṅga vi. Ācāraliṅga

Corresponding to these six *sthalas*, there are six *śaktis*: Cit-śakti, Parā-śakti, Ādi-śakti, Icchā-śakti or Vidyā, Jñāna-śakti or Pratiṣṭhā, and Kriyā-śakti or Nivṛtti.

The result of interplay between the six *sthalas* and their respective *śaktis* are :

i. The Mahāliṅga in association with Cit-śakti (Light of Supreme Revelation) flashes eternally upon itself. 'This is known as Śiva-tattva, the ultimate unity; full, subtle, and immeasurable, without beginning or end. It is accessible to intuition (*bhāva*).'

ii. The Prasādaliṅga with Parā-śakti is known as Sadākhyatattva, and is accessible to *jñāna*. It is bright, supersensuous, and contains within itself *in posse* the yet unmanifested universe. It is devoid of all adjuncts or limitations (*upādhi*).

iii. The Caraliṅga with Ādi-śakti is realized through mentation (*mānasa dhyāna*).

iv. The Śivaliṅga with Icchā-śakti is the Ego (*ahaṁkṛti*) described as one-faced, and luminous, shining with the *vidyā-kalās*.

v. The Guruliṅga with Jñāna-śakti is the great teacher (*upadeśaka*), from whom the Tantras come spontaneously as it were.

vi. The Ācāraliṅga with the Kriyā-śakti is the source of renunciation.

Jīva is called Aṅga because it goes to the Liṅga and finds its rest there. Aṅga is of three kinds : i. Yogāṅga; ii, Bhogāṅga; and iii. Tyāgāṅga.

i. Yogāṅga enjoys communion with Śiva. Being self-contained Yogāṅga represents the causal state and is identified with the dreamless sleep, corresponding to the *prajñā* of Vedānta.

ii. Bhogāṅga enjoys (*bhoga*) power with Śiva. Being intrinsic (*antaraṅga*) Bhogāṅga represents the subtle (*sūkṣma*) state, and is identified with dream, corresponding to the *taijasa* of Vedānta.

iii. Tyāgāṅga is so called because in this state one leaves aside (*tyāga*) the illusions and false notions of birth and death (*saṃsāra-bhrānti*). Being extrinsic (*vahiraṅga*) Tyāgāṅga represents the gross state and is identified with the

waking life corresponding to the *viśva* of Vedānta.

Like the Liṅga, the Aṅga is also twofold in each state :

1. Yogāṅga : i. Aikya Sthala ii. Śaraṇa Sthala.
2. Bhogāṅga iii. Prāṇaliṅga iv. Prasādī or Prasāda Sthala.
3. Tyagaliṅga v. Maheśvara Sthala vi. Bhakta Sthala

Just as each stage of Liṅga has its particular *śakti*, similarly each stage of Aṅga has its particular *bhakti*. Arranged in the order of the Aṅgas, they are i. Samarasākārā; ii. Ānandākārā; iii. Anubhavākārā; iv. Avadhānātmikā; v. Naiṣṭhikī; vi. Sadbhakti.

i. Aikyasthala: Identity of one's self with everything and realization that all else is false.

ii. Śaraṇasthala: By the self-illumination of knowledge the body and senses appear as having no form, being united with God, and everything appear as pure.

iii. Prāṇaliṅga: When one avoids all illusions or errors about the body etc., and conceives in the mind that one is at one with the Liṅga.

iv. Prasādī: When one surrenders all objects of gratification to God.

v. Maheśvarasthala: When one fixes one's mind on God as being one with Him.

vi. Bhaktasthala: When the false appears as true and the mind is detached from it by the adorative action of *bhakti*, and the persons becomes detached from the world.[1]

Jīva is a part (*aṁsa*) of Śiva, and like Him is pure (*amala*) eternal (*nitya*), spotless (*nirañjana*) and tranquil. The *Jīva*, however, lacks Śiva's special attributes which are: omniscience (*sarvajñatva*), self-contentedness (*tṛptatva*), immaculate wisdom (*anādi-prabodhitā*), freedom (*svātantra*), and absolute and infinite power (*alupta-śaktitā* and *ananta-śaktitā*). Essentially, however, there is no difference between the *jīva* and Śiva. The apparent distinction is due to the presence in the *jīva* of threefold defilement (*mala*), which chains the *jīva* to *saṃsāra* (cycle of life and death), and prevents his self-realization. When these defilements are removed, the *jīva* reverts to its pure state.

Just as Liṅgasthala (Śiva) becomes manifold through its own *śakti*, so does Aṅgasthala (*jīva*) become correspondingly multiplied through *bhakti*, when in the descending scale. However, in the ascending scale, the Liṅga becomes more and more drawn up into the state of Śiva through accession of Śakti, similarly, the Aṅga is elevated higher and higher into the level of Ātman by its *bhakti*, till at the end pure Śiva and pure Ātman remains, eternally attached to each other as Master and servant, as Worshipped and worshipper, or Guru and *śiṣya*. This is the blessed state to which every devotee aspires.

According to the Vīraśaivas, the union of Śiva and *jīva*, called the *sāyujya-muti*, is the highest form of salvation:

tasmāl=liṅg-āṅga-yogāt parā-muktir na vidyate

[1]We have followed MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, Vīraśaiva Philosophy in his *Aspects of Indian Thought*, Burdwan, 1966, pp. 154-55. For a slightly different account see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

As for *bhakti*, the *Anubhava-sūtra* (viii.78) says:

dharm-ādi-puruṣārthānāṁ caturṇāṁ parataḥ parā
pañcamo puruṣārtho hi bhaktiḥ śaivī sanātanī

(Beyond the four *puruṣārthas* of *dharma* etc. [i.e. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*] lies the fifth *puruṣārtha*, which is *bhakti* for Śiva.)

This is also the position of the Vaiṣṇavas, but the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas use the word *bhakti* with different connotations. Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* means an attachment involving a sense-duality between the Worshipped and the worshipper. Śaiva *bhakti* as shown in the Vīraśaiva texts, implies a relation of oneness or identity of *jīva* with Śiva. The true Śaiva is a devottee and worshipper, the true Vaiṣṇava is a lover. A Śaiva is awed by the *aiśvarya* or the sense of Divine Majesty. A Vaiṣṇava relishes the *mādhurya* or the Divine fellowship. God reveals Himself to a Śaiva *sādhaka* as the Father, the Lord, or the Teacher. To the Vaiṣṇava, He is the Child, the Friend, or even the Beloved.

Another aspect of Vīraśaiva philosophy is dealt with in the *Śrīkara* commentary on the Br.S. by Śrīpati Paṇḍita. It will, however, be convenient to discuss it along with other schools of Vedānta.

Vīraśaiva Religion

The practice of Vīraśaiva religion is twofold: i. *Pañcācāra*, and ii. *aṣṭāvaraṇa*. *Pañcācāra* consists of 1. *Liṅgācara*, which enjoins upon a Vīraśaiva that he should daily worship a *liṅga*, and should not worship anything else; 2. *sadācāra*, which requires a Vīraśaiva to engage himself honestly in some gainful employment or profession, or trade, lead a moral and virtuous life, and utilize his wealth in the service of *jaṅgamas* and other Vīraśaivas; 3. Śivācāra requires members to make no distinction between one Vīraśaiva and another, that is, there should be no caste distinction in marriage and interdining; 4. *bhṛtyācāra* means the devotees attitude of humility and servitude towards Śiva and His devotees; and 5. *gaṇācāra* enjoins communal life and vindication of any aspersion towards Vīraśaivism.

Aṣṭāvaraṇa means the eight shields that protect the devotee from the onslaughts of nescience, and guide him safely to final realization. They are: 1. obedience to *guru*; 2. worship of a *Liṅga*; 3. reverence for a *jaṅgama* (realized soul) as for an incarnation of Śiva; 4. smearing of ashes (*vibhūti*), made by burning dried cow dung, on the body; 5. wearing of a rosary of *rudrākṣa* beads; 6. sipping *pādodaka*, that is, water in which the feet of the *guru* or the *jaṅgama* have been dipped; 7. offering of food to a Liṅga, *guru*, or a *jaṅgama* and partaking the left over (*prasāda*); 8. uttering the five syllable (*pañcākṣara*) *mantra* or formula, *namaḥ Śivāya*.

A Vīraśaiva has to be initiated with the *pañcākṣara mantra*, *namaḥ Śivāya*, which among them takes the place of *upanayana*. The distinguishing mark of a Vīraśaiva—male or female—is the wearing of a *liṅga* on his body, hence he is known as a Lingāyat. This *liṅga* is called the Iṣṭaliṅga, and is the object of worship. Usually, the Lingāyats do not concern themselves with public

worship of Śiva in temples. As stated above, the Lingāyats consider women equal to men in every respect, and widows are allowed to remarry. They also totally disregard the brahmanical taboo against a woman in her periods. It was these enlightened social reformations far ahead of his time, that brought Basava into conflict with his contemporaries, and sharply divided the Lingāyats from the rest of the community. However, the reformist activity of the Lingāyat teachers, and the spiritual fervour of their devotional literature combined in making Vīraśaivism the most popular faith in Karnataka. The influence of Vīraśaivism in neighbouring areas also was considerable.[1]

KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

Early History

Kashmir Śaivism is known under various names, such as Trika, Spanda, Pratyabhijñā, and Īśvarādvaya. The word Trika refers, among other things, to the triple principle with which the system deals, namely, *Śiva-Śakti-aṇu*, or *Pati-pāśa-paśu*. Āgama, Spanda, and Pratyabhijñā are the three classes of literature which form the basis of Kashmir Śaivism. Formerly, it was assumed that Spanda and Pratyabhijñā represent two distinct schools of philosophy. On closer examination of the texts, however, three layers of Kashmir Saivism has been established. First is the Āgama-sūtra, which consists of about eleven Tantra works, and the Śiva-sūtras. Next came the Spanda-śāstra, which 'lays down the main principles of the system in details and in more amplified form than the Śiva-sūtras, without, or hardly, entering into philosophical reasonings in their support. The third group of texts form the Pratyabhijñā-śāstra. They deal rationally with the doctrine in an attempt to support them by reasoning and refute the views of opponents.[2]

Kashmir Śaivism is idealistic monism, but the Tantra texts of the Āgama-śāstra preached a dualistic doctrine, which was corrected by the *Śiva-sūtra* said to have been revealed by Śiva to the sage Vasugupta. The earliest Spanda texts, namely the Spanda-śāstras, are also attributed to Vasugupta though most probably written by his pupil Kallaṭa. Kalhaṇa says in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (5.66) that Kallaṭa flourished during the reign of king Avantivarman (AD 855-883). Hence it is evident that the founder of Kashmir Śaivism, Vasugupta, flourished either during the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century, and it is from this period that Kashmir Śaivism has to be dated.

[1]For practice of Vīraśaivism in Andhra see V. Yasodavai, The History of Andhra Country, AD 1000-1500, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, XXVII, 1961-62, pp. 1-44. For a short study of modern Vīraśaivas or Lingāyats See J.N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 301-03.

[2]For details see J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, Srinagar, 1914, pp. 7-39.

[3]J.C. Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 143 has grouped the *tattvas* and calls Śiva and Śakti as 'the ever-existing, mutually inseparable realities,' and the next three as 'the orders of the pure way.'

Doctrine and Philosophy

The basis of Kashmir Śaivism rests on the doctrine of thirty-six *tattvas* or 'principles' into which can be reduced the endless variety of things within the range of human experience. Of these *tattvas*, twenty-five are common to Sāṁkhya, while the thirty-first tattva, Māyā is common to Vedānta, but as will be observed there is a distinction between the Māyā of Vedānta and of Kashmir Śaivism. The *tattvas* are:

1. Śiva-tattva; 2. Śakti-tattva; 3. Sādākhya or Sadāśiva-tattva; 4. Aiśvarya or Īśvara-tattva; 5. Sad-vidyā or Śuddha-vidyā; 6. Māyā; 7. Puruṣa; 8. Niyati; 9. Kalā; 10. Rāga; 11. Vidyā; 12. Kāla; 13. Prakṛti; 14. Buddhi; 15. Ahaṅkāra; 16. Manas; 17. Eye (vision); 18. Ear (hearing); 19. Nose (smelling); 20. Tongue (Tasting); 21. Skin (touching); 22. Sound; 23. Feeling (when touched); 24. Colour; 25. Flavour (while tasting); 26. Odour; 27. Voice; 28. Hands; 29. Feet; 30. Organ of Procreation; 31. Organ of evacuation; 32. Ether or space (*ākāśa*); 33. Air; 34. Fire (gas and heat); 35 Water (liquidity); 36. Earth (solidity).

Beyond the *tattvas* is the Ultimate Reality, Parama-Śiva.

Parama-Śiva

Parama-Śiva the Ultimate Reality is also known as Para-Samvit, Caitanya, and Ātman. He is the plenitude of the essential Self, and Ego, which is the essence of Parā-Sakti. He is also *svatantra*. He is eternal, and infinite, beyond the limits of time and space. The *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya*[1] (3) says that Parama-Śiva is *viśvottīrṇa-viśvātmaka-paramānandamaya-prakaśaikaghana* (transcendental, immanent, plenitude of supreme bliss, unique uninterrupted manifestation). Parama-Śiva is both the experiencer and the experienced. In Him there is no subject-object relation. He is Para-Pramātā, or Ultimate or Supreme Subject. The universe exists in the Para-Pramātā as one with itself, which is known as the stage of Parama-Siva or Para-Samvit stage. In His infinite manifestations, the Para-Pramātā experiences only Unity, though He underlies all plurality. Parama-Śiva contains within Himself the Parā-Śakti, and the Two are in a state of perfect equipoise or *sāmarasya*.

Kālidāsa seems to have had a vision of *sāmarasya* when he wrote:

vag-arthāviva sampṛktau
vag-artha pratipattaye
jagataḥ pitarau vande
Pārvatī-Parameśvarau

(I adore Pārvatī [Śakti] and Parameśvara [Śiva] who are united like word and its meanings; may I understand the meaning of words.)

[1]*Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya* and its commentary were written by Kṣemarāja *c.* 11th century AD. It consists of twenty *sūtras* and commentaries. In his introduction, Kṣemarāja says that his work is intended for *sukumāra-matayo'kṛita-tīkṣṇa-tarkasāstra pariśramāḥ*, which may be rendered as 'unsophisticated persons who have not had their intellects sharpened with keen logical disputations.' The edition used here is by Dr. R.C. Adhikari, Burdwan, 1966.

Before creation Parā-Śakti is agitated, and, acting as a negative principle, obscures the ideal universe from the view of Parama-Śiva, inducing in Him a feeling, as it were, of want of a universe. This stage is known as Śiva-tattva.

Tattvas

i. *Śiva-Tattva:* The subtle difference between Parama-Śiva and Śiva is that Parama-Śiva experiences and pervades the ideal universe where His identity with all the *tattvas* as well as His transcendence are simultaneously present. Śiva-tattva, which is pure intelligence, experiences Supreme Selfhood (*pūrṇā-hantā*) only. Thus Kṣemarāja quotes in the commentary on the *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya* (last aphorism) a verse which states that the 'nature of Maheśvara is infinite intelligence (*ananta-cid-rūpa*), indivisible, and void of time-limitation (*akrama*)'. Śiva-tattva is unalterably and everywhere one, being the one light whose reflection shines through every state of modal consciousness. It is pure 'I', without even the thought or feeling of 'I am', 'for, "am" or being implies a relation, namely of *identity*, howsoever subdued or indistinct, meaning "I am this" '. In Śiva-*tattva* state there is no feeling of 'this' or 'that' (*idam*), hence Śiva-tattva does not experience the thought or feeling of 'I am'.

Śiva-tattva is the first stage in the process of manifestation or unfolding of the universe. At this stage, only the *cit-śakti* operates, the other aspects of Sakti lying dormant.

ii. *Śakti-Tattva* comes into manifestation simultaneously with Śiva-tattva. Indeed, it is by the operation of Śakti-tattva that Śiva-tattva becomes manifest. The Śiva-Śakti-tattvas are eternally existent in the bosom of Parama-Śiva as the seed of the future universe. Parama-Śiva is like the absolutely flat surface of a calm sea. Then come ripples and waves: the wavy ocean is Śiva-tattva, and the energy which produced the waves is Śakti-tattva, both of which were present in the ocean when it was calm.

iii. *Sādākhya or Sadāśiva-tattva:* From the union of Śiva and Śakti developes the Sādākhya-tattva, which experiences the thought 'I am'. It is also known as the Sadāśiva-tattva. As this stage, the 'I-ness' (*ahantā*) is veiled, and the 'this-ness' (*idantā*) vaguely discernible (*Sadāśiva-tattva ahant-ācchādita asphuṭ-edantāmaya*, *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya*, 3 Commentary). In this state, there is for the first time the notion of 'being': 'I am this', hence it is called the Sādākhya. The *Icchā* (Will) aspect of Parā-Śakti is dominant at this stage, which induces in the Sadāśiva-tattva 'self-realization' as an 'entity' with a 'will' as it were to perform something. This *tattva* is the first manifestation in the creative process of the universe.

iv. *Īśvara tattva:* In Īśvara-tattva 'I-ness' and 'this-ness' are fully blossomed balancing each other (*Īśvara-tattve sphuṭ-edantā-ahantā-sāmānādhikaraṇy= ātmā yādṛk viśvaṁ grāhyam*, Pr. Hr. 3 commentary). In other words, Īśvara experiences 'I' and 'this' with equal emphasis. In the 'I am this' of Sadāśiva-tattva, 'I' was veiled, while 'this' was vague. In 'I am this', or 'This am I' of Īśvara-tattva both 'I' and 'this' are sharp and clear, with the 'this-ness' predominating.

Sad-vidyā or *Śuddha-vidyā*: In the Sad-vidyā state, the manifoldness is without extraneous difference, while the universe becomes the object of cognition (*vidyā-pade. . . .bahu-śākh-āvāntara-bheda-bhinna. . . . viśvam api prameyam*).[1] Yet this state is above the realm of Māyā.

Allied to this state is another state above Māyā. This is Vijñānakala, where cognition takes place without subject-object relationship as pure knowledge and experience of Pralayakala and Sakala.[2] According to G.C. Chatterji, the whole Experience in this state, therefore, assumes a form which may be stated as follows:

'*I am all-this and all-this is mine as part and parcel of myself* and all this proceed from me and is created by me—I am the author of all this.'[3]

This state has been compared to God (Īśvara) of the dualists.

The *kriyā* aspect of Parā-Śakti is most manifest in Śuddha-Vidyā state which displays some movement and action.

Māyā: Below Śuddha-Vidyā is the realm of Māyā, where the 'beings' experience individual ego and a concomitant limitation on their perception of 'this'. In other words, the beings lose universal 'I-ness' and universal 'this-ness'. Hence the manifestations from this point onwards are called *aśuddh-ādhvan* (the impure and imperfect way) or *Māy-ādhvan* (way of Māyā).

Māyā is the *tirodhānaṁ-karī-Śakti* (force of obscuration) of Parā-Śakti. Māyā's main function is to obscure the vision of the individual and thereby limit the true nature of his experience as well as of himself.

The ideal state of Śuddha-Vidyā is overtaken, as it were, by the power or force of Māyā. As the Experiencer of Śuddha-Vidyā comes under Māyā's influence, and His vision is obscured, His feeling of identity with *idam* (all-this) is overcome as by sleep; hence the previous relation between *aham* (I) and *idam* (all-this) is metamorphosed to a new type of cognition, in which the following characteristics of *pūrṇāhantā* (Supreme Selfhood) hitherto existing are lost:

i. *Nityatva:* sense of eternity (relating to time).
ii. *Vyāpakatva:* sense of immanence (relating to space).
iii. *Pūrṇatva:* plenitude (relating to absence of want).
iv. *Sarvajñatva:* omniscience (relating to knowledge).
v. *Sarva-kartṛtva:* predominance (relating to power).

Instead of these five powers,the 'being' under the influence of Māyā, experi-

[1]We are following *Pratyavijñā-hṛdaya*, 3, commentary. According to some other authorities, the equation of 'I-ness' and 'this-ness' occurs in the Sad-Vidyā state. See J.C. Chatterji, op. cit., p. 71. and p. 74 fn. According to the *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya* 3, Anantabhaṭṭāraka is the presiding deity (*adhiṣṭhātṛ*) of Śuddha-Vidyā, the Mantras residing there are the 'knowers' (*pramātaraḥ*), and the universe (*viśva*) is the object of knowledge (*prameya*).

[2]In Pralayakala there is neither the cognition of 'I' or of 'this,' but an experience devoid of both. In Sakala, the cognition is only of 'this' in various forms. Vijñānakala is comparable to the *mukta-puruṣa* of Sāṁkhya, and Sakala to the *jīva* deprived of his knowledge of Ātman.

[3]J.C. Chatterji, op. cit., pp. 73-4.

ences the following characteristics or limitations of experiences :

i. *Kāla:* time period (restriction as to time).
ii. *Niyati:* obscuration of immanence (restriction as to space).
iii. *Rāga:* desire (indicative of want).
iv. *Vidyā:* empirical knowledge (indicative of nescience).
v. *Kalā:* Limited authorship (power of creation limited).

The 'being', which is the experiencer, is always pure *caitanya*, and is absolutely unchangeable. As the 'being's' inherent powers of *nityatva* etc., are obscured, he comes under the restraints imposed by the five *kañcukas* (limitations) like *kāla* etc. mentioned above, and comes to identify the self with the 'non-self' (that is, the body). Thus *Nityatva* becomes *Kāla*, *Vyāpakatva* becomes *Niyati*, *Pūrṇatva* becomes *Rāga*, *Sarvajñatva* becomes *Vidyā*, and *Sarvakartṛtva* assumes the form of *Kalā*.

Puruṣa, literally 'man', is the individual spirit or soul. Though the All-Experiencer becomes Puruṣa, the process of evolution as envisaged by Kashmir Saivism, leaves entirely unaffected the primary as well as each successively originating source, even when the lower forms of the evolutes have appeared. The All-Experiencer goes on producing such *puruṣas* and multiplying their number indefinitely, apparently dividing and expanding Himself to an indefinite extent without Himself undergoing any diminution or exhaustion. The *puruṣas*, however, realize themselves as all differentiated, distinct, and separated from one another. The condition of multiplicity of experiencer, and exclusive experience occurs only in the *puruṣa* (state), which is known as *aṇu*, a non-spatial point, somewhat like the Euclidean point.

Prakṛti: The condition of *puruṣa* is that, though he is 'sleeping' as it were, still he has the experience of a vague and indefinite 'something', which may be termed somewhat inadequately as the 'object' of his experience. This is *prakṛti*. The *puruṣa* is an experiencer, the five *kañcukas*, though limiting his powers, are nevertheless links between him, the experiencing subject, and *prakṛti* the experienced object. Hence with the manifestation of *puruṣa*, the necessary second term to which it may be related is also evolved. That is, *prakṛti* appears simultaneously with *puruṣa*.

Puruṣa and *prakṛti* are the limited representatives of the two factions 'I' and 'this' of the Śuddha-Vidyā state. Like the number of *puruṣas*, the number of *prakṛtis* is infinite, there being one *prakṛti* for each *puruṣa*.[1] The one and universal *idam* (all-this) is dimly perceived by the different *puruṣas* as so many different reflections in different parts of the sea.[2]

Prakṛti is, so to say, the state of equipoise of three *guṇas* or reals, called *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, representing respectively *sukha* (lit. 'happiness' technically 'calm, and pleasing but actionless feeling of awareness'), *duḥkha*

[1]This is the fundamental difference between Kashmir Śaivism and Sāṁkhya. In Sāṁkhya, Prakṛti is one and universal, and corresponds to Māyā of Kashmir Śaivism.

[2]J.C. Chatterji, op. cit., p. 89. A better analogy probably would have been 'the sun and its scattered light,' because the *puruṣa* does not see the totality of *idam* even in reflection so long as he is under the influence of Māyā.

(lit. 'pain', technically 'active feeling of moving interest due to passion'), and *moha* (lit. 'delusion', technically, 'inert feeling of stupefaction'). *Prakṛti* herself is 'generally experienced' (*sāmānya-bhogyā*), but when *prakṛti* is agitated (*kṣobhita*), the three *guṇas* lose their equilibrium,[1] and the *puruṣa* begins to experience different feelings depending as to which of the three *guṇas* predominate. Till then, the *puruṣa's* self-realization as the 'I' is as vague as its realization of the 'something' of the 'experience', akin to the realization of 'I' in the deep and dreamless state of sleep.

At this stage, there are further evolutions from *prakṛti*.

Mental faculties: Mind operates at three levels: *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, and *manas*. These will be considered in details in the chapter on Sāṁkhya, and are being omitted here because these and other categories are practically same in the two systems.

Briefly speaking, the first mental operation is of *buddhi* 'intellect', 'sense of discrimination and determination' from which is produced *ahaṃkāra* (ego), which in its turn produces *manas* (mind which desires and speculates). All the three are evolved from *prakṛti*, and it is under their impulsion that the *puruṣa* passes as it were from a state of sleep to one of wakefulness.

Other tattvas: Desire felt by the *manas* is either 'to perceive', or 'to act'. Hence desire can be of ten forms, five of perception, and five of action. These forms are expressed in the ten *indriyas* (organs) five of perception (*jñānendriya*), and five of action (*karmendriya*). Along with the *indriyas* are produced their respective corresponding objects: *tanmātras* and *bhūtas*. These are:

Jñānendriyas	*Corresponding tanmātras and bhūtas*
i. Nose (Smelling)	*gandha* (odour as such) *pṛthvī*
ii. Tongue (tasting)	*rasa* (flavour as such) *ap*
iii. Eye (seeing)	*rūpa* (colour-as-such) *agni*
iv. Skin (feeling by touch)	*sparśa* (feel-as-such) *vāyu*
v. Ear (hearing-as-such)	*śabda* (sound-as-such) *ākāśa*

The five *karmendriyas* are: i. *upastha* (organ of generation, representing the power of creation); ii. *pāyu* (organ of evacuation, for rejecting and discarding); iii. *pāda* (feet, for locomotion); iv. *hasta* (hands, for handling); v. *vāk* (voice, for expressing). As stated above, details about the *indriyas*, *tanmātras*, and *bhūtas* will be given in the chapter on Sāṁkhya.

It will be observed that, the *tattvas* do not include life, which is induced by Śakti, who emerges from Parama-Śiva or Para-Samvit, coeval of Śiva. Śiva is transcendent, Śakti is immanent. The world is a play of Siva and Sakti.

What then is the nature of the world? Is it true or false? The Trika system says it is neither: it is a reflection. As Kṣemaraja says: *svecchayā sva-bhittau viśvam unmīlayati* (He reveals the universe by His own will on His own foun-

[1] J.C. Chatterji, op. cit., p. 104 maintains that the 'disturbance [is] (*kṣobha*) in the Prakṛti' in the section dealing with Buddhi, Aham, and Manas. But his quotation from the *Tantrasāra* (in fn. 1, p. 105) shows clearly that the result of disturbance in the Prakṛti is due to the imbalance of the *gunas*. As *Tantrasāra* quoted by J.C. Chatterji (op. cit., p. 105, fn. 1) says: *tad-eva tu bhogya-sāmānyaṁ prakṣobhagataṁ guṇa tattvam*; *bhogya-sāmānya* in Kashmir Śaivism is Prakṛti.

dation). Commenting on this aphorism (2), Kṣemarāja explains: *svecchayā* as 'not impelled by another's will like Brahmā etc., similarly not being dependent on material [which is possible because of His] *svātantrya* (voluntarism or absolute independence) as stated above [in the first aphorism]. Next explaining *sva-bhittau*, Kṣemaraja explains, 'not elsewhere, the foreordained universe reveals [itself] like a city in a mirror (*darpane nagaravat*) though identical [with the reflection acting as if] different (*abhinnam api bhinnam iva*).' Kṣemarāja next defines *unmīlana* (revelation) as 'manifestation of the existent' (*unmīlanaṁ ca avasthitasy=aiva prakaṭi-karaṇam*).

This gradual manifestation of the universe as a process of 'experiencing out' of the Ultimate Reality is known as the *ābhāsavāda*, or 'the doctrine of appearance.'[1]

Śaṃkara says in the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra* (it is always ascribed to him);

'I bow to Dakṣiṇamūrti (Siva) in the form of my *guru*. By whose grace, knowledge of self as non-dual has dawned [on me], [And] the universe appears to exist inside [my mind], like a city reflected in a mirror (*darpane-dṛyśyamāna-nagarī tulyam*) [Which] through Māyā's power appeared outside like a dream.'

It will be observed that the simile of 'reflection of a city in a mirror' is common to both Śaṃkara and Kṣemarāja, who indeed may have borrowed it from the great Ācārya. However, there is a distinction between Śaṃkara's Vivarta-vāda and the Ābhāsa-vāda. In Ābhāsa-vāda, the appearance of the phenomenal world is willed by Parama-Śiva, the Ultimate Reality; the reflection comes out of Him, and He, as the Supreme Experiencer, experiences the reflection. To that extent, the appearances are real. As Kālidāsa says:

ātmanam ātmanā vetsi
sṛjasy=ātmanam ātmanā
ātmanā kṛtinā c=aiva
ātmany=eva pralīyate

In Vivarta-vāda it is the individual who experiences the phenomenal world created by Māyā on the substratum of reality. And this phenomenal world vanishes, so far as the individual is concerned, as soon as he can overcome his *avidyā* or 'individual *māyā*' by *vidyā* (true knowledge). This can never happen in Ābhāsa-vāda, where a man can go beyond Māyā to the state of Śuddha-Vidyā, and then rise even higher, and ultimately attain Parama-Śiva.[2]

[1]The word *ābhāsa* also means 'to shine,' hence J.C. Chatterji, op. cit., p. 54 renders *ābhāsa* as 'shining out.'

[2]For a detailed comparison between Śaṃkara's Advaita-vāda and Kashmir Śaivism see MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, Kāśmīrīya Śaiva Darśan, in his *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛti aur Sādhanā*, I, Patna, 1963, pp. 11-16. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj points out that in the tenth verse of the *Daksiṇamūrti-stotra*, Śaṃkara asserts the existence of Īśvaratva, essence of Universal Atman with great and Supreme Selfhood (*pūrṇāhantā*). See also MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Tāntrik Vāṅmaya me Śākta-drsti*, Patna, 1963, p. 8, where he refers to Kashmir Śaivism as 'Advaita Śaivamat.'

CHAPTER XIV

ŚAKTI WORSHIP, MINOR RELIGIOUS CULTS, AND VRATA

ŚAKTI WORSHIP

Introduction

ŚAKTI is 'cosmic energy,'. One who worships Śakti is a *śākta*. The history of Śakti worship, as indeed the idea of Śakti, the Divine Cosmic Energy, has two aspects. First are the female divinities known under various names, each conceived and developed under different traditions and historical conditions. Then came the Sāṁkhya principle of Puruṣa and Prakṛti. Even the *Gītā* (13.20) declared that both Prakṛti and Puruṣa are 'beginningless'. To this was added the powerful influence of the *Śvetāśvatara* (4.10), which says that Māyā is Prakṛti and the Māyin (Lord of Māyā) is Maheśvara. Then developed the conception of Śakti as a metaphysical principle. It so happened that all the three terms, Śakti, Prakṛti, and Māyā are nouns of feminine gender. The use of the masculine term Puruṣa in distinction to Prakṛti, clinched the identification of the two terms with 'male' and 'female' principles. Before long Śiva was conceived or identified as the universal male principle, and his Śakti as the universal female principle. In course of time, the concretized form of all the female divinities coalesced into one principle: Śakti.

In the new rituals which replaced Vedic rites, the tantric form of worship predominated. The fundamental aim of *tantra* is to arouse the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti nascent in every individual. Therefore, in all forms of tantric worship, whoever the deity, the propitiation of His Śakti was the foremost aim. Thus Śakti became one of the most important Divinities, both individually and in association with other male deities. The implication of *tantra* worship has been discussed in Chapter X.

It is difficult to establish the precise period at which the conception of *śakti* began to pervade the religious system. As we shall see, the idea in a germinal form is as old as the RV. It appears that Śakti cult had developed to a certain extent by the early centuries of the Christian era, and spread over all parts of India, particularly over Bengal and Assam. She was worshipped under various names such as Tripurā, Lohitā, Kāmeśvarī, Durgā etc. Kālidāsa in his works (4th to 5th century AD) mentions Pārvatī as Umā, Durgā, Aparṇā, Gaurī, Bhavānī, and Caṇḍī, and also refers to the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva. In the last verse of the *Śakuntalā*, Kālidāsa speaks of Śiva as *parigata-śaktiḥ*, which suggests that at least the germs of Śakti worship were not unknown in his time. It seems, however, almost certain that Śaṃkara (AD 788-820) gave due and prominent recognition to Śakti worship, though he recognised the importance of several other cults as well. Śaṃkara

is sometimes called the *san-mata-sthāpan-ācārya* (the teacher who has established six cults), namely, the Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava, Gāṇapatya, Saura, and Kaumāra (Kārttikeya). He is also said to have been the innovator of the *pañcopāsanā* or the *pañcāyatana-pūjā* (worship of five deities). In this form of worship the first four and either one of the last two deities are taken. Four of them are placed in the four corners of an imaginary square, while the principal deity of the worshipper is placed in the centre of the imaginary square. Iconographic representation of this idea can be seen in several square Śiva *liṅgas* in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, on the four sides of which are carved the figures of Viṣṇu, Durgā, Sūrya, and Gaṇeśa.

The Śāktas, a powerful sect, worship Devī in the same manner as the Śaivas worship Śiva, or the Vaiṣṇavas Viṣṇu. But even among the Śaivas, the importance of Śakti is practically as great as that of Śiva. Many Śaiva schools maintain that Śiva without Śakti is like *śava* (corpse). Śiva being pure *cit* (consciousness), His union with Śakti is the essential preliminary to creation. Vaiṣṇavas of all schools admit Śakti in various ways as Śrī or Lakṣmī. Śrī Caitanya gave her a dominant position as Rādhā, and Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa became as popular as Hara-Pārvatī. Metaphysical concepts reflected on popular imagination assumed various shapes in literary and artistic forms.

Buddhism admitted Śakti in the form of female deities attached to each Buddha or Bodhisattva. Of these female deities, Tārā became very popular with the sailors who took Her as the guiding star and propagated Her popularity overseas. Neither *tantra* nor Śakti played important role in the development of Jainism, but the Jainas introduced female deities along with the Śāsana-devatās.

One of the reasons for the popularity of Śakti among the masses seems to have been the consideration for material gain. From the Vedic days, Hindus performed rituals to gain some positive personal benefit either in this world or in the next; usually the former was preferred. The Vedic deities bestowed the boons themselves, but according to the new religious theories, a deity's power to bestow a boon was exercised through his *śakti*. Hence if the *śakti* was worshipped the boon must arrive sooner and be more certain.

One could ask Devī for any favour. In a famous refrain in the *Argalā-stotra*, which is always recited along with the *Devīmāhātmya* (popularly known as *Saptaśatī* or the *Caṇḍī*) of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇā* (*c.* 4th to 6th century AD), the worshipper prays for 'beauty, victory, fame, and the destruction of enemies' and ends by requesting Caṇḍī to bestow on him 'a good and beautiful wife'. In a similar verse, Yājñavalkya (1.291) prays to Gaṇapati's mother Ambikā:

rūpam dehi yaśo dehi bhagaṁ bhavati dehi me
putrān dehi dhanaṁ dehi sarva-kāmāṁś=ca dehi me

Socially Śakti worship elevated the position of women. The *Devīmāhātmya* (11.6) says:

vidyāḥ samastās=tava Devi bhedāḥ
stṛiyaḥ samastāḥ sakalā jagatsu

tvay=aikayā puritam Ambay=aitat
kā te stutiḥ stavya-par-āpar-oktiḥ
(O Devi ! Thou art [personified] in all knowledge; all women are Thy parts. Thou alone art immanent in this entire universe. How can one over-praise Thee?)

Metaphysical concepts reflected on popular imagination assumed various shapes in literary and artistic forms. Creative minds evolved out of Śiva and Śakti philosophy, tradition, art, and human values. Śakti, the primal energy, became the goddess of domestic joy and plenty, the ideal wife, the ardent lover, the guardian deity of happy brides and chaste matrons. Creation flourished because of her penance. Śiva and Śakti, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa became the perennial refrain of Indian culture.

Pre-historic Śakti Worship

Sir John Marshall discovered several 'ring-stones' in the Indus valley. He also discovered some flat perforated stone discs at several historical sites, which can be dated to the Maurya-Suṅga period. Four nude female figures are engraved on the upper surface of one such disc found at Hathial near Taxila. Hence Sir John identified the stone-rings as *yoni*, the female organ, and many eminent scholars agree with this view. Other scholars, however, are of the opinion that the rings are architectural pieces, which seems to be more probable than the esoteric explanation.

A Harappa seal shows a plant issuing from the womb of a nude female with stretched legs. A terracotta relief from Bhita shows lotus issuing from the neck of a female figure. Sir John compared the two and concluded that the figures represent goddess as the source of nourishment. Dr. J.N. Banerjea accepted Sir John's conclusion, and moreover found in these representations a 'striking collaboration of the ideology' with a passage of the *Devīmāhātmya* (11.48-9), where the goddess Caṇḍī says that she will be known as Śākambharī 'when she will maintain the whole world by filling it with life-sustaining vegetation (*śāka*).'[1]

Now, the *Devīmāhātmya* forms a part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* which cannot be dated earlier than the 4th century AD. It appears to us incongruous to correlate a stray proto-historic seal with a text written about 2500 years later. Actually however, Dr. Banerjea concludes that evidence is not sufficient to justify the assumption of the existence of Śakti worship in Harappa and Mohenjodaro, but, he adds, that 'there is sufficient indirect evidence regarding its beginnings.' What those indirect evidences are has not been given, and, therefore, it is not possible to agree with his conclusion. The developments of the conceptions of Śiva and Śakti are more or less parallel, and both can be traced to the Vedas. In course of time these conceptions developed by attracting and absorbing non-Vedic elements

[1]J.N. Banerjea, *Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion*, Calcutta, 1966, pp. 110-12. For details see *DHI*, pp. 166-173 and 489-90. Sakambhari is mentioned in *Mbh.* 3.82.13 as a *tirtha* which fortunately Dr. Banerjea did not notice.

which is true of all post-Vedic theocratic cultures which inspired profound metaphysical doctrines. It does not mean, however, that non-Vedic strands of thought or conception must be pre-Vedic.

Śakti in the Vedas

We have discussed above (p. 176ff.) the position of Vedic female deities. They were either the wives of gods like Indrāṇī, Varuṇāni, Agnāyī (wife of Agni), and Rodasī (wife of Maruts), or personified nature like Uṣas (dawn), Pṛthivī (earth) etc. The word Śakti is also used in the RV about a dozen times. It has been used five times with Indra, but sometimes the word Māyā is used instead of Śakti. MM. Kane holds that 'it cannot be said that in the Ṛgveda "Śacī" is the wife of Indra (as it is said in later mythology), since the plural is more frequent than Śacī in the singular and since the Aśvins are also called "Śacīpati" once . . . The ideas associated with the words "Śakti" and "Śacī" are those of creation, protection, valour, and bounty.' However, MM. Kane, who has considered the Devī-sūkta given below, has concluded: 'No direct connection can be traced between these Vedic goddesses and the later conception of Devī or Śakti.'[1] It appears to us, however, that the principle of Śakti has been recognized in the *Devī-sūkta* of the RV (X. 125) where the Goddess Vāk says:

I am the Queen, the gathered-up of treasures,
Most thoughtful, first of those who merit worship,
I bend the bow for Rudra that his arrow may strike
And slay the hater of devotion.
On the world's summit I bring forth the Father:
My home is in the waters, in the ocean.
Thence I extend o'er all existing creatures,
And touch even yonder heaven with my forehead.
I breathe a strong breath like the wind and tempest,
The while I hold together all existence
Beyond this wide earth and beyond the heavens.
I have become so mighty in my grandeur.

The Śāktas consider the *Rātri-sūkta* (RV. X. 127) also as a hymn to Śakti. This position is more difficult to maintain but the *Rātri-sūkta* says: 'The immortal goddess has filled the expanded (firmament), the low places and the high places, she fights the darkness with lustre.' (RV. X.127.2)

Ambikā, who was later identified with Śiva's consort, namely, Durgā, Pārvatī etc., is mentioned in different texts of the YV and its Brāhmaṇas.[2] In these passages she is often called Rudra's sister, and once his mother, but has been allowed a share of the sacrificial offerings unlike Durgā and other Śākta divinities of the Purāṇas and the *tantras*, except that the late *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya-sūtra* (2.8.7) offers oblations 'to god Bhava's wife'. It is clear that

[1] *HDK*, V, ii, pp. 1043-44.

[2] For references and quotations from various texts see R.C. Hazra, op. cit., p. 21fn, and p. 22fn.

Ambikā was not a non-Vedic goddess. According to the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* (36.14), and the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (1.10.20), this Ambikā was *śarat* (autumn season) personified, and that as Rudra followed his sister Ambikā, who was *śarat*, his work of killing reached its peak during autumn. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (1.6.10.4) also states that Rudra carried out his killings in association with his sister Ambikā appearing as *śarat*. Therefore, the commentators describe Ambikā as a cruel deity (*himsikā, krura-devatā*), like Rudra who helped the latter in his slaughter by creating cough, catarrh, and fever.[1] Hence the theory that Ambikā was originally a harvest goddess is untenable.

Another goddess, who later became even more important than Ambikā, is Umā, or Durgā. She is mentioned, along with Ambikā as the wives of Rudra in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X.18): *namo Ambikā-pataye Umā-pataye namo namaḥ*. The *Nārāyaṇopanisad* of the same *Āraṇyaka* (X) also has the *Durgā-gāyatrī: Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumārīṁ dhīmahi tan no Durgiḥ pracodayāt* (Let Kātyāyanī inspire our thoughts, let us meditate on Kanyākumārī, and may Durgi [i.e., Durgā] inspire our faith and devotion). The same sentiment is found in another passage of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X.2) which says: 'I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity, daughter of the sun (or of fire) who is sought after for the reward of rites; adoration be to thy energy, O impetuous goddess.' This part of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* seems to be very late when the sages were turning from the abstract to its visual representation. However, this late Vedic text describes for the first time some of the outstanding traits of the goddess which were later developed in the Purāṇas and various hymns or *stotras*. Durgā, even later, was known as Kātyāyanī and Kanyākumārī in certain of her aspects. Umā is called Haimavatī (daughter of or belonging to the Himalayas) in the *Kena Upaniṣad* (3.12), where she appears as personified knowledge. Later the two traditions were fused together, and Umā became another name for Durgā.

Umā, the daughter of the Himalayas, rather than Ambikā, was selected by later Śaiva writers as Śiva's wife; the Prakṛti or the manifestation of Śiva's energy. The Vaiṣṇava writers selected Vindhyavāsinī, the most prominent among female deities of Vindhya, (another mountain), and linked her with Viṣṇu by adopting her as an incarnation of Viṣṇu's Yoga-nidrā or Yogamāyā. The *Harivaṁśa* identifies Durgā with Vindhyavāsinī, and gives her many names.

The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (1.2.4) gives the 'seven tongues' of Agni the following names: Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarṇā, Sphuliṅginī, and Viśvarucī. Of these names, the first two are common designations of the fierce aspect of Śakti; while Manojavā has been compared with Manojavas, a designation of Yama in the *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā* (5.11). The

[1]Dr. Hazra, op. cit., p. 23 points out that the autumn (*śarat*) has been looked upon from the early Vedic period as the most dangerous part of the year hence this season was mentioned in blessings as in *RV*, 1, 89, 9: 'May you live for a hundred autumns.'

names Kālī and Karālī, and reference to them as *devī* may raise the presumption that even at this age they were regarded as divinities. Śaṃkara, however, in his brief commentary, has merely paraphrased the verse and remarked that Agni received the oblations with his 'seven tongues.' The number seven is, however, significant, being the number of the Divine Mothers.

The *Śvetāśvatara* (1.3) says : 'The [Brahma-vādins] endowed with meditation and *yoga* saw Śakti abiding as non-different from God, and concealed [from comprehension] by its own attributes (or by *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*).' The *Śvetāśvatara* (6.8) again speaks of Brahman as possessing the highest Śakti (*parā-śakti*) in various forms, and Śaṃkara quotes this passage on Br. S. II.1.24 where he says: 'Brahman, although one only, is, owing to its manifold powers (*vicitra-śakti-yogāt*), able to transform itself into manifold effects just as milk is (*kṣīr-ādi-vat*)'. This admission of Śakti, however, differs from the Śākta doctrine. Brahman, according to Śaṃkara, is endowed with various *śaktis*, which curiously enough is practically the position of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. According to the Śāktas, however, Śakti is the Ultimate Reality, the Supreme Principle. Śakti, in the Śākta doctrine, occupies the same position as Brahman in Vedānta.

Śakti in the Epics

Neither of the two epics betray any influence of the Śakti doctrine. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sītā worships the river Ganges (2.46.67-73) just as a river goddess, and though Umā is mentioned (7.4.30; 7.13.22; 7.78 11 ff) she is merely the consort of Śiva.

In the *Mahābhārata* also the worship of Śakti does not appear as a specific doctrine, but there are some interesting references.

In the course of a long dissertation the sage Mārkaṇḍeya says:

Agnir-yaś=ca Śivo-nāma
Śakti-pūjā-paraś=ca saḥ
duḥkhārtānāṁ ca sarveṣ=āṁ
śivakṛt satataṁ Śiva (3.211.2)

(Agni, named Śiva, is given to the worship of Śakti; he is called Śiva, because he always alleviates the misery of the afflicted).

Here is a direct reference to Śakti-pūjā, but no details are given, and the identification of Śiva and Agni is difficult to explain. It reminds one of the 'seven tongues' of Agni mentioned above.

Kālī is mentioned in the *Sauptika-parvan* (8.64-70) in dreadful surroundings. After the defeat of the Kaurava army, Aśvatthāman stealthily enters the Pāṇḍava camp and slaughters the sleeping warriors. At that time they [Pāṇḍavas] saw in a dream Kālī with red face, bloodshot eyes, wearing garlands of red flower, her body smeared with red sandal paste; she was wearing a red dress, had a *pāśa* (noose) in her hand, with which she was grappling men, horses, and elephants. Kālī is here also called' 'Śikhandinī', which means 'a female with a tuft of hair,' but the implication of this attribute is not clear, her description in late texts being invariably '*mukta-keśī*'

(with flowing hair). The description, however, shows Kālī's close affinity with Yama, and may be an amplified version of Manojavā mentioned in the *Muṇḍaka*.

The *Gāyatrī-mantra* is worshipped as the goddess Sāvitrī in Mbh. 12.192, and she seems to have had some control over Kāla (time), Dharma, and Yama. Another Vedic goddess, namely Pṛthvī, appears in 13.100. Śrī, the goddess of fortune left Bali and came over to Indra, and told the latter that neither gods nor *gandharvas*, nor *asuras*, nor *rākṣasas* were capable alone of being her support. Hence, she advised Indra to divide her into four parts. Indra did as advised, and placed one of her parts on the earth, another in water, the third in fire (that is in the three elements used in worship), and the fourth inside truthful and honest men (12.218,16-28). Another dialogue between Indra and Śakti is given in course of which she declares that, all the people in the three worlds strive with zeal to attain her. She is born in lotus, blossomed by sun's rays, her names being Padmā, Śrī, and Padmamālinī. She is Lakṣmī, Bhūti, Śraddhā, Medhā, Sannati (or Saṃnati, 'one who is saluted for prosperity') Vijiti, Sthiti, Dhṛti, Siddhi, Kānti, Samṛddhi, Tviḍ (lustre), Svāhā, Svadhā, Saṃstuti, Niyati, and Smṛti (12.221.19-22). Apparently, except Lakṣmī, the rest of the names are attributes. At the end Śrī says that, wherever she resides she is accompanied with seven *devīs*, preceded by the eighth named Jayā. The names of the seven *devīs* are Āśā, Śraddhā, Dhṛti, Śānti, Vijiti, Sannati, and Kṣamā (12.221.81-82). These names too may be attributive terms, but there seems to be a clear reference to the Sapta-mātṛkas, who are sometimes represented in sculptures as eight mothers.

Development of the worship of Śrī will be dealt with in a later section of this chapter. Here it is necessary to point out that Chapter 218 of the *Śānti-parvan*, referred to above, may be very old.[1] It is possible that Śrī of the Mbh. 12.218 is a personification of the Ṛgvedic Devī of *Devī-sūkta* mentioned above. In the *Ṛgveda-pariśiṣṭa*, a beautiful description of Lakṣmī is found in the *Śrī-sūkta* in which she is called 'a golden coloured antelope decorated with garlands of silver and gold.'[2] It is difficult to determine whether these references indicate that Śrī or Lakṣmī had already become the 'goddess of fortune,' or was conceived as the symbolic representation of certain desirable qualities.

Most scholars have noted two hymns addressed to Durgā in the Mbh. (4.6 and 6.23). Both these chapters, however have been omitted from the text of the Critical Edition. In Mbh. 6.23, Durgā is called Kumārī (maiden),

[1]We have given here the summary of Mbh. 12.218.16-28. According to Professor Belvalkar, who edited the critical edition of the *Śānti-parvan*, 12.218.30-1 contains a clear reference to a phenomenon possible only in the polar or the circumpolar regions described by Lokamānya Tilak in his *Arctic Home in the Veda*, Chapter V. Mbh. 12.218.31 mentions 'the setting of the mid-day sun' (*tathā madhyaṁdine sūrya astam eti*) which seemed so unnatural that the original hiatus *sūryo astam* has been sought to be 'corrected' by the later copyists as *nāstam* which does not carry much sense.

[2]Quoted by J.N. Banerjea, op. cit., p. 117. For Lakṣmī see N.K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Musuem*, Dacca, pp. 181-90.

Kālī, (black or female time-destroyer), Kapālī (wearer of skulls), Mahākālī (the great destroyer), Caṇḍī (angry), Kātyāyanī (of the Kātyāyana family), Karālā (frightful), Vijayā (victory), Kauśikī (of the Kauśika family), Umā, Kāntāravāsinī (dwelling in the forest). In Mbh. 3.6, Durgā is called Mahiṣāsuranāśinī (destroyer of the buffalo-demon), and she is said to be fond of wine and flesh, and resides permanently on the Vindhya mountains. This is elaborated in the *Harivaṁśa*, which says that Durgā would reside in the Vindhya mountains, and adds that she would kill Śumbha and Niśumbha, and be worshipped with animal sacrifices. She is also represented as the goddess of the Śabaras, Pulindas, Barbaras and other wild tribes, and as being fond of meat and wine.[1] This story is further elaborated in the *Devī-māhātmya*, also known as *Saptaśatī* or *Caṇḍī* which forms Chapters 81-93 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (Bengali edition).

The importance of these stories is that, they show that Durgā has been worshipped as Mahiṣāsuramardinī since ancient times which has continued till now. Secondly, the statement that she is the goddess of Pulindas, Śabaras etc., indicates that many tribal elements are mixed with Durgā worship. It is clear, as Dr. Hazra has pointed out, 'that towards the end of the Vedic period, some female deities of non-Vedic origin began to be associated with the Vedic gods in various ways.'[2]

The process of deification may not have been very difficult. The Mbh. (13. 136. 16) says that the *brāhmaṇas* are capable of reducing 'gods' to 'non-gods', and elevating 'non-gods' to the position of 'gods' (*adaivaṁ daivataṁ kuryur daivataṁ c=āpy=adaivatam*). The first part of this statement is supported by Manu (9. 315) who says that *brāhmanas* can render a 'god' 'non-god' (*devān kuryur adevān*). Commenting on Manu 3.314, where the results of annoying a *brāhmaṇa* begins, Medhātithi refers to the Mbh. presumably to 13.136 in which the glories and powers of *brāhmaṇas* are described. Taking these verses in a literal sense, as greedy priests would be prone to do, it may be justifiably conjectured that, given sufficient inducements, the *brāhmaṇas* would have willingly and gladly celebrated the worship of tribal goddesses, and would have tried to link their non-Vedic attributes and activities through interpolation in the epic, which could be at leisure elaborated in the Purāṇas.

Later Development

Some Kuṣāṇa coins have been found in which a goddess is represented. Some of these figures are usually identified with Lakṣmī, but according to Dr. Banerjea, these may represent Durgā-Pārvatī, if one recognizes the lion mount beside her on the coins of Azes I. Some coins of Huviṣka depict a female carrying a lotus flower standing by the side of a male. In one coin of Huviṣka the name of the female deity has been engraved in Greek letters as OMMO. The scholars have taken this name as equivalent to Umā, and the

[1]For a summary of the *Mbh.* and *Harivaṁśa* stories see R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religious* System, Strassbourg, 1913, pp. 142-43.

[2]R.C. Hazra, op. cit., II, p. 24.

male figure as Śiva. In another gold coin of Huviṣka, the name UMMO is written by the side of the female figure standing singly, but here she holds a cornucopia like the Greek deities represented on Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins. According to Dr. Banerjea, this shows 'clearly how these Indian deities were being represented in their Hellenistic garb.[1]

Dr. Hazra is, however, inclined to identify OMMO of Huviṣka's coins with the Scythian mother goddess Ommo. He points out that her peculiar name, her association with a mountain, and her mount, a lion, seems to be originally the same as the Babylonian Ummu or Umma, the Arcadian Ummi, the Dravidian Umma, and the Scythian Ommo, all mother goddesses. Unlike Ambikā, Umā is never mentioned in any of the Vedic Saṃhitās or Brāhmaṇas, nor allowed any share of the sacrificial offerings. Even in the Mbh. story of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, it is only Śiva, and not his consort Pārvatī, who is promised a share of the sacrifice.[2]

It has been, however, shown above that Umā is mentioned in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and the *Kena Upaniṣad* both of which must have been written centuries before Huviṣka's reign.[3] It may be suggested, therefore, that while the conception of Umā was developed independently inside India, the Kuṣāṇas amalgamated Ummo with Umā, and enhanced her prestige and importance. As Rudra is given the appellations of Girīśa and Giritra in the *Śatarūdrīya*, his association with Umā, the daughter of Himavat Mountain, and with the nomenclature Pārvatī, was quite natural.

The early Tamil writers call the Mother Goddess Korravai and Aiyai. She was regarded by the Tamil warrior classes as the 'goddess of victory', and men and animals were sacrificed to her accompanied with ritual music and dancing. Heroes returning from battles placed their swords at her feet as thanks offering. Her priestess danced the *veṭṭuvavari* dance in course of which they predicted the evils that might befall the community, and the means to avert them. The goddess gave birth to Śeyon, the Red God, later identified with Skanda, who killed the cruel demon of the sea.

The *Śilappadikāram* identifies Korravai with Durgā and describes her as the 'three-eyed goddess whose crown is adorned with the crescent moon, whose lips, red as coral, are parted in a beatific smile, whose waist is encircled by a serpent, whose arm wields the trident, and whose feet, bedecked with anklets, rest upon the severed head of Mahiṣāsura.' Evidently, the picture drawn is of the composite Hara-Pārvatī, which is later represented in the Ardhanārīśvara images. The *Silappadikāram* also says: 'Praised by the gods and sages, she, of the dark colour, is the embodiment of victory, *dharma*, and wisdom. Dwelling in the forest, She, who cleft asunder the hard bosom of Dāruka, witnesses the dance of Her spouse, the lord of Kailāsa.' Her we have a very early, if not the earliest reference to Śiva's dance, which in

[1] *DHI*, p. 155.

[2] R.C. Hazra, op. cit., pp. 23-4.

[3] Huviṣka may be tentatively assigned to the 2nd century AD. For a discussion of the problem of the dates of Kaniṣka and his successors, see above I, pp. 193-94.

course of centuries moulded the Naṭarāja bronzes.

According to the *Maṇimekhalai*, priests in the garb of *bhairavas*, officiated in Her worship, chanting tantric *mantras*. The Great Mother is also the Virgin, enshrined at Kanyākumārī.[1]

It is evident that originally the Mother Goddess was a war goddess who ensured victory in battles. This is true not only of Tamil land, but for other regions also. She was worshipped according to the *Harivaṁśa* (2.3. 7-8), *Devī-purāṇa* (17.26) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (*Devīmāhātmya*) for protection against ferocious beasts, and ghosts, but primarily as a war-goddess. Hence Durgā was worshipped in autumn and spring, the two seasons most suitable for military expeditions. The association of Durgā with war explains the reasons for the rapid growth of the popularity of Durgā-Mahiṣāsuramardinī images all over India.

As for the Kanyākumārī temple referred to in the *Maṇimekhalai*, mentioned above, its antiquity is attested by the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* written by a Greek mariner in the 1st century AD, which states: 'There is another place called Comari and a harbour; hither comes those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy; and women also do the same; for it is told that a goddess once dwelt here and bathed.'[2] Apparently, before the 1st century AD, a sect of Kanyākumārī worshippers had arisen, and it is possible to call them a Śākta sect. It may be recalled, that though Durgā is identified with Umā and Pārvatī, Śiva's consort, Caṇḍī of the *Devīmāhātmya* is virgin.

According to the *Devīmāhātmya* (2. 9-18), Devī emanated from the accumulated lustre (*tejas*) of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Rudra, and other gods like Indra, Varuṇa etc. They gave Her various weapons, while Kubera gave Her a wine-cup 'which never emptied (*aśūnyaṁ surayā pāna-pātram*, 2.30). Later it is said that the angry 'Mother of the world' (*jagan-mātā*) drank repeatedly and her eyes became red. And while the demon was roaring, She told him: 'Roar, you, the deluded one, till I finish my drink' (*garja garja kṣaṇaṁ mūḍha madhu yāvat pivāmy=aham*; 3.38). Drinking was common among *kṣatriya* women, but this habit, frowned upon by the Dharmaśāstras, was never given prominence in Sanskrit literature. Hence Caṇḍī's drinking of wine, so prominently featured, indicates that she was a goddess of tribal warriors, which reminds one of Indra, the Vedic warrior god, who was inordinately fond of *soma*.

One of the common names of Devī is Bhadrakālī, which is an ancient name. In the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra* (SBE, XXIX, p. 86), it is provided that an offering is to be made to Śrī at the head of the bed on which the householder sleeps and at the foot of the bed to Bhadrakālī. Manu (3.89) provides that in

[1]The details from Tamil texts are from K.R. Venkataraman, Śakti Cult in South India, *CHI*, IV, p. 252. Venkataraman assigns the *Śilappadikāram* to 6th century AD, but it may have been written several centuries earlier. The *Maṇimekhalai*, though a sequel to the *Śilappadikāram*, is held to be chronologically the earlier work.

[2]Tr. W.H. Schoff, London, 1912, p. 46, section 58 also see. I, p. 33.

the daily *bali karaṇa, bali* (offering) is to be offered to Bhadrakālī in the south-west. The *Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti* (11.43), however provides that, the householder should not enter places of Śaiva, Skanda, and Śākta cults.

None of the Mahā-purāṇas is entirely devoted to Śakti worship, though several among them devote chapters dealing with Devī worship. Of these we have already noticed the *Mārkaṇḍeya* several times. Among the other Mahā-purāṇas which deal with Śakti worship are the *Brahmāṇḍa* (including the *Lalitāmāhātmya* in 44 chapters), the *Matsya* (13.28-54, where 108 names of Devī and 108 places of Her worship are given), and the *Kūrma* (1.12). In the *Kūrma*, Devi is called Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Anāhatā, Kuṇḍalinī, Durgā, Kātyāyanī, Caṇḍī, and Bhadrakālī. The *Kūrma* (1.12. 261-262) also states that the *śāstras* opposed to the Veda and Smṛti that are popular among the masses such as Kāpāla, Bhairava, Yāmala, Vāma, and Arhata were propagated by Devī for deluding the world, and were based on ignorance. The *Brahma* (181.48-52) also gives the names of Devī, and adds that when worshipped with offerings of wine, meat, etc., Devī becomes pleased and grants the devotee's desires. The *Viṣṇu* (5.1.83-85) gives the following names of Durgā: Āryā, Vedagarbhā, Ambikā, Bhadrā, Bhadrakālī, Kṣemadā, and Bhāgyadā. It then states that when worshipped with offerings of wine, meat, and other choice food She would be pleased to grant all the desires of Her devotees. Nearly at the end (6.7.60) the *Viṣṇu* says that the whole world is a manifestation of Viṣṇu endowed with His Śakti.

There are several Upa-purāṇas dealing principally with Śakti worship. The Śākta Upa-purāṇas are: *Devī, Kālikā, Mahābhāgavata, Devībhāgavata, Bhagavatī, Caṇḍī or Caṇḍikā, Devī-rahasya*, and *Kālikā* also known as *Kālī* or *Satī-purāṇa*.[1]

A commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* (1.1), quoted by Dr. Hazra, states that Kālidāsa wrote on the basis of the story as given in the *Devī-purāṇa*. Devī also inspired the sculptors mainly as the Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Some of the finest Indian sculptures depict her as a graceful maiden killing the buffalo demon. Her limbs are taut with dynamic energy; Her gesture is of absolute fearlessness: a mighty and true deity of warriors.

Fighters came from all castes and tribes, to which fact we probably owe the cosmopolitan nature of the Devī-or Durga-pūjā. It could be performed not only by persons of all castes, but even by the out-castes also. The *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* says: 'Devī should be worshipped (in Her shrine) on the Vindhya mountain. In all places, cities, houses, villages, and forests, by *brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas*, kings, *vaiśyas*, and *śūdras*, who are full of devotion, who have taken a bath, and who are cheerful and jolly, by *mlecchas*, and other men (such as *pratilomas*), and by women.' The same Purāṇa again states: 'Durgā is worshipped by various groups of *mlecchas*, by all *dasyus* [criminal tribes, outcaste Hindus, or actual robbers], by people from Aṅga,

[1]Of these the first four are available in print, and the rest are in MSS. For an account of these Purāṇas see Hazra, op. cit. The present *Kālikā* is quite different from the earlier *Kālikāpurāṇa*, see Hazra, op. cit., p. 236.

Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga, by Kinnaras, Barbaras, and Śakas.'[1]

Śākta Philosophy

Almost every form of theocratic culture in India has behind it a consistently evolved system of philosophic thought. So have the Śākta. But for some unknown reason, the Śākta philosophy was not recognized by most authorities. Thus the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* of Mādhava ignores the Śākta school altogether, and other compendia like the *Sad-darśana-samuccaya* of Haribhadra, and the *Sarva-siddhānta-saṅgraha* of Śaṃkarācārya (not the famous Śaṃkara) also give no account of Śākta philosophy. However, the Śaktas evolved a distinct philosophy, which was a positive contribution to Indian philosophy, and is mentioned in the *Vāyu-purāṇa* (104.16):

Brāhmaṁ Śaivaṁ Vaiṣṇavaṁ ca
Sauraṁ Śāktaṁ tath=Ārhatam
ṣaḍ-darśanāni c=oktāni
svabhāva-niyatāni ca

It will be observed that these six systems are not the famous *ṣaḍ darśanas* which will be discussed in the next chapter. These systems, which include Buddhism, are clearly heterodox excepting Śaiva philosophy, and this grouping explains to a certain extent the exclusion of Śākta philosophy from the texts mentioned above. It was neither heretical nor really quite orthodox.

The *Vāyu-purāṇa* mentions the Gupta kings, and is referred to by Bāṇa in both the *Harṣa-carita* and the *Kādambarī*. Hence it has to be placed between *c.* AD 350-550. Hence it may be said that by the 5th century, the Śākta philosophy had been formulated. All the schools of philosophy mentioned in the *Vāyu-purāṇa* are tantric, which is hardly surprising, because tantra and Śākta doctrines have much in common. The main points of difference between them is, that while in the Śākta cult Devī, or Śakti, is worshipped as the Supreme Reality, *tantra* covers a much wider range including the other schools mentioned in the verse quoted above.

The position of Śakti in Śākta doctrine is best illustrated by the following passage from the *Tripurā-rahasya*: 'She is called Brahman in the Vedas, Viṣṇu by the Vaiṣṇavas, Śiva by the Śaivas, and Śakti by the Śāktas. There is indeed nothing but She. She holds everything by Her powers, as a mirror does the images. She is the illuminant in relation to the illumined. The object is sunk in illumination like the image of a city in a mirror. Just as the city is not apart from the mirror, so also the universe is not apart from consciousness.'[2]

The Supreme Reality, according to the Śākta philosophy is Samvit (lit. consciousness).[3] Samvit is of the nature of pure intelligence, self-luminous,

[1]Translated by MM. Kane, *HDK*, V, i, p. 157.

[2]*Tripurā Rahasya*, 14.44.47, translated by M.S. Venkataramaiah, Tiruvannamalai, 1960, p. 104.

[3]The following account of the Śākta philosophy is based on 'Śākta Philosophy' in MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, Burdwan, 1966, pp. 175-215, but originally published in *Philosophy, Eastern and Wstern*, edited by S. Radhakrishnan.

unaffected by the limitations of time, space, and causality. It is *prakāśa*, or infinite illumination or light, with an unfettered freedom of action called *svātantrya* or *vimarśa*. This *vimarśā* constitutes the power of the Samvit, which is fundamentally different from matter, for being consciousness it is free from modifications. Being free, Samvit does not depend on anything else for its manifestation and function.

The universe is absorbed and identified with the essence of Reality, till by the exercise of its power of self-limitation (*tirodhāna-śakti*), creation (*sṛṣṭi*) appears as self-expression (*anugraha*), implying the final disappearance (*saṃhāra*) of the same, and its absorption in the Reality. Maintenance of the world represents an intermediate stage between *sṛṣṭi* and *saṃhāra*.

Samvit is like a clean mirror on which the universe shines as an image indistinct from the mirror, and thus inseparable from the Samvit. An ordinary mirror reflects an external object, but Samvit requires no object outside itself due to its freedom of power of actualization called Māyā. The image reflected on Samvit is manifold, but Samvit always remains the same unbroken unity or continuity of existence and consciousness.

Samvit is free from *vikalpa* (modification) but creation is *vikalpa* or *kalpanā*. Both Advaita Vedānta and Śākta Āgama admit that the universe is *vīkalpa* or *kalpanā* (idea). How then does creation, as a *vikalpa*, emanate from Brahman or Samvit both of which are conceived as free from *vikalpa*?

According to Advaita Vedānta, the universe does not emanate from Brahman, but is a part of a beginningless process going on within the domain of matter or Māyā and superimposed on Brahman which reveals it but does not initiate the process.

According to the Śākta philosophy, the *svātantrya* power of Samvit generates movement, though its manifestation is only a reflection (*ābhāsa*), and the externality is only apparent. When this power is dormant, *vimarśa* is held to be dissolved in *prakāśa* (*antarlīna-vimarśa*); Śakti then seems to be sleeping as Kuṇḍalinī, and Śiva is no longer Śiva but Śava (corpse). The power is, however, always awake, and Samvit remains conscious of Itself. This self-awareness expresses itself as 'I' or '*Aham*', which is called '*pūrṇa*' (full), because there is nothing outside it to act as counter-entity in the form of 'this' or '*idam*'. This is the Pūrṇāhantā stage, which implies the presence of the entire universe reflected within it. The universe then is one with *Aham*.

The next stage of Samvit is 'world within' it and its projection outside. This externalization is the manifestation of a non-ego (*an-aham-bhāva*) within the pure Ego. This non-ego is the so-called *a-vyākta* (unmanifest) or *jaḍa-śakti* (matter) which corresponds to the 'root ignorance' (*mūl-āvidya*) of Advaita Vedānta. But the Cit-śakti (spiritual power) of Samvit is beyond ignorance which is the ultimate source of all contingent-existence. Avidyā or material power issues out of the Cit-śakti in the following manner:

i. During the universal dissolution (*pralaya*), when the Self is free from all *vikalpas*, Śakti exists as pure Cit-śakti.

ii. At the end of *pralaya*, when there is as yet no manifestation but a ten-

dency towards *vikalpa*, the power is called Māyā-śakti.

iii. When the *vikalpas* are fully developed and materiality becomes dense, Śakti appears as Avidyā, or Jaḍa-Śakti, or Prakṛti. When Māyā and Avidyā are subsumed under one name, it is called Jaḍa-prakṛti.[1]

Ahantā or 'I-ness,' mentioned above, is Caitanya, which is of the nature of self-luminous light shining on itself. When resting on non-ego (*anātman*) it expresses itself as *idantā* or 'this-ness.' Behind all dualism is the universal Ego or 'I' which is limitless, undifferentiated, and in identity with the entire visible universe. This characteristic is absent from the *jaḍa*, which is not self-manifest. Like the co-existence of heat and light in fire, universal *ahantā* and freedom or Śakti co-exist in Caitanya. This freedom is Māyā, which though essentially identical with Caitanya (*cid-eka-rūpa*) brings out infinite kind of varieties, but in bringing them out does not in the least swerve from its Essence.

The Śākta philosophy describes the appearance of the universe in various stages which agree with the evolutionary scheme of Kashmir Śaivism described above, where Parama-Śiva is also called Para-Samvit. In fact, there can be no differentiation between Śiva and Śakti as such; the Cit is known as Śiva in so far as it is free from all differentiating attributes, and as Śakti by virtue of its characteristic self-awareness.

A different scheme of evolution is given in the *Śāradā-tilaka* (1.7-8). According to this system, the Supreme Reality is described as *sakala* or *saccidānanda-vibhava*. With Him Śakti or Kalā (supercosmic transcendent power) lies in eternal union. Parameśvara is Sat (eternal self-existence), Cit (self-consciousness), and Ānanda (self-delight). Śakti, hidden in the depth of Being is the first manifestation of creation, the first evolute being *icchā* or 'will.' Emergence of Śakti is like the appearance of oil out of oil-seeds. It is, however, a spontaneous act of Divine Will.

The appearance of Śakti after the great cosmic night is like the revival of memory of a re-awakened person. The desire for vision of the lost world is associated with a sense of void. This desire is Māyā, which is accompanied with an indistinct sound called Para-nāda, which fills the entire space. Para-nāda is of the nature of light, and it is recognized that sound and light co-exist. This sound and light fills the void or the realm of Māyā. Then the diffused sound and light is focussed into a *bindu* (point). All this time the Kriyā-śakti (power of action)—known as Para—bindu—manifests itself and breaks into three: 1. *bindu*; 2. *bīja*; and 3. *nāda*. The aspect of Śiva predominates in this second derivative *bindu*, while Śakti prevails in *bīja*. In *nāda* (no. 3) Śiva and Śakti are equal.

The Śabda-Brahma, or the 'great sound,' comes into being when the *bindu* splits itself, which represents the causal state of Brahman or Kula-kuṇḍalinī. This Kuṇḍalinī is the manifestation of primary power manifested by Para-nāda and Para-bindu. It is diagrammatically represented by an inverted

[1]Pure Cit-śakti is comparable to the Parā-Prakṛti and the Jaḍā-śakti to the Aparā-Prakṛti of the *Gīta* 7,4-5. See also *Gīta*, 3. 27, 29, 33.

isosceles triangle with the *nāda*, the effect (*kārya*), at the inverted apex, and the two causal forces (*kāraṇas*), *bindu* and *bīja* at the two other angles forming the upturned base.

Kuṇḍalinī, which is a manifestation of the Śabda-Brahma, is located in the body of a man as Prāṇa-kuṇḍalinī, and serves as the mechanism for the articulation of sound. The soul as a spiritual atom makes its first appearance when the freedom of Divine Will is lost behind its self-created veil through the transformation of Śakti from Parā-kuṇḍalinī to Prāṇa-kuṇḍalinī.

MINOR GODS

Introduction

Innumerable minor gods have been, and are still being, worshipped in India. We shall have to restrict ourselves to the consideration of the most prominent among them, and only those who were worshipped all over the country. Of them Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya belong to Śiva's family.

Śaivism, unlike Vaiṣṇavism, did not develop any theory of incarnation, but gradually Śiva came to be looked upon as the 'head of a family', of which each member became the object of cult worship. First was His Śakti, who, though worshipped individually, is usually considered as associated with Śiva. Their sons are Gaṇapati and Kārttikeya. In parts of India, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī are consîdered to be their daughters. None of them are Vedic gods.

Gaṇeśa

The word '*gaṇapati*' is used in the sense of 'lord of the hosts' in the RV (II. 23.1) as an attribute of Brahmaṇaspati, and once (X. 112.9) Indra is addressed as Gaṇapati, where obviously the Marud-gaṇas are indicated. Other Vedic texts also use the word '*gaṇapati*', but the familiar features of the elephant headed deity is absent in the Vedic literature. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X.15), however says: 'We contemplate Vakratuṇḍa, therefore may Dantiḥ (tusked god) impel us.' In the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sutra* (2.5.21), the Deva-tarpana includes the propitiation of Vighna, Vināyaka, Vīra, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha, Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta, and Lambodara. All these are well-known synonyms of Gaṇeśa, but this part of the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra* is of doubtful authenticity.[1]

Definite evidence of Gaṇeśa worship is provided by the *Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra* (2.14), which says that Vināyakas are four, namely, Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa, Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita, and Devayajana. They are all evil spirits, and when seized by them people have bad dreams in which they see inauspicious sights such as shaved persons, persons with matted hair, or wearing yellowish garments, camels, hogs, asses, and *caṇḍālas*. When seized with these evil spirits, princes do not get their kingdom, accomplished maidens fail to secure

[1] *HDK*, II, i, pp. 213-14. MM. Kane apparently accepts its authenticity in *HDK*, I, 2nd ed., p. 53.

husbands, married women become barren, or their children die in infancy, peasants lose their crops etc. Hence the *Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra* prescribes propitiatory rites to avert the evils which may result to persons seized by Vināyaka. Aparārka on Yājñavalkya 2.232 quotes from the *Hārīta Dharma-sūtra* a lengthy passage in mixed prose and verse, where the worship of Gaṇeśa comes in.[1] The *Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra* differs very considerably from Manu, and Hārīta declares that 'Śruti is of two kinds, namely Vaidikī (consisting of the Veda), and Tāntrikī (consisting of Tantra).' MM. Kane has explained that in this context *tantra* means a 'śāstra based on Veda.'[2] Still, it is apparent that unlike Manu, the *Hārīta* and the *Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra* were following a tradition which was not strictly Vedic. At least, the worship of Vināyaka, which is not mentioned by Manu, is non-Vedic.

Yājñavalkya (1.271-292) gives details of Vināyaka worship, which seems to have been based upon the *Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra*, but the Smṛti shows a more developed form of Vināyaka worship than given in the Gṛhya-sūtra. Yājñavalkya replaces the first and the last names of the Gṛhya-sūtra with Mita and Saṃmita, while the first and the second are each divided into two, namely, Śāla and Kaṭaṅkaṭa, and Kūṣmāṇḍa and Rājaputra, making a total of six. Vināyaka, according to Yājnavalkya, is appointed by Rudra and Brahmā (and also Viṣṇu according to Vijñāneśvara) to the overlordship of the Gaṇas. He not only causes evils (*karma-vighna*, lit. 'impediments to work') but also sustains or fulfills (*siddhi*) religious rites. The evils described by Yājñavalkya are evidently taken from the *Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra*, but the Smṛti adds that Vināyaka is the son of Ambikā.

It is apparent that by the time of Yājñavalkya (first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little later),[3] Vināyaka worship had become quite common. It is curious, however, that there is no reference to Vināyaka or Gaṇapati in the Mbh.[4]

In the various Purāṇas like the *Śiva*, *Liṅga*, *Varāha*, *Skanda*, *Barhmavaivarta* etc., and in the Āgamas like the *Suprabhedāgama* different accounts are given of the origin of Gaṇapati-Vigheneśvara, and T.A. Gopinath Rao, after examining the confusing accounts observes: 'Gaṇeśa, who is the same as Vighneśvara, is considered to have been born solely to Śiva, solely to Pārvatī, and to both Śiva and Pārvatī, and also held to be Kṛṣṇa in another form.'[5] As we have seen above, Yājñavalkya (I-191) says that Gaṇapati's

[1] *HDK*, I, 2nd ed., p. 133.

[2] ibid, p. 131. For comparison of *Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra* and Manu, ibid, p. 310.

[3] ibid, p. 447.

[4] MM. Kane has given reference to *Mbh.* 3.65.23 and 13.150.25 (*HDK*, II, i, p. 215), which is the same as 13.150.26 as given by Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, op. cit. Neither of these verses are included in the Critical Edition, and therefore must be held to be later interpolations. Even the interpolated references are so meagre, that one may hold that the Gaṇapati tradition did not find favour with the Mbh. redactors. It may be mentioned here that in Mbh. 7.84.24 Alambuṣa is referred to as Sālakaṭaṅkaṭa.

[5] T.A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, Madras, 1914, pp. 35-36. J.N. Banerjea, op. cit , p. 152.

mother is Ambikā but does not give his fathers name.

One of the earliest figures representing a (nude) figure of Gaṇeśa in the spotted red sandstone of Mathura has been tentatively dated in the 4th century AD. A terracotta plaque representing a flying Gaṇeśa with a pot of sweetmeats in one of his hands has been found on the wall of the brick temple at Bhitargaon assigned to the Gupta period. The earliest cult-image of Gaṇapati is found in a niche of the Bhumara Śiva temple of the 6th century AD. A standing figure of two-armed Gaṇapati with his trunk placed on a pot of sweetmeats held in his hands found in Myson in Cambodia has been dated in the 7th century AD.

In the first section (*Svarga-varga*, 1.29) of his famous dictionary, Amara gives the synonyms of Gaṇeśa as:

Viṇayake Vighnaraja-Dvaimātura-Gaṇādhipāḥ
apy=Ekadanta-Heramba-Lambodara-Gajānanāḥ

However, at the beginning of this section (6) Vināyaka is given as a synonym for Buddha, and in a later section (*Kānta-varga*, 18) Vinayaka is given as a synonym for the Buddhists (*Sugate ca Vināyakaḥ*). As Amara is usually taken to be a Buddhist, these synonyms are rather curious. However, both the Buddhists and the Jainas have adopted Gaṇeśa as a deity.

Amara was writing at the end of the Gupta age, and the sculptures referred to above have been dated to the beginning of that age. The Purāṇas in their present form were redacted mostly during the intervening period while Yājñavalkya comes a little earlier preceded by the *Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra*. On the basis of their evidence it seems that, Gaṇeśa, a non-Vedic deity, was adopted into the orthodox fold some time at the beginning of the Christian era or slightly before it, depending on the dates of the *Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra* and the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra*.[1] Soon after began a period of theocratic involvement when various mythologies were written, and images came to be worshipped in temples. Dr. J.N. Banerjea has pointed out that, an 'explanation of the characteristic iconography of Gaṇapati may be sought in the fact that he combined in him some of the characteristic traits of the Yakṣas and the Nāgas.'[2] It seems that the icons reflect the evolution of Gaṇeśa cult which had its basis in popular superstition. It is significant that in Yājñavalkya, the section dealing with the rules of Gaṇapati's *pūjā* (*Gaṇapati-kalpa-prkaraṇam*) is followed by the section of the 'propitiation of planets (*graha-śānti-prakaraṇam*). Gaṇapati too had to be propitiated to induce him to avert his evil influence. Later his benign aspect was introduced, and in order to find him a place among the divinities, his parenthood was ascribed to established deities like Śiva and Pārvatī. But Gaṇeśa is even now worshipped as 'one who removes obstacles,' and to this role is due his ubiquitous presence in temples, and his worship at the beginning of most ceremonies.

Gradually Gaṇeśa cult emerged, and Ānandagiri in his *Śaṃkara Digvijaya*, and Dhanapati, in his commentary on the corresponding work by Mādhava,

[1] MM. Kane places the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra* between 500-300 BC; *HDK*, V, ii, p. xii.
[2] *DHI*, p. 356.

describe six Gaṇapati sects, who respectively worshipped Mahā-Gaṇapati, Haridrā-Gaṇapati, Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati, Navanīta-Gaṇapati, Svarṇa-Gaṇapati, and Santāna-Gaṇapati. Of these, the worshippers of Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati were *vāmācāri*.[1] Whether these sects actually confronted Śaṃkara or not may be doubted, but Ānandagiri is usually taken to be a near contemporary of the Ācārya, in which case it has to be admitted that by the 9th century AD, Gaṇapati worship was fully developed and had evolved its own tantric form of worship.

The earliest epigraphic evidence of Gaṇeśa worship is born by the Ghatiyala (Jodhpur, Rajasthan) pillar, which contains four images of Gaṇapati facing four quarters as its capital piece. The inscription was issued by the early Pratīhāra ruler Kakkuka in vs 918 (AD 861). Inscription no. 1 opens with an invocation to Vinayaka (*Śrī-Vināyakāya namaḥ*), and then prays (no.2. v.1) for success everywhere through the grace of Vināyaka (*siddhiṁ karotu sarvatra stambha-dhāmā Vināyakaḥ*).[2] In this connection, it may be mentioned that Kakkuka's parents were the *brāhmaṇa* Hariścandra and Bhadrā, his *kṣatriya* wife. They had four sons: Bhogabhaṭa, Kakkuka, Rajjila, and Dadda. Rajjila's son Narabhaṭa was called Pellāpelli. His son was Nāgabhaṭa, whose two sons were called Tāta and Bhoja. Another ruler of this line was Śiluka, his son was Jhoṭa, followed by Bhillāditya, Kakka, Bauka, and Kakkuka who issued the Ghatiyala inscription. All these names are non-Sanskritic, except Bhillāditya which betrays a Bhil association indicating tribal origin, while the name Nāgabhaṭa shows a Nāga affiliation.[3] These were the people who would be most attracted by non-Vedic gods.

The popularity of Gaṇeśa worship steadily increased from about the 10th century, and he became a popular cult object. Images of Gaṇapati gave ample scope to the sculptors to humanize the elephant head with one or two tusks, with the trunk variously disposed, rendering the pot-bellied god a very genial figure. The number of his heads varies from one to five (Heramba-Gaṇapati) and the arms are correspondingly increased. One headed Gaṇapatis are, however, more common, of which the most pleasing variety is the dancing Gaṇeśa. Gaṇeśa is also found in *liṅga* form, but usually the elephant headed god is shown with heavy ornaments.

We have given above Ānandagiri's enumeration of Gaṇapatis, of whom three were Navanīta, Svarṇa, and Santāna. They were replaced by Urddhva-

[1]For the views of these sects see R.G. Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 149-50. There is also an *Ucchiṣta-Caṇḍālinī*; see *Ucchiṣta-Gaṇapaty-Ucchiṣta Caṇḍaliny=upāsanā*, published by Laksmi-Venkatesvara Steam Press, Bombay, n.d. These two deities are mentioned in the *Bṛhat Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda *Āgamavāgīśa*, published by the Basumati Sahitya Mandir, Calcutta, 6th ed., 1341 B.S., pp. 99, 363, 367. This establishes not only the existence of these two deities but their continued worship till at least the 16th century. I understand that Ucchiṣta Ganapati is worshipped even now.

[2]*EI*, IX, pp. 279-81.

[3]Of these outlandish names, only Nāgabhaṭa and Bhoja, which sounded like Sanskrit, persisted. Bhoja can be derived from the root *bhuj* (to enjoy), but I think that originally the name was Bhoj, which was later Sanskritized.

Gaṇapati (yellow, six armed), Piṅgala-Gaṇapati, (tawny coloured, six-armed), and Lakṣmī-Gaṇapati (white, four or eight-armed). The nomenclature of the other three remained unchanged: Mahā-Gaṇapati (red, ten-armed), Haridrā-Gaṇapati (yellow, six-armed), and Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati (red, four-armed).

Kārttikeya

Kārttikeya or Skanda is another non-Vedic god, who, at one period attained great popularity. He came to be accepted as a son of Śiva and Pārvatī, but earlier accounts give different parentage.

One of the earliest reference to Skanda[1] is in the *Gītā*, (10.24) where the Lord says: 'Among the generals, I am Skanda.' This shows Skanda's reputation as a war-god, which he retained.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.36) gives the following account of Kārttikeya's birth: On the gods approaching Brahmā for an army commander (*senāpati*), he decreed that Gaṇgā, the daughter of Himavat and the elder sister of Umā, should bear the son of Agni. When the son was born, six Kṛttikās served as his wet-nurse, hence he was called Kārttikeya. The child produced six mouths to suck the breasts of six Kṛttikās, As he leaped (*skanda*) at the time of his birth, he is also called Skanda.

The Mbh. has two versions. In 3.214, a complicated story is given, its nucleus being that Skanda is the son of Agni and Svāhā. The subsequent chapters (215 and 216) give more stories regarding Skanda, who is also referred to as Kārttikeya. Chapter 217 gives an account of Skanda's followers, and Skanda is called the father of Kumāra, and one of his names is given as Viśākha (3.217.3-5). Then (3.217.10-14) are given the names of seven mothers: Kākī, Halimā, Mālinī, Bṛṁhatā, Āryā, Palālā, and Vaimitrā. They had a child called Śiśu (lit. child), and together with him, the seven mothers formed the Vīrāṣṭaka. Together with goat-headed (Skanda), they are called Vīranavaka. Skanda's six faces are goat-like. One of his names is Bhadraśākha. Chapter 218 describes Skanda's appointment as the commander of the divine army by Indra, in the course of which it is said that, Lord Rudra entered fire to give birth to Skanda, hence he is really Rudra's son (3.218 30-31). Skanda was appointed as commander of the army by the gods and married to Devasenā (3.218.41-48).

According to the other version of the Mbh. (9.43), Maheśvara's vital energy fell into Agni (fire), which could not destroy it, and felt distressed. So, according to Brahmā's direction, Agni dropped it in the Gaṅgā, and Skanda was born. Then he was brought up by the six Kṛttikās as in the

[1]*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 7.26.2 says, 'People call Sanatkumāra as Skanda,' from which some scholars have concluded that Sanatkumāra was the original name of Skanda-Kārttikeya. This conclusion does not seem to be proper, for 'Skanda' here has been undoubtedly used in the sense of a 'learned man.' As MM. Kane has explained: 'Sanatkumāra might have been literally or metaphorically called "Skanda" because he attacked and routed *Avidyā* just as God Skanda routed armies of asuras, if at all the myth about Skanda was known in times before the Upaniṣads.' *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1582.

previous version. The present version, however, adds that Śiva, Umā, Gaṅgā, and Agni came to see Skanda, and all of them wanted to be the parent of the beautiful boy. Understanding their desire, Skanda formed himself into four bodies by *yoga* method, and the other three bodies were known as Śākha, Viśākha, and Naigameya; Skanda went to Rudra, Viśākha to Pārvatī, Śākha to Agni, and Naigameya to Gaṅgā (9.43.34-39). The next two chapters respectively deal with Skanda's followers, and his martial exploits. A deliberate attempt seems to have been made here to transfer the parentage of Skanda from fire and water—the two agents of destruction—to Śiva and Pārvatī—the two agents of creation. There are a few more references to Skanda in the Mbh.

Skanda's importance can be judged by the fact that the most voluminous Purāṇa—the *Skanda*—is named after him, but he does not figure prominently in this Purāṇa. Skanda is mentioned in some other Purāṇas like *Vāyu* (27.7.16), *Kūrma* (1.10.28-29), and *Brahmāṇda* (28.54), which make out that Agni is the name of one of Śiva's body, and the former's wife is Svāhā, their son being Skanda. This story seems to be a modification of the Mbh. story.

Patañjali (on Pāṇini 5.3.99) mentions that the images of Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha were worshipped in his time, and adds that Mauryas desiring of obtaining wealth, sold these images (probably as medallions or coins).

It is usually assumed that Huviṣka's coins show four figures representing four different gods, namely, Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha, and Mahāsena. But Dr. Banerjea points out that these coins prove that there were three gods or three aspects of the same god, namely Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha, and Mahāsena.[1] However, if Kumāra is identified with Śākha of the Mbh., then we have four gods. It is apparent that the three or four emanations of Skanda had not yet lost their identity in one Skanda-Kārttikeya.

The name Brahmaṇyadeva and Svāmī Mahāsena appears in Kumāragupta's Bilsad pillar inscription of G.E. 96 (AD 415-416) which records the addition of a gallery (*pratoli*) to the existing temple of Svāmī Mahāsena.[2] Some coins of Kumāra-gupta show Kārttikeya riding on a peacock (his typical mount), holding a spear in his left hand, with his right hand in *varadā* pose. The name of the Gupta emperor and of his son also prove their devotion to Kārttikeya.

Mahāsena is also mentioned in seals discovered by Sir John Marshall at Bhita who translated the legend as: 'Of the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamīputra Vṛṣadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who had made over his kingdom to the great Lord Kārttikeya.'[3] Kārttikeya also figures on Yaudheya coins, which refer to him as Brahmaṇya and Kumāra. Dr. Banerjea suggests that the Yaudheyas had dedicated their state to their deity, who was regarded by them not only as their spiritual but also their temporal ruler.[4] A large number of Yaudheya coin moulds have been found at Rohtak

[1] *DHI*, p. 146. [2] *CII*, III, pp. 44-5.
[3] Quoted in *DHI*, p. 142. [4] *DHI*, p. 142.

(ancient Rohitaka), and a Sanskrit text called *Mahāmayūrī* (v. 21), states: 'Kumāra Kārttikeya was the world-famed tutelary deity of Rohitaka' (*Rohitake Kārttikeyaḥ Kumāro loka-viśrutaḥ*).[1] Interestingly enough, the Mbh. (2.29.4) also says that Rohitaka was the favoured (country) of Kārttikeya (*Kārttikeyasya dayitaṁ Rohitakam . . .*).

In spite of this hoary tradition, the popularity of the Skanda-Kārttikeya cult began to wane in north India after the Gupta period, and gradually his worship was reduced to a sort of adoration for the son of Mother Durgā.

The development was different in the south, where Kārttikeya is generally known as Murugan or Subrahmaṇya. In the early Sangam literature, Murugan is called Śeyon (the god with a red complexion), and Velan the deity of the hilly regions, the god of the hunters. The word *velan* literally means 'he who carries a *vel* or spear,' and the spear or *śakti* is the typical emblem of Kārttikeya even in north Indian images.[2] The Sangam poets picture him as the victorious Red-god bearing the 'gem-like peacock flag and riding a peacock or elephant. Skanda-Kārttikeya's association with peacock is also typical, and the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (57.41) describes him as: *Skandaḥ Kumāra-rūpaḥ śaktidharaḥ barhi-ketuś=ca*. Today Kārttikeya is invariably shown riding a peacock.

In early Sangam literature, Śeyon was said to be the son of Mother Goddess Korravai or Aiyai. In the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimekhalai*, the Mother Goddess is identified with Durgā-Mahiṣāsura-mardinī, and Her son Marugan with Skanda. The entire Kārttikeya cycle of mythology is given in Nakkīrar's *Tirumurugārruppaḍai*, one of the Ten Idylls, and in the songs of *Peripāḍāl*, which agree mainly with the Sanskrit mythologies though there are some additional details in the Tamil texts. Nakkīrar gives esoteric explanation of Skanda's six faces, from which it appears that, the Sanskrit myths had reached south India long before Nakkīrar. By about the 6th century AD, the Skanda cult shed its association with folk-culture.

As stated above, the Skanda cult continued to prosper in south India. In the Śiva shrines, one of the sub-shrines was allotted to Brahmaṇya roughly from the 9th century AD onwards, and sometimes shrines were dedicated to him. The Somā (*sa-Umā*)-Skanda sculptures of the Pallava period date from the 7th to the 8th century AD, but the beautiful bronze Somā-Skanda images are products of the Coḷa period. The idea behind this composite composition is that Śiva is *sat* (existence), Umā is *cit* (knowledge), and Skanda is *ānanda* (bliss), and together they represent Saccidānanda Brahman. These bronzes depict Śiva and Umā seated side by side, usually on separate pedestals, with the child Skanda either standing or more frequently dancing between them. The folk element, however, persisted, and even today people in south India gather together when there is an outbreak of epidemic disease, and perform

[1] *DHI*, p. 143.

[2] ibid, p. 141. The emblems must be very old in south India, for the finds in the old urn-burial sites at Adiccanallur include iron tridents (*vel*), banner bases, and representations of fowls in bronze; *CHI*, IV, p. 309fn.

certain rites. Then one of them is possessed by Subrahmaṇya, who points out the mistakes committed by the people.[1]

In spite of the long tradition of Skanda cult in south India, Prof. K.A.N. Sastri came to the conclusion that Skanda 'is no exception to the general rule, and that he is also an originally Indo-Aryan deity overlaid with a number of local and possibly non-Aryan traits in different places.'[2] It is difficult to controvert this view coming from so great an authority on south Indian history, but it is also difficult to call Skanda an Indo-Aryan god, because he is not mentioned in the Vedas, Prof. Sastri believed that Skanda of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* is identical with later Skanda-Kārttikeya, which is extremely doubtful as pointed out above.[3] What seems to be most probable is 'that there were many allied god-concepts that were at the root of the later unified idea of a deity by the name of Skanda-Kārttikeya,'[4] as suggested by Dr. Banerjea. The peculiar fact is the large common elements in the folk-cultures of north and south, and investigation into the origin of the Skanda cult may provide data to link them.

Another peculiarity is that Skanda is prominent in the Mbh. which does hardly mention Gaṇeśa.[5] Later Skanda was eulogized in the Purāṇas, but his worship practically came to an end in north India, where Gaṇeśa is still a popular deity. In south India, Gaṇeśa is still worshipped, but the much more popular deity is Subrahmaṇya, popularly known as Bālasubrahmaṇya. One of the reasons may be that Skanda was eulogized not only in the early Tamil literature, but also in the 15th century by the great poet Aruṇagiri, and in the 17th century by Kumāra Guru Para. It is possible that the Tamil poets were inspired by Skanda because his image stirred the race memory of their imagination. This traditional faith may have been lacking in the north, which exhausted its literary resources with Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, written reputedly during the Gupta age when the popularity of the Skanda cult was at its height in north India. The *Kumārasambhava* gained its due recognition as a great work of art, but did not inspire religious fervour like hymns, which indeed was not the intention of the great poet.

Brahmā

It has been shown above that during the Vedic age, Prajāpati-Brahmā was one of the principal deities. The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (1.1.1.) begins with the statement that 'Brahmā arose as the first of the gods, the maker of all, the protector of the world; he imparted *brahma-vidyā*, the foundation of all knowledge to his son Atharvan.' Brahmā, was thus associated, if not identified, with Brahman, the impersonal Absolute of Vedānta. Manu (1.5.11) also

[1]C.V. Narayana Ayyar, *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India*, p. 104.
[2]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Cultural Contacts Between Aryans and Dravidians*, Bombay, 1967, p. 76.
[3]See above p. 675 fn. [4]*DHI*, p. 362.
[5]For details of present day Gaṇeśa worship, see *HDK*, V, i. pp. 145-49, and ii, p. 748.

says that Brahmā was the first born from the primeval egg.[1] Thus the name Prajāpati was dropped, and the deity came to be called 'Brahmā,' the first of the trinity, the other two being Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Brahmā occupies an honourable position in the two epics, which call him under various names such as Viśveśa (lord of the world), Sraṣṭṛ (creator), Lokaguru (preceptor of men), Suraguru (preceptor of gods), Ādideva (the primal god) etc. These appellations show that he enjoyed a prominent status, but on the whole it appears from the Mbh. that Viṣṇu and Śiva were the main objects of devotion. It is admitted in the epics, as well as in the Purāṇas, that Brahmā was the creator. But his chief role in most of the mythologies was that of bestower of boons to demons, which made them too powerful, and ultimately they had to be destroyed by either Śiva or Viṣṇu. This want of foresight, amounting to a lack of common-sense, may have undermined his position. Moreover, Brahmā is never called upon to grant a boon to a man.

Gradually Brahmā came to occupy a subservient position. He was said to have been born from the navel of Viṣṇu. Elsewhere, Śiva is said to have created him. A vague incest myth of the RV was foisted on him, and Śiva chastised him for his moral lapse. Still he continued to have a small following. The *Padmapurāṇa* attempted to revive him as a supreme god, and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* prescribed the mode of making his images. These belated attempts do not seem to have been very successful, for Brahmā found no place among the five or six deities contemplated in the *pañcāyatana pūjā*.

Another reason for Brahmā's downfall was the deliberate Buddhist attempt to attack and to ridicule him. The Buddhist texts ignore his unity, mention many Brahmās with different appellations, and sedulously preach their inferiority in wisdom to Buddha, thereby lowering Brahmā in the estimation of the people. Śakra (Indra) and Brahmā are represented as Buddha's attendants in Buddhist sculptures. The Jaina sculptures present Brahmā either as a Yakṣa attendant of the Jina Śītalāntha, or as one of the Dikpālas.

This tendency continued in the Brahmanical sculptures also. Several temples of Brahmā have been found, and it is evident that at one time Brahmā worship was prevalent in Mirpur Khas in Sind, Khed Brahma in Gujarat, in Ajmere, and probably in other places also as an Āvaraṇadevatā (accessory deity) in the shrines of major cult deities. In some Śiva and Viṣṇu images, Śiva or Viṣṇu occupies the central position, while Brahmā is shown in the attitude of bowing to the deity. Brahmā images have also been found in Java, but compared to the Śiva and Viṣṇu images they are few in number.

Sūrya

Sūrya never attained remarkable prominence, but his worship, which can

[1]Manu 1.10 uses the word Nārāyaṇa, but Medhātithi explains that Nārāyaṇa also means Brahmā, and Maheśvara, who are identical but are worshipped as different deities.

be traced to hoary antiquity, persisted through the ages, and he is still worshipped. Sūrya is worshipped not only as a deity, but also in certain obligatory rites which the *brāhmaṇas* have been performing since the Vedic times.[1] No other deity has received such continuous devotion for about 4000 years, which indeed is the most remarkable feature of Sūrya worship.

Vedic rites do not involve any iconic representation, which, as explained above, came later. A psychological dialectic movement is sometimes held to be responsible for the characteristic post-Upaniṣadic religious movement which swung towards the concrete and the personal. One of the earliest expression of this tendency is found in the personification of Sūrya, the Sun-god, the most prominently visible deity. Some of the earliest remains of the historic period, the punch-marked and the cast coins, contain the symbolic representation of Sūrya as a wheel, or a round plate, or a lotus flower, which were also used in the Vedic rituals. In the coins of the Pañcāla Mitra chiefs, Sūrya-mitra and Bhānumitra, the solar disc on a pedestal is shown on the reverse side. The earliest anthropomorphic representation appeared about 1st century BC, and Sūrya is found riding on a one-wheeled chariot drawn by four horses on an 'upright' of the old stone railing of Bodh Gaya. Another representation is found at the Buddhist cave at Bhaja. Another relief is found in a Jaina cave at Khandagiri (in Orissa, 1st century AD). Thus the earliest representations are connected with non-brahmanical cults. As we shall see, the later development of Sūrya cult as represented by images and iconographical texts reveal the grafting of a foreign element on an indigenous cult.

Sūrya worship features rather prominently in the Mbh. (3.3 and 4) where in response to Yudhiṣṭhira's prayers, Sūrya gives him a pot which would produce practically any amount of food. In course of his prayer, Yudhiṣṭhira addresses Sūrya by 100 names, which are reproduced in the *Skandapurāṇa* (7.1. 280) and in the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* (33. 34-49).[2] Kuntī's son by Sūrya was Karṇa, the great hero of the Mbh. (3.290 & 291). Later a story developed that Śāmba, Kṛṣṇa's son by Jāmbavatī, was cured of leprosy by propitiating Sūrya on the advice of his father. Śāmba then constructed a Sūrya temple on the banks of the Chenab in the Punjab, but as no *brāhmaṇa* was forthcoming to officiate as priest, he had to go to Śakadvīpa to get Maga priests. This story is given in the *Bhaviṣya-*, *Śāmba-*, and the *Varāha-purāṇa*.[3]

Among the iconographic texts, the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (57.46-8) of the 8th cen-

[1]For details see R.G. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 151.

[2]In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI. I.105 (or 106) Rāma recites the Ādityahṛdaya hymn before killing Rāvaṇa, but this chapter has been omitted in the critical edition.

[3]According to R.C. Hazra (*Indian Culture*, III, pp. 223-29; *Studies in Puranic Records of the Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca, 1940, pp. 167-73) the extent *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* cannot be earlier than the 6th or the 7th century AD, though parts of it are quite modern. The *Varāha* says that the *Bhaviṣya* was recited by Śāmba who then established an image of Sūrya. The date of the *Varāha* may be about the 10th century AD, while the *Śāmba* is probably later though mentioned by Alberuni (AD 1030). See R.C. Hazra, Śāmba-purāṇa Through the Ages, *JASB*, XVIII (1952) pp. 99-111 and *Studies in Puranic Records*, pp. 32-108.

tury AD prescribes that the image of Sūrya 'should be dressed in the fashion of a northerner, (his body) from the feet upto the breast being covered (*udīcya-veśaṁ gūḍham pādād uro yāvat*) . . . he should wear a long necklace and a *viyaṅga* . . .' More details are given by the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, composed between AD 600 to 1000. The emphasis is on covering the deity's body and his wearing the *avayaṅga* and the boots (*upānat*), and some late texts describe Sūrya as 'the legs covered by boots' (*upānat pinaddha pāda-yugalam*). The *avayaṅga* is the Sanskritized form of Aiwiyaonghen, the sacred waist girdle of the Sun worshipping Zoroastrians, and used by Indian Parsis even now.

It is sometimes held on the basis of these evidences, that the Indian Sūrya images are derived from Iranian prototypes. But as Dr. Banerjea has shown, north Indian Sūrya images were adopted from the Hellenic modification of the 1st century AD, when Mithraism was thoroughly Hellenized in the West Asian courts of Alexander the Great's successors.[1] Both the Gupta and the post-Gupta sculptures show this influence, though gradually the covering of the body disappeared, leaving only the top-boots as the sign of foreign influence, which, however, failed to reach south India.

There are many epigraphic references to Sūrya worship, of which the most well-known is the Mandasor inscription of Kumāra-gupta I, which records that a group of silk-weavers from Lāṭa (South Gujarat) erected a magnificent temple dedicated to Sūrya in AD 437-438. The same guild restored the temple to its original splendour when its parts fell into disrepair about 36 years after its construction. The Indor copper-plate inscription of the time of Skanda-gupta refers to a temple of Sūrya at Indrapura (modern Indor in the Bulandshahr District, U.P). The Gwalior inscription of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula records the building of a Sūrya temple at Gopadri (Gwalior) by one Matṛceṭā. The Deo-Barnak inscription of the later Gupta king Jīvita-gupta of Magadha refers to a Sūrya temple in the Shahabad District (Bihar).[2] The Deo-Barnak and the Govindpur inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara[3] indicate the presence in Bihar area of a large number of the descendants of the early Maga immigrants, who, in course of time, merged into the Hindu society. Presumably their ancestors were Magis, the Sun worshipping priests of Iran, for Alberuni also states that the ancient Iranian priests came to India and became known as Magas. It will be recalled that Śāmba is said to have brought those priests or '*brāhmaṇas* of Mihira *gotra*' from Śakadvīpa, which is the Indian name for eastern or south-eastern Iran, where the Śakas or the Scythians had been infiltrating for a long time. Hence it is not surprising that the earliest recorded Sūrya temple was at Taxila which was visited by Apollonius of Tyana during the time of Gondopharnes (first half of the 1st century AD). Among foreign travellers, Hiuen Tsang gives a graphic description of this famous Śūrya temple in his *Si-yu-*

[1] *DHI*, p. 438.
[2] *CII*, III, pp. 70, 80, 162, 218.
[3] *EI*, II, pp. 330.

ki, which is corroborated by Alberuni about four centuries later.[1] It may be added here that the descendants of the Śākadvīpī *brāhmaṇas*, who later came to designated as Bhojakas, Daivajñas (astrologers), Graha-vipras (diviners of planetary influences), and Agra-dānis were looked down upon as outcastes by other *brāhmaṇas*.

Several Indian dynasties were devoted to Sūrya. Among them the most important were the Maitrakas of Valabhī and the Puspabhūtis of Thāneśvara.

The most important Sūrya temple at present is the Sun temple at Konarak. Other important Sūrya temples were the Mārtaṇḍa temple of Kashmir, and the Sūrya temple of Modhera in north Gujarat. The *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* mentions three important Sūrya temples, one of which was situated at Mundirā, which has been identified with Modhera.

Syncretistic forms of Sūrya and other divinities were also worshipped as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, and Dharm-Āditya. At least in one temple, Sūrya was worshipped as the Tri-mūrti, which is described in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (107.7). Another inscription of VS 1346 (AD 1289) shows that Revanta, the son of Sūrya, was also worshipped in Gujarat.[2]

Śrī or Lakṣmī

At present, the two goddesses held next in importance to Durgā are Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, and they are usually considered to be Her daughters, just as Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa are considered to be Her sons, Śiva being their father. All these deities, however, have independent origins, and the modern conception is a successful syncretization of wealth (Lakṣmī), learning (Sarasvatī), valour (Kārttikeya), and wisdom (Gaṇeśa), with Śiva and Śakti: the dual form of the Supreme Reality and their benign derivatives which lead to worldly success.

Śrī or Lakṣmī is not mentioned in the RV. The *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā* states that Śrī and Lakṣmī are co-wives, and the commentator adds that they were the wives of Āditya. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI.1.4.ff) relates that Śrī came to Prajāpati when he was tired of created beings, but the gods wanted to kill her out of envy. Prajāpati dissuaded them, and they spared her life in exchange for all her attributes like food, kingdom, universal sovereignty, noble rank, holy lustre, dominion, wealth, prosperity, and beautiful form. Then she propitiated the gods, who restored her attributes. In the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (1.4.2), there is a prayer, in course of which Śri (not Śrī) is invoked apparently as a goddess of wealth, but connected with wool and animals, possibly lambs and cows. The *Śrī-sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda-pariśiṣṭa* describes most of her characteristic features, with which later literature is familiar.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* connects Śrī with lotus in 3.44.14, and in other verses, and

[1]Translated by T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India*, II, London, 1905, p. 254; E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, London, 1910, pp. 21, 116, 184.

[2]For details and references see A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 299-300.

identifies Śrī and Lakṣmī. Reference to Lakṣmī worship for fortune is made in 6.24.13 and 26, and association of Śrī with lotus in 6.25.16 and 6.27.8. An almost similar verse, with the name of Sarasvatī added, is found in the ordinary editions of the Mbh. (3.37.3), but has not been included in the Critical Edition.[1] There are, however, detailed accounts of Lakṣmī in the Mbh.

The Mbh. (1.16.34) relates that Śrī 'dressed in white' emerged out of the *ghī* like water, when the ocean was churned by the gods and the demons, followed by Sarasvatī. Kuntī blessed Draupadī by wishing her to be as attached to her husbands as Lakṣmī was to Nārāyaṇa (1.191.6). Lakṣmī and Nalakūbara permanently reside in Kubera's court (2.10.19). Mbh. 12.124.57-60 relate the elevated moral conditions which render it possible for Śrī to attach herself to a person, which is almost repeated and elaborated with interesting examples in 12 221.19-83, in course of which (12.221.21-2), she gives a list of her names which are: Lakṣmī, Bhūti, Śrī, Śraddhā, Medhā, Sannati, Vijiti, Sthiti, Dhṛti, Siddhi, Tviḍ (lustre), Svāhā, Svadhā, Saṃstuti, Niyati, and Smṛti. It may be mentioned here that the names of the ten wives of Dharma given in Mbh. 1.60.14-5 are: Kīrti, Lakṣmī, Dhṛti, Medhā, Puṣṭi, Śraddhā, Kriyā, Buddhi, Lajjā, and Mati, but these may be taken as Dharma's attributes or ways of attaining him. Similarly in the *Gītā* (10.34), the Lord declares that, among woman, He is Kīrti, Śri, Vāk, Smṛti, Medhā, Dhṛti, and Kṣamā, who, according to Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, are the seven wives of Dharma.

In Mbh. 13.11.6-20, Śrī describes the types of persons favoured by her, and also the types which she forsakes, and emphasizes (13.11.19) that she is permanently united with Nārāyaṇa. Mbh. 13.81.1-27 describe the permanent association of Śrī with cow-dung and cow's urine. This seems to be the earliest reference to the deep-seated Hindu reverence for bovine excreta.

Manu (9.300) says that Śrī serves the person (a king) who is always engaged in new ventures (*karmāṇy-ārabhamāṇaṁ hi puruṣaṁ Śrīr=niṣevate*) or, in other words, 'fortune favours the brave,' for Manu was inspiring the kings in this passage. Yājñavalkya (1.295), however, advises the *Śrī-kāma* (people desiring wealth) to propitiate the planets. Kauṭilya (2.4.17) recommends that among the temples to be erected in the centre of the city two should be dedicated respectively to Śrī and Madirā. This Madirā is probably the Surādevī mentioned in the Mbh (1.16.34) who followed Śrī after the churning of the ocean.[2]

The Buddhist texts contain numerous references to the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī

[1]All references to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are to the critical editions published from the Oriental Institute, Baroda, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

[2]Goddess Madirā is also mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa*, critical edition, Poona, Appendix 35, p. 695. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.44.1-27) version of the churning of the ocean, instead of goddess Lakṣmī, innumerable nymphs came out of the sea. Since they came out of *ap* (water) they were called *apsarases*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* then adds that the *apsaràses* were followed by the daughter of Varuṇa, called Vāruṇī, the presiding deity of *surā*. The gods took her, hence they are called '*sura*,' the demons, who did not get her, are called '*asura*.'

in many of which she is described as Deva-kumārikā. Triśalā dreamt of Śrī-Lakṣmī, wearing a garland of *dināras* (gold coins) on her breast and being bathed by two elephants, the night on which she conceived her famous son, Mahāvīra.

Gaja-Lakṣmī (Lakṣmī attended by elephants) appears in some of the earliest coins discovered so far. She appears in an uniscribed coin (3rd century BC) from Kausāmbī, in Ujjayinī coins (2nd century BC), and in coins of Ayodhyā kings (1st century BC). She also appears on the coins of foreign kings like Aziles, Rajuvala, Śoḍāsa, Pantaleon, and Agathokles.[1] As the goddess of wealth, her image could be represented by any issuer irrespective of his creed, and she naturally figures on Gupta coins.

Lakṣmī is represented in many sealings found at Basarh, and Bhita. The seal of the *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* at Basarh shows Lakṣmī standing with elephants pouring water over her, with two attendants holding objects resembling money-bags. More than thirty similar Gaja-Lakṣmī seals have been found at the same place.[2] Gaja-Lakṣmī seals have also been found at Bhita.[3]

A female figure displaying the characteristic traits of Lakṣmī has been found at Bharhut, where she has been called Sirimādevatā. She is sometimes identified with Śrī, though *sirimā* is the equivalent of *śrīmatī*. Other variants of this type is shown in Sanchi, Bodh Gaya etc., but there she is shown standing on lotuses and holding a lotus, rendering her identification with Śrī more probable, because Śrī is almost invariably associated with lotus. In later periods, the representation of Gaja-Lakṣmī in temples, particularly on the lintels, becomes quite common.

It has been noticed above that the Mbh. refers to Lakṣmī as the consort of Nārāyaṇa. Skanda-gupta's Junagadh inscription mentions Viṣṇu as the perpetual abode of Lakṣmī, who is represented as Vāsudeva's wife in the Sarnath inscription of Prakaṭāditya.[4] Similar allusions are made in several other inscriptions. It was, however, Ācārya Rāmānuja (AD 1017-1137) who institutionalized the idea by establishing the Śrī-sampradāya to be noticed later. This sect worships Śrī, that is Lakṣmī, as the consort or Śakti of Viṣṇu, and this is the form in which Lakṣmī is worshipped today.

Sarasvatī

According to some scholars the RV was composed in the country around the river Sarasvatī. In any case, the name of this river is frequently mentioned in the RV and in later Vedic literature. Many rivers are mentioned in the RV, but Sarasvatī is the river *par excellence* (*nadītamā*, RV, II.41.16). She is also deified and the RV, II.32.8 prays to her along with other godd-

[1] *DHI*, p. 110-11.
[2] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-04, pp. 107ff.
[3] ibid, 1911-12, pp. 52ff.
[4] *CII*, III, p. 286.

esses for 'well-being,' and 'protection.' In RV, II.41.16-18 Sarasvatī is invoked as follows: 'O Sarasvatī, O best among mothers, rivers, and goddesses, we are like condemned persons; make us a recommendation, O Mother. All life-vigours are vested in you, the goddess, O Sarasvatī. . . .O goddess, send us offspring. O holy Sarasvatī, rich in food-stores, accept these hymns and prayers . . . .[1] Later the river physically disappeared, which is referred to in the *Pancaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (XXV.10.6), and she is rarely mentioned in the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* (7. 10. 35-40) relates that when Kumbhakarṇa was about to ask for a boon, Brahmā recalled Devī Sarasvatī who entered into Kumbhakarṇa and made him ask for the boon of a year's slumber, after which she left him. Here she is apparently identified with the Vedic goddess Vāk, but her association with Brahmā is significant. For, though the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not state their relation, later they are represented as husband and wife.

The Mbh. opens with the celebrated verse in which obeisance is made to Nārāyaṇa, Nara, *narottama* (best among men), and 'Goddess Sarasvatī', and Vyāsa. The text, however, describes her both as a river and a deity. In 2.7.17, she is said to reside in Indra's *sabhā* along with other gods and goddesses. Mbh. 3.184.5-25 relate Sarasvatī's instruction to sage Tārkṣya on religious and spiritual matters. Evidently she is here the goddess of learning, a development on Vedic Vāk. But in 8.24.75, it is said that when Śiva went to destroy Tripura, Sarasvatī formed the road (*parirathyā Sarasvatī*).

In Mbh. 12.121.24, *daṇḍa-nīti* is said to be the daughter of Brahmā, and its names are given as Lakṣmī, Vṛtti, Sarasvatī, and Jagaddhātrī. In Mbh. 12.-306.7-16, Yājñavalkya relates how he prayed to Sūrya for mastery over the YV, and how Sarasvatī first entered into him, and later appeared before him, decked in vowels and consonants (*svara-vyañjana-bhūṣitā*) preceded by the mystic syllable 'OM'.

There are several descriptions of the river Sarasvatī in the Mbh., which seem to agree with her description in the literature, but those need not be given here. However, 2.9.19 says that she adorns the court of Varuṇa along with many other rivers, which are also named. Mbh. 3.82.34 says that a person, who bathes in the confluence of the Ganges and Sarasvatī reaps the result of an Aśvamedha sacrifice. Mbh. 3.82.59 not only recommends offerings of oblations to *pitṛs* on the banks of the Sarasvatī, but adds that such persons would enjoy the Sarasvatī-loka. A list of *tīrthas* on this river is given in nine chapters of the Śalya-parvan (34-42).

It is not possible here to discuss the geographical location of the river Sarasvatī. It is apparent that she was considered a holy river which was later deified, but her later developments are unknown to the Mbh. Moreover, Mbh. 5.115.14 says that Sarasvatī is to Manu what Svāhā is to Agni, Śaci is to Indra, Lakṣmī is to Nārāyaṇa, Ganges is to *samudra* (ocean), Rudrāṇī is to Rudra, Vedas are to Brahmā, Urvaśī is to Pururavas, Śakuntalā is to Duṣyanta, Damayantī is to Nala etc. It is evident that in this passage of the

[1]Translation by H.D. Velankar.

Mbh., Sarasvatī is considered to be the consort of Manu, but this concept is unknown elsewhere and must represent an old tradition lost soon after the Mbh. received its present form. On the whole it appears that the conception of Sarasvatī in the Mbh. has greater affinity to the Vedic than to the Pauranic tradition.

Sarasvatī was a favourite deity of the Jainas and the Buddhists. The Jainas set a high value on learning, and a group of their important divinities, numbering sixteen, are called Vidyā-devīs. Sarasvatī or Śrutadevī is at the head of the Vidyā-devīs, and presides over the Śruta or the preachings of the Tīrthaṅkaras and the *kevalins*. In Jaina images, Ṣarasvatī usually carries the symbols of Sūrya and Brahmā. Large number of Sarasvatī images have been found in Jaina temples of different dates. Both the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras celebrate a special festival, known as the Jñānapañcamī or the Śruta-pañcamī, in her honour. One of the earliest images of Sarasvatī, now in the Lucknow Museum, was set up in the Year 54 (or 44) evidently of the Śaka era.[1]

As stated above, Sarasvatī also figures in Buddhism. It is held that Mañjuśrī's principal emblem, the book of knowledge (*prajñā*), indicates that he was the Mahāyāna counterpart of Brahmā and Sarasvatī of the brahmanical pantheon. The Buddhists, however, regard Sarasvatī independently as a goddess. A Bharhut railing pillar contains a standing female figure playing on a *vīṇā* (harp), which is usually regarded as the earliest representation of Sarasvatī in Indian art.

In Pauranic mythologies, Sarasvatī is sometimes connected with Brahmā, either as his daughter or his Śakti, and according to some iconographic texts, Brahmā should have Sarasvatī on his right and Sāvitrī on his left; many such images have been found. Sometimes Sarasvatī is linked with Viṣṇu as Puṣṭi or Puṣṭi-Sarasvatī, one of Viṣṇu's Śaktis. Actually in a particular type of Viṣṇu image, he is accompanied by Śrī and Puṣṭi according to north Indian convention, and Śrī and Bhū according to south Indian convention. The north Indian type is recommended in the *Agnipurāṇa* (44 and 49.19-21). Some texts mention Bhāratī as a name of Sarasvatī, along with Śrī, Vighneśvarī, Buddhi, and Kubuddhi as Gaṇeśa's consorts.[2] Sarasvatī also sometimes figures in *sapta-mātṛkā* slabs.

Sarasvatī, like Lakṣmī, is also worshipped independently. The iconographic texts describe her as having four hands holding any four of the following objects: *pustaka* (manuscripts), *puṇḍarika*, (white lotus), *akṣamālā* or *akṣasūtra* (rosary), *vīṇā* (harp), *kamaṇḍalu* (water vessel), etc. She is decked with many ornaments, and dressed in white. However, the poetess Vijayabhaṭṭārikā accuses Daṇḍin of having described Sarasvatī as all white in ignorance of her true colour which is dark like the blue lotus.[3]

The conceptual difference may be due to a different south Indian tradition. The Ṛgvedic deity Vāk was known in early Tamil literature as Cintā Devī,

[1]V.A. Smith quoted by J.N. Banerjea in *HCIP*, II, p. 430.
[2]*DHI*, p. 358. [3]*EHDY*, I, p. 245.

and later she was called Kalaimagal, the goddess of learning and of the arts, that is the prototype of Sarasvatī.[1]

Sarasvatī as Śāradā was enshrined by Śaṃkara. At Śṛṅgerī, the main monastery of the sect established by him, the presiding deity is Śāradā, and the monastery is known as the Śāradāmaṭha. She is addressed as *sarva-vedānt-ārtha-prakāśinī Brahma-vidyā Śaradā* (Śāradā, the [symbol of] Brahma-vidyā, who reveals the meaning of the entire Vedānta).

Nāga Cult

J. Fergusson pointed out that the cult of snake worship may not be the oldest, but 'it ranks at least amongst the earliest forms through which human intellect sought to propitiate the unknown powers.'[2] In India, the earliest representation of snake or Nāga occurs on the faience seals of Mohenjodaro. Sir John Marshall expressed the opinion that the Nāga of the seal may be the devotee and not the deity, but even so, its association is with a religious idea.[3]

In RV, VIII.17.9, Indra kills Ahi-vṛtra (snake-demon) and receives the appellation 'Vṛtrahan' (destroyer of Vṛtra). The serpent also appears as Ahirbudhnya in RV, II.31.6 where Ahirbudhnya is mentioned along with Trita, Ṛbhukṣan, and Savitṛ etc. who are invoked for sustenance and wealth. In RV, IV.55.6, Ahirbudhnya is invoked for success in commercial ventures overseas. According to Sāyaṇa, Ahirbudhnya is a god who lives in the intermediate space between heaven and earth, but modern scholars regard Ahirbudhnya as a benign snake deity.[4]

The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (II.7.5) pays homage to the snakes, while the AV (VI.56.1ff) regards some snakes as *devayāna* (deities), while expressing a desire for destroying the others. The AV (III.27) associates the serpents with Vedic divinities as protectors of the quarters. The Buddhists also include the Nāga kings among the Lokapālas.

The Gṛhya-sūtras prescribe many rites to honour and ward off snakes.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (3.13.28) while relating his ancestory, Jaṭāyu states that, Surasā gave birth to Nāgas and Kadrū to Pannagas, both the words meaning snakes. There are many references to Nāgas in the Mbh., the most important being the death of Parikṣit bitten by Takṣaka Nāga. In reprisal, his son Janamejaya arranged a snake-killing sacrifice, where the epic was recited.

In the Kṛṣṇa legends, Kṛṣṇa chastises Kālīya-nāga, but his brother Balarāma is an incarnation of Śeṣa-nāga, and at his death a huge serpent comes out of his mouth. Śeṣa or Ananta-nāga is also the couch of Viṣṇu. Śiva too is associated with snakes. His images usually show a snake round

[1]K.R. Venkataraman, Śakti Cult in India, *CHI*, IV, p. 253.
[2]J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1873, introduction, p. 1.
[3]J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, I, p. 68.
[4]See *HDK*, II, ii, pp. 823-24.

his neck as a necklace. Thus brahmanism made a compromise with the Nāga cult.[1]

Minor Deities

Besides the Nāgas, the ancient Indians worshipped Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, and Apsarases, which may be collectively called 'spirit worship'. They too are concretized and figure in various images as subordinate deities. There are also many references to *vṛkṣa-caityas* (tree emblems), *sthala-vṛkṣas* (sacred trees), and *caityas* (any monument) which were worshipped. There were various other objects of veneration, as for example, the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the figures of which were carved on the door-jambs of temples from the Gupta period onwards.

The Indian mind longed for concrete objects of veneration. Their love of icons led them to anthropomorophize even the emblems and the attributes of the divinities. This was idolatry. It was also an attempt towards the realization of abstract ideas through the medium of appropriate and easily recognized symbols. The worship of images formed a unique system for the development of devotion and concentration of mind, which could be repeatedly turned towards a visible and fixed object of veneration. When these elements receded to the background, the system became gross idolatry.

VRATA

The word *vrata* is found in the RV in several senses, one of which is religious or moral practices. In the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads the word *vrata* has been used in more than one sense, one of which, however, is 'religious observance' or 'vow.' Medieval digests give various definitions of *vrata*.[2] For our present purpose, *vrata* should be taken to mean a 'religious vow' often accompanied with festivities.

It is in the Purāṇas that we find a systematic exposition of the various *vratas*. These texts, in the words of MM. Kane, 'extol pilgrimage and vratas to the skies.'[3]

Pilgrimage and pauranic *vratas* are post-Vedic developments due to economic pressure. This tendency is first discernible in the Mbh. where it is frankly observed that poor men were incapable of performing Vedic rites, which were very expensive. How then could the poor acquire religious merit or attain heaven? The substitutes suggested in the epic were pilgrimage and fasting, which are parts of the most pauranic *vratas*.[4]

[1]For details of the Nāga cult see *DHI*, pp. 344-51, and P. Banerjee, *Early Indian Religions*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 94-116.

[2]For details see *HDK*, V, i, pp. 1-32.

[3]ibid, p. 43.

[4]For details see A.K. Majumdar, *Economic Background of the Epic Society*, Calcutta, 1977, pp. 195-97.

The rapid growth in the popularity of the *vratas* was due primarily to two reasons. The Vedic sacrifices promised heaven after death, while the Purāṇas held out the lure of tangible benefits in this very life if one performed *vratas*, and heaven was also assured after death. Secondly, *vratas* could be performed by all: *śūdras*, maidens, married women, widows, and even prostitutes.

It appears that the number of *vratas* in the early centuries of the Christian era was not very large. Gradually their number increased by leaps and bounds, and MM. Kane's list includes about one thousand, though he has not included the names of *vratas* found mostly in texts written in regional languages.[1] It is not possible to give an idea of this stupendous theocratic system which catered to the religious needs of the mass.

It should be recognized that, as the centuries progressed, the Hindus, in spite of their paying lip-service to the Veda, accepted the *vratas*, the pilgrimages, and the religious festivals as the basis of their religion. A short account of the famous systems of Hindu philosophy will be given later in this volume. Here it must be emphasized that the philosophies, invariably written in Sanskrit, were for the very few. The people were, if one might say, addicted to *vratas* and festivals, and, it may be added, no Hindu festival lacks a gala atmosphere, while on special occasions, the pilgrimages present the features of a jamboree.

The greatest benefactors of these religious rites were the priests, who were invariably *brāhmaṇas*. They wrote the Purāṇas which extolled the *vratas*, festivals, and pilgrimages, and their help was indispensable not only in the performance of the *vratas* and most of the festivals, but even during pilgrimages certain rites had to be performed under the direction of a local *brāhmaṇa*. By allowing everyone to perform these religious observances, the *brāhmaṇas* had judiciously extended the scope of their financial operations. The kings also made a profit out of pilgrimages. Many of them, if not all, imposed a tax on pilgrims. The commerical exploitation of the *vrata* is a sordid affair.

For the performers, the *vratas* often had an ennobling quality. To a young widow for example, who was debarred from attending most auspicious functions, the *vrata* was something she could hold on to as a part of her desolate life. In general too the *vratas* helped in sustaining the religious life at an intelligible level. To a Hindu, religion was a personal affair which could not be discharged through a mass congregation. The Vedic sacrifices too were offered by a single individual. This traditional aspect of religious ritualism found expression in the *vrata*. They were far less expensive than a Śrauta sacrifice, and, as stated above, could be performed by all irrespective of caste or sex. The great cult religious like Vaiṣnavism, Śaivism, and Śakti worship aided by the *vratas*, festivals, and pilgrimages, kept the Hindus within the united fold of an all-embracing religion. Their importance in our religious life can-

[1]For a list of the *vratas* and festivals see *HDK*, V, i, pp. 255-462. The *Vratakośa* edited by MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, Sarasvati Bhavan Series, Banares, 1929, gives a list of 1622 vratas, but as MM. Kane points (*HDK*, V, i, p. 47) if properly sifted the number would be less than 1000.

not be over-emphasized.

These religious observances were tolerated even by the great saints and philosophers, who indeed sometimes took part in them to encourage the people by their examples. For, these observances had the limited efficacy of focussing a participant's attention towards something which was not worldly, a sort of preliminary training preparatory to climbing the spiritual heights, whatever may be their intrinsic value. But Śaṃkara trenchantly pointed out in the last verse of his famous hymn with the refrain: '*Bhaja Govindaṁ bhaja Govindaṁ bhaja Govindaṁ mūḍhamate:*

kurute Gaṅgā-Sāgara gamanam
vrata-paripālanam athavā dānam
jñāna-vihīne sarvam anena
muktir=na bhavati janma śatena[1]

[1]'You may go to Gaṅgā-sāgara, fulfil religious vows, or [distribute] gifts, but all these will not lead to salvation even [if performed continuously] in one hundred births unless you acquire knowledge.' Gaṅgā-sāgara evidently means the celebrated purificatory bathing at the confluence the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal on the Makara-saṅkrānti day (when sun passes from the Sagittarius to the Capricorn in the middle of January) held even now. Śaṃkara's reference to it shows that the festival must be more than 1200 years old. This hymn is known as the *Carpaṭapañjarī-stotra*.

CHAPTER XV

SIX SYSTEMS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND MATERIALISM

SYSTEMS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Āstika and Nāstika

In the previous chapters we have discussed several systems of philosophy and the religious systems with which they are linked. Basically, all systems of Indian philosophy, with the exception of Cārvāka philosophy of materialism, are connected with a religion. There are, however six systems which are usually treated separately, and we shall now discuss these six.

Hindus classify their systems of philosophy into two groups: *āstika* and *nāstika*. *Āstika* literally means 'one who believes in next or future world' (*asti paralokaḥ iti matir=yasya*), that is, 'one who believes in a permanent soul.' The *nāstikas* hold the opposite view, that is, they do not believe in a permanent soul. The Vedic doctrine and the Upaniṣadic philosophy were based on the assumption of permanent souls, and in course of time the words *āstika* and *nāstika* came to designate respectively the schools of philosophy which revere the authority of the Vedas and those which do not. Included within the former category were the following six main schools which are usually grouped in pairs: I. (1) Nyāya, (2) Vaiśeṣika; II. (3) Sāṁkhya, (4) Yoga; III. (5) Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, and (6) Uttara-Mīmāṁsā or Vedānta. The *nāstika* schools are: 1. Cārvāka, 2. Bauddha, and 3. Jaina.

The Sanskrit term for philosophy is *darśana*, which literally means 'seeing' or 'apprehension,' and also 'a system of philosophy' as the title '*Sarva-darśanasaṃgraha*' implies. Correct apprehension is called *pramā*, and the 'evidence', 'proof', or 'authority' is *pramāna*. It will be shown later, that Indian philosophy admits several kinds of *pramānas*, one of which is Veda. All the orthodox schools admitted the validity of Veda *pramāna*, though with the exception of the last two the other schools did not rely for their validity on the authority of Veda. The basis of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy was that the world was a conglomeration of uncreated independent atoms, and the soul is an inert unconscious entity. According to the Sāṁkhya-Yoga philosophy, the world is a mysterious interaction between a plurality of souls (*puruṣas*) and an unconscious principle (Prakṛti), which becomes active as soon as a soul contacts Her. Neither of these theories is found in the Veda or in the Upaniṣads, except that Prakṛti is mentioned in the *Śvetāśvatara* (4.10). The relation between Sāṁkhya and Upaniṣads has been more fully discussed below in Chapter XVII.

There is also a fundamental difference between Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā (here-

after referred to as Mīmāṁsā) and Uttara—Mīmāṁsā (hereafter referred to as Vedānta) schools. The Mīmāṁsā is based on the *karma-kāṇḍa*, that is the sacrificial aspect of Veda, and is based on the assumption that life is an eternal cycle of lives and deaths. Veda is assumed by Mīmāṁsā teachers to be the eternal source of all knowledge, impersonal, and self-revealed, hence it would be superfluous to posit a 'Personal All-knowing Being' (*āgamasya ca nityatve siddhe tat kalpanā vṛthā*).[1] 'The doctrine of creation and dissolution which is recognized by all other Hindu systems could not be acknowledged by the Mīmāṁsā as it would have endangered the eternality of the Vedas. Even God had to be dispensed with on that account.'[2]

Vedānta claims to be the exposition of the philosophy taught in the Upaniṣads (and the *Gītā*) and epitomized in the Br. S. The main quest of Vedānta is the nature of Brahman, the one and eternal, without change, manifested in the manifold changes of the world, the various things and qualities, and finite selves. In a sense, the main text of Vedānta is the Br. S., which was differently interpreted by different teachers. The earliest commentary on the Br. S. now available is by Ācārya Śaṃkara. His commentary is also the most celebrated on account of its subtlety and depth. Such indeed is the authority of the great *ācārya* that 'Vedānta philosophy' today means the philosophy propounded by him, while the rest are referred to by the names of their exponents, like Rāmānuja-mata, Vallabha-mata etc. though these are different schools of Vedānta.[3]

Śaṃkara holds that Brahman alone is real; everything else is imposed on that reality. The other schools, which are mostly of Vaiṣṇava persuasion, assign differing degrees of reality to the phenomenal world as will be explained below. This difference springs from their different methods of *sādhanā*. According to Śaṃkara's Advaita school, the ego sense has to be completely eradicated, and once the ego sense or 'I-ness' is gone, there can be no apprehension of anything including the phenomenal world. At this stage, identification of the self with the Super Self or Brahman is possible. This is not the aim of Vaiṣṇava *sādhanā*, which aims at the elimination of the inflated ego sense of a normal person, and retain just a little with which to relish the grace of the Lord and His creation. As stated earlier in the chapter on Vaiṣṇavism, there are five principal Vaiṣṇava schools, and there are five different interpretations of the Br.S. from their standpoints, so that with

[1] *Ślokavārttika*, p. 82. However, in the first benedictory verse of the same work, Kumārila speaks of the Supreme Being under the name of Mahādeva and describes Him as furnished with 'divine eye' (*divya-cakṣus*) in the form of the three Vedas. But as MM. Gopinath Kaviraj says, this verse 'coming from an orthodox Mīmāṁsā teacher remains unintelligible.' G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 31.

[2] S.N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 404.

[3] In Sanskrit texts *Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāra*, *Bhāṣyakāra*, or *iti Ācāryaḥ* (thus said the Teacher), always means Śaṃkara. Even Rājā Rāmmohun Roy referred to Śaṃkara as *Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāra*.

Advaita there are six main interpretations of Vedānta.[1] There are also Śaiva schools of Vedānta.

Indian Theism

The words *āstika* and *nāstika* are sometimes rendered as 'theistic' and 'atheistic', which are not quite appropriate, seeing that the Mīmāṁsā school, which is included within *āstika*, does not believe in God. The position of Sāṁkhya is even more pronounced, for it categorically states that the existence of god (Īśvara) is not proved. The Yoga school rectifies Sāṁkhya by introducing Īśvara, and is therefore known as the 'theistic Sāṁkhya.' But the Īśvara of Yoga philosophy is subject to a precise definition, and he is neither the creater of the world, nor the controller of human destiny. Only the Paramāra emperor Bhoja, in his comments on YS 1.24 stated that a *puruṣa* cannot dissociate himself from Prakṛti without the grace of Īśvara. But Bhoja was writing in the 11th century when theism had become extremely popular, and on this point he differs from the earlier commentators of the YS.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika systems are really deism and not theism, because they admit Īśvara as a teleological necessity. However, MM. Gopinath Kaviraj points out: 'That Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika were in their inception affiliated to (at any rate coloured by) Śaiva cult, as Sāṁkhya to Vaiṣṇavism, seems likely enough. Haribhadra, author of the *Ṣaḍdarśana Samuccaya* distinctly says that Śiva was the object of worship among the Naiyāyikas; and Rājaśekhara characterises Nyāya system as "Śaiva-darśana" in his own work on the subject. Similarly, the Vaiśeṣikas too, being the worshippers of Paśupati, a form of Śiva, were known as Pāśupatas.'[2]

The Vedāntins, as stated above, are mostly Vaiṣṇavas, though there are important Śaiva schools or Vedānta. It is difficult to say whether Śaṃkara was a Śaiva or a Vaiṣṇava: he seems to have transcended sectarianism. However, as stated above, Vedānta's main concern is with Brahman, which has no counterpart in Christian religion or Western philosophy. The reason is that in Semitic religions the method of procedure is from God to man, while in Hinduism, one proceeds from man to God. The Upaniṣadic inquiry is always through *ātman*, the individual soul, which is practically absent among the Semitic faiths. From the beginning the Hindu was searching for God within his soul, though to begin with, his idea of 'god' was extremely hazy, if not somewhat ambivalent.

Yāska in his *Nirukta* (7. 6-7) discusses the problem whether gods (*devatās*) are *puruṣavidha* or *apuruṣavidha*, that is whether they are anthropomorphic or not. He concludes that they can be both. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (5.2.1) and the

[1]There are actually seven schools, for there are two Bhedābheda schools, one founded by Bhāskara the other by Nimbārka. Prof. Radhakrishnan in his *Brahma Sūtra* (London, 1960) has given the views of twelve commentators. There are others.

[2]G. Kaviraj, op. cit., p. 73. G. Kaviraj, *Gleanings from the History and Bibliography of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 5. A.K. Majumdar, Theism in Indian Religion, *Bharatiya Vidya*, XXVII, 1968, pp. 80-7.

Muṇḍaka (2.1.7) show that the *devas* (gods) are created like men and other beings. Jaimini in his MS (6.1.5) states that blind or deaf men or animals cannot perform Vedic sacrifices, and Kumārila adds 'gods' to this list because they have no 'gods' (*na devānām devāntar-abhāvāt*). The problem in the Br.S. (1.3.26) is that since the gods are without the benefit of *uapanayana saṃskāra* (sacred thread), are they entitled to Brahma-vidya? After a lengthy discussion their right is conceded.

The Vedic devas to some extent resembled the Greek gods, hence *deva* is rendered as 'god'. The Vedic people, however, performed *yajñas* and *homas* to propitiate not only the *devas*, but also the *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, *kinnaras*, *gandharvas*, *apsarases* and other spirits. It is possible that they represented a kind of angelical hierarchy. The Bible mentions nine 'orders' or groups of angels, namely, seraphim, cherubim, thrones, dominations, principalities, powers, virtues, archangels, and angels. The angels were not always benign, for we find in Mathew (XXV. 41): 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' It has been suggested that the Jews got the idea of the angels after they came into contact with the Iranians during the Selucid period (312-93 BC). But since the discovery of Aśokan inscriptions written in Aramaic, it is possible to suggest that the Jews got the idea from the Vedic *devas* who were incorporated into Buddhism.

The cult religions, particularly Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, may be called 'theistic creeds' theologically, but difficulty is experienced while explaining their philosophy. Unlike the Brahman of Vedānta, the Semitic God is not an idea that is conceived but a reality that is existentially known and experienced. It is possible to know and experience Viṣṇu and Śiva, but then one has to forget the Upaniṣads and the Br. S.

Methodology

The Upaniṣads are the earliest philosophical texts, but we have seen that they are not systematic works of philosophy. As a matter of fact, it is not easy to evolve a consistent system out of the Upaniṣads.

The *sūtras* are the earliest systematic philosophical works. The word *sūtra* literally means 'a thread', but in its derivative meaning it denotes a type of work which is made up of short sentences running through a topic like a thread. In short a *sūtra* means 'an aphorism,' in the fewest possible words giving a clue to a topic in a particular subject. A famous definition of *sūtra* is: *svalpākṣaraṁ asandigdhaṁ sāravad viśvatomukham*
astobhaṁ anavadyaṁ ca sūtraṁ sūtravido viduḥ
That is, a *sutra* should consist of few words, clear in its meaning, substantial, all-embracing, without superfluous words, and irreproachable.

The *sūtras* being short are comparatively easy to commit to memory but difficult to understand. The Br.S. for example, is an epitome of the Upaniṣads, and each *sūtra* is based on one or more passages of the Upaniṣads which are known as the *viṣaya-vākyas*. Sometimes the basic *viṣaya-vākyas* are apparent, quite often they are not, and sometimes it is extremely difficult

to understand as to which *viṣaya-vākyas* the *sūtra* refers to, or what is its purport. For example, the commentators differ sharply on Br. S. 2.2.42-45 on the basis of which Śaṃkara refutes the Pañcarātra doctrine, while Rāmānuja affirms that not the Pañcarātra view but its weak points are rejected.

Difficulties become more formidable because the Upaniṣads themselves are not consistent in their teachings. The *Taittirīya* (2.7) says that 'at the beginning there was non-Being (*asat*) from which the Being arose,' while the *Chāndogya* (6.2.1) asserts that 'in the beginning there was being (*sat*), and It was one and alone,' and adds (6.2.3): 'How can Being arise from non-Being?' Both the passages, however, are from the Upaniṣads, that is, they are *śrutis* or revelations, and therefore must be true, and by definition truth is non-contradictory. Therefore it was the duty of the commentator to reconcile such passages, which Śaṃkara has done brilliantly.

The Upaniṣads sometimes contain cryptic words like *taj-jalan* of *Chāndogya* (3.14.1) which has been explained above, and *tad-vanam* of *Kena* (4-6) explained by Śaṃkara as *sambhajanīya* (It-is-the-desire).

The other systems, namely, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and Yoga are based on their particular *sūtras* like the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra*, *Nyāya-sūtra* etc. These *sūtras* also need commentators for a consistent and coherent explanation of the aphorisms. As we have seen in the chapter on Sādhanā, the *Yoga-sūtra* does not contain the name of any *āsanas* which are supplied by the commentators, but except in the case of the Br.S., the difference among the commentators are not very pronounced, neither do such differences lead to the evolution of different schools of philosophy. However, in Indian philosophy the commentators or the *bhāṣyakāras* are practically as important as the *sūtrakāras*. Even the *bhāṣyas* (commentaries) were not sufficient to elucidate particular points, hence sub-commentaries or *ṭīkās* had to be written. Besides the *ṭīkās* there were the *vārttikas* or long metrical dissertations in the nature of commentaries, or general observations on any system. Of these the most famous are Kumārila's *Śloka-vārttika* on Mīmāṁsā, and Sureśvara's *Vārttika* on Advaita-vedānta. Commentaries were written on these *vārttikas* also. There were also advanced treatises in prose, in which the writers either nominally followed some selected *sūtras* or proceeded independently of them. To the former class belongs Jayanta's *Nyāyamañjarī*, while Praśastapāda's *Bhāṣya*, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's *Advaita-siddhi*, and the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* of Dharmarājadhvarindra belong to the latter class.

Besides the *sūtras*, there was another class of works called the *Kārikās*, which were written in verse. The most famous work of this nature is the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Gauḍapāda's *Māṇḍukya-kārikā* professes to be a metrical commentary on the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad*, but it should be taken as the representative work of an independent school of thought. Śaṃkara wrote a commentary on Gauḍapāda's *Kārikā*.

This is the main difference between the Western and Indian approach to philosophy. From the earliest times, European thinkers, one after another, offered their independent speculations on philosophy. The work of

an historian today consists in arranging their views chronologically, and trace the influence, if any, of one view upon another, or upon the progressive change in the tides and currents of philosophic thought. In India, the schools were structured by the *sūtras*, and progress in philosophic thought was maintained through the commentaries. The reputation of great Indian philosophers like Śaṃkara, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva, Vallabha or their followers like Sureśvara, Padmapāda, Vedāntadeśika, Jayatīrtha, Vyāsatīrtha, or Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, to mention a few, do not rest on any independent work but on their commentaries, which they wrote to maintain the supremacy of their schools. The Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas were united in their opposition it Śaṃkara, and the followers of these two sects wrote brilliant works criticizing non-dualism and upholding their own points of view in which they criticized each other. The criticisms called for reply from other schools. In the process, each school of philosophy built up a magnificent edifice on a strong epistemological foundation progressively developed under pressure of controversy. A rough parallel to the development of the various schools of Vedānta is afforded by the development of modern Communism. Already there are Russian, Chinese, European, East European, and Indian varieties of Communist doctrine being the result of different interpretations of Marx and Lenin.

In contrast to the Vedānta schools, Nyāya logic developed due to its controversy with the Buddhists. Diṅnāga, the famous Buddhist scholar (*c.*AD 500) in his celebrated work, the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* (now available only in Chinese and Tibetan translations) established Buddhist logic refuting the views of Vātsyāyana, the commentator of the NS. Diṅnāga's work was sharply criticized by Udyotakara (*c.*AD 635) in his commentary on Vātsyāyana's *bhāṣya*, called the *Bhāṣya-vārttika* or the *Nyāya-vārttika*.[1] When time proved that this work was not enough the great Vācaspati Miśra (AD 840) wrote a commentary on Udyotakara's work called the *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyāṭīkā* where he tried to refute all the objections against the Nyāya system made by the rival schools and particularly by the Buddhists. Udayana (AD 984) wrote a sub-commentary on Vācaspati's work called the *Tātparyaṭīkāpariśuddhi*. Sub-commentaries were again written by Vardhamāna (AD 1225), Padmanābha (AD 1425), Śaṃkara Miśra and Viśvanātha Miśra (17th century). Several other works were also written in the 17th century. In the meantime Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya of Mithila (*c.* AD 1200) started the new school of Nyāya philosophy, known as the Navya-Nyāya, and was followed by his son Var-

[1]Diṅnāga's work is highly praised by modern scholars. But he started the controversy with the orthodox philosophers in which ultimately the Buddhists were worsted. Hitherto, the brahmanical scholars did take but little notice of Buddhism. The Br.S. refutes the Buddhist view, but it refutes the views of the orthodox schools also. Hence in a way, Diṅnāga may be said to have diverted the attention of the Buddhist scholars to a dangerous alley, though they had started to study logic from the 3rd or 4th century AD. It may be noted that the Buddhist and the Jaina scholars treated logic separately from metaphysics, but the brahmanical schools did not accept this method before Gaṁgeśa noted below.

dhamāna. Not much notice of this school was taken till the 15th century when Pakṣadhara wrote his celebrated commentary on Gaṅgeśa's *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*. From him Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, a Bengali scholar, learnt the intricacies of Navya-Nyāya and passed it on to his disciple, Raghunātha, whose *Dīdhiti*, even now the standard work on the subject, is also a commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*.

Thus it went. The flame of knowledge was handed by the preceptor to his disciple. When the glow of the lamp seemed to have dimmed, a commentator appeared to refurbish the lamp.

MATERIALISM

Origin

It has been stated above that all systems of Indian philosophy are directly or indirectly linked to certain religious systems. Actually, philosophy was an attempt to rationalize intuitive perception gained through *sādhanā*. To this generality, there is one exception: the school of Materialism also known as the 'school of Cārvāka.'

No text of this school has yet been found, and our knowledge about Cārvāka's doctrine is based on the first chapter of the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* which is devoted to the exposition of the Cārvāka philosophy. This is supplemented by the writtings of orthodox philosophers who invariably denounce Cārvāka and his school. Indeed in Sanskrit literature the name Cārvāka stands for an immoral hedonist. It is, however, quite possible that he was an intelligent rationalist who had offended the *brāhmaṇas* by his sharp criticism of the Vedic *yajñas*, though it appears that Cārvāka himself was a *brāhmaṇa*. His witticisms were all the more intolerable because he was probably articulating the popular revulsion against the Vedic sacrifices. But since he had no constructive proposals, no substitute for the *yajñas*, he along with the Vedic *yajñas* and *homas* were swept aside by the rising tide of Buddhism.

The word '*cārvāka*' has been defined as *cāruḥ loka-sammato vako-vākyam-yasya* (one whose polemics are popular). The *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* says that Cārvāka was a follower of Bṛhaspati, and adds that as men who are bent only on pleasure follow the Cārvāka doctrine, hence the school is called Lokāyata, and it is by this name or as the Lokāyatikas that they are referred to by Śaṃkara and other teachers. Nothing is definitely known as to the reason and the circumstances under which the name Lokāyata went out of popular use and was superseded by the term Cārvāka. The *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha* says: 'The mass of men, in accordance with the Śāstras of policy and enjoyment, considering wealth and desire the only ends of man, and denying the existence of any object belonging to a future world, are found to follow only the doctrine of Cārvāka. Hence another name for that school is Lokāyata,—a name well accordant with the thing signified.' More or less

the same explanation is given by Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on Mbh. 1.91.48 from which it appears that the meaning of the two terms is virtually the same.

References to Cārvākas

The *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, after describing several types of heretics (7.8), states (7.9) that Bṛhaspati (the teacher of gods) became Śukra (the teacher of the *asuras*), and for the security of Indra created *avidyā* (nescience) for the destruction of the *asuras*. It is stated that this *avidyā* is false knowledge and aims at mere pleasure, which indicates the Cārvākas.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Cr. ed. 2.94.31-32) Rāmacandra forbids Bharata to serve Lokāyata *brāhmaṇas*, who, he said, were experts in deluding people. These 'fools' take recourse to *ānvīkṣikī* and speak nonsense even though scriptures are available. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (2.100) contains the opinion of the sage Jābāli, who denied the efficacy of *śrāddha*, and said that if food eaten by one man (as in a *śrāddha*) could satisfy another, then one should perform *śrāddha* for travellers instead of providing them with provisions for their journeys. Jābāli also denied the efficacy of sacrifices and the existence of an after-world (2.100.14-17). These diatribes against Vedic rites were typical of the Cārvākas.

In the Mbh. (12.194-199) there is a long dialogue between Manu and Bṛhaspati in course of which Manu instructs the latter on various topics of orthodox doctrines. In course of his teachings Manu points out (12.196.6-7): 'Nobody has seen the other side of the Himalayas or the reverse side of the moon. Yet it cannot be said that they do not exist. Similarly, it cannot be said that the soul, which cannot be perceived by the senses, does not exist. The existence of the soul can be inferred by the light of intelligence. The soul, which becomes unmanifest after the disintegration of the body, again makes itself manifest when it enters another body.' Here Manu is evidently refuting the Cārvāka doctrine that perception was the only valid proof and that inference was inadmissible as a proof. Developing the point further, Manu says (12.196.8): 'The spot on the moon, though a familiar phenomenon, is not correctly ascertained as to whether it is a shadow of the earth or not; but that does not negate its real and ultimate character.'[1]

One Cārvāka, a friend of Duryodhana, is described as a *rākṣasa* in the guise of a monk in the Mbh. (12.39.23-37). He is called a *sāṁkhya-śikhī*, which may mean 'a great expert in disputation.' After the war, when Yudhiṣṭhira entered Hastināpura this Cārvāka upbraided him sharply as 'a wicked king' who had destroyed his relatives for the sake of kingdom. Cārvāka was, however, reduced to ashes by the *huṁkāra* of other *brāhmaṇas* who had gathered to welcome the victor. But Cārvāka had spoken the truth. The identity of this Cārvāka cannot be established, but he was either the

[1]Arjunamiśra points out that the doubt is whether the dark spot on the moon is due to a hare (*śaśa*) or to the shadow of the earth.

materialist philosopher or his namesake with the original Cārvāka's sharp tongue and indomitable courage.

Bṛhaspati is mentioned on many other occasions in the Mbh, and it appears that he had written a treatise on polity.[1] This assumes significance when it is remembered that Kauṭilya begins his work with salutations to Bṛhaspati and Śukra and mentions Bṛhaspati as an authority on polity six times.[2] It has been suggested that Kauṭilya's authority was the Bṛhaspati mentioned in the Mbh. which is quite likely. The problem is can the Bṛhaspati of the Mbh. and of the *Arthaśāstra* be identified with Bṛhaspati the founder of the Cārvāka school of materialism ?

The few verses which give Bṛhaspati's views in the Mbh. are insufficient for an identification, but Manu's instruction imparted to him raises the presumption that he was the originator of the Cārvāka school. Of the passages from Bṛhaspati quoted by Kauṭilya, only the following is important for Bṛhaspati's identification :

Kauṭilya says (1.2.1) : 'The sciences are *ānvīkṣikī*, *trayī* (three Vedas), *vārttā* (agriculture, trade, and commerce), and *daṇḍanīti* (polity).' He then quotes the views of the followers of Manu (1.2.2-3) who held that the sciences to be studied are the three Vedas, *vārttā*, and polity, and that *ānvīkṣikī* is a branch of the Vedas. Kauṭilya then gives that opinion of the followers of Bṛhaspati which is, that the only subjects worthy of study are '*vārttā* and polity' (1.2.4). Such a view could only be held by materialists, and as Bṛhaspati and Cārvāka are the only known teachers of materialist school, it could very well have been the view of Bṛhaspati, the materialist philosopher. However, later Kauṭilya states (1.2.10) that Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata constitute *ānvīkṣikī*, and finally ends this section with a verse which says that '*Ānvīkṣikī* is said to be the lamp [illuminating] all the sciences, the means of all actions, and the support of all law.' In the following passage he has used the phrase *hetubhir anvīkṣamāṇā*, from which it appears that *ānvīkṣikī* was a philosophical system based on logic,[3] and that Lokāyata is such a system, but its connection, if any, with Bṛhaspati is not established neither excluded. Kauṭilya's peculiar method of expression is responsible for this ambiguity, and it seems that Bṛhaspati, whom he regards as his authority, was indeed the founder of the Cārvāka school or the Lokāyata school of materialism.

Śaṃkara on Br.S. 3.3.53 mentions three aphorisms of the Lokāyatas, while Bhāskara on the same *sūtra* mentions four, of which two are common with Śaṃkara. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and Nīlakaṇṭha mention two aphorisms (on *Gītā* 16.11) from what they call *Bārhaspatya-sūtra* which are : 1. *caitanya viśiṣṭa kāyaḥ puruṣaḥ* (a person is a body with consciousness) and 2. *kāma ev-aikaḥ puruṣārthaḥ* (fulfilment of desire is the only aim of life), the first of which is also quoted by Śaṃkara on Br.S. and also on *Gītā* 18.50 as Lokāyata

[1]For details and references see *KAK*, III, pp. 8-10.

[2]a. 1.2.4; b. 1.15.48; c. 2.7.13; d. 3.11.46; e. 3.17.13; f. 10.6.2.

[3]For a discussion on this point, see *KAK*, II, p. 7 fn 10.

view. All these aphorisms are parts of Cārvāka philosophy as given in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*.

More details are available in the *Vedāntasāra*[1] possibly written in the 17th century AD, which will be considered later. At least two thousand years must have elapsed between the Mbh., Kauṭilya and the *Vedāntasāra*, yet this school, which seems to have had no appreciable following during historical times, was remembered, and the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* written in the 14th century AD could give a coherent account of its philosophy. Evidently the Lokāyatas were never forgotten (neither forgiven). A reason for the survival of this heretical philosophy must have been its impious attitude towards life which was so attractive that it had to be refuted :

There is no heaven, no final liberation, nor any soul in another world,
Nor do the actions of the four castes, orders, etc., produce any real effect.
The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the ascetic's three staves, and smearing one's self with ashes,
Were made by Nature as the livelihood of those destitute of knowledge and manliness.
If a beast slain in the Jyotiṣṭoma rite will itself go to heaven,
Why then does not the sacrificer forthwith offer his own father ?
If the Śrāddha produces gratification to beings who are dead,
Then here, too, in the case of travellers when they start, it is needless to give provision for the journey.
If beings in heaven are gratified by our offering the Śrāddha here,
Then why not give food down below to those who are standing on the housetop ?
While life remains let a man live happily, let him feed on ghi even though he runs in debt ;
When once the body becomes ashes, how can it ever return again ?
If he who departs from the body goes to another world,
How is it that he comes not back again, restless for love of his kindred ?
Hence it is only as a means of livelihood that Brāhmaṇs have established here,
All these ceremonies for the dead,—there is no other fruit anywhere.
The three authors of the Vedas were buffoons, knaves, and demons.
All the well-known formulae of the pandits, *jarphari*, *turphari* etc.
And all the obscene rites for the queen commanded in the Aśvamedha,
These were invented by buffoons, and so all the various kinds of presents to the priests,

[1]Sadānanda Yogīndra, *Vedāntasāra* ed. by Kalīvara Vidyāvagīśa and re-edited by Niśikānta Sāṁkhyatīrtha and Kālīprasanna Sāṁkhyatīrtha with the *Subodhinī* and the *Vidvanmanorañjinī* commentaries, Calcutta, Bengali Year 1356 (AD 1949-1950). He is also known as Sadānanda Vyāsa. His date is not known, but since he wrote a commentary on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's (*c.* AD 1503-1610) *Advaitasiddhi*, he must have flourished after the later, but possibly not later than the 17th century.

While the eating of flesh was similarly commanded by night-prowling demons.[1]

As stated above, no authentic work of the Cārvāka school has yet been found, and the passage quoted above is from the work of an antagonist. But it possibly is an accurate description of their attitude. The anti-Vedic school developed due to the repugnance felt for the Vedic sacrifices, which seems to have been performed mostly for the benefit of the rapacious priests who brought the system into disrepute. But while Buddhism and Jainism showed an alternative way for spiritual salvation, Cārvāka failed to show any. Hence he could not collect dedicated followers, His doctrine attracted men who considered sensuous gratification to be the supreme bliss. Such men have existed in all ages, and they did not need Cārvāka philosophy to guide them.

Cārvāka Philosophy

The *Vivaraṇa Prameya Saṃgraha* summarises the position of the Cārvākas as: *bhūta-catuṣṭayam eva tattvam, pratyaksaṁ ev-aikaṁ pramāṇam, svabhāvavāda eva paramārthika.*[2] That is, 'verily there are four elements, perception is the only proof, and *svabhāvavāda* is the reality.'

Svabhāvavāda means the doctrine which repudiates the possibility of discovering the cause of a thing at the very outset of inquiry, and explains the happening of an event or the production of a thing by the doctrine of Svabhāva. Mere perception oftwo events does not establish a causal nexus between them. To ascertain whether a given antecedent condition has the character of a true cause, it is really necessary to find out with certainty the elements of invariability of relevancy involved in such a notion. But this certitude can never be arrived at. Perception must be present perception, because it means actual contact of the object with the sense of perception. Hence it cannot and does not extent to the past and future and is unable to establish universal relation of things. Sense perception (which is the only mode of perception) can give us only particular truths, and by its very nature it cannot give us universal relations. Nor can inference be the means of the knowledge of the universal truths (*sarvopasaṃhārinī vyāpti*), because in the case of inference we would require another inference to establish it, and so on, leading to the fallacy of infinite regress. Nor can universal truths be established on verbal testimony, for the validity of any testimony is itself ultimately based on inference.

Comparison (*upamāna*) is invalid as a means of proving universal relation because the purpose of *upamāna* is to relate the name of something to some-

[1] *Jarphari* (RV.X. 106.6) and *turphari* (RV.X. 106.6 and 8) probably means 'supporting' and 'quickly.' The rites of the Aśvamedha involving the queen are really disgusting. The italicized lines are quoted even now. Translation is by E.B. Cowell.

[2] G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 71 fn.

thing.[1]

Simple enumeration of facts are never sufficient to trace the element of necessity involved in generalizations, and perception is inadequate and unable to prove the validity of induction. Perception may tell us that 'this particular A is related to this particular B,' but this knowledge would hardly justify its extension in the form 'all A's are related to all B's.' Hence there can be no categorical universal proposition for it presumes the elimination of all accidental factors. But how is the absence of these factors to be made known? Perception would not avail where these factors are supersensuous. The validity of inference as a proof has been already controverted, hence the truth of any universal judgement must be open to suspicion.

Thus perception being the only proof of existence, whatever is not perceived is held to have no existence at all: *yan n-opalabhyate n-āsti*. For practical purposes probability (*sambhāvana*) alone is sufficient. At the sight of smoke rising from a certain place there arises in the mind a sense of the probability of fire and not of its certainty, which is enough for all practical purposes.

The fallacy of Cārvāka logic is shown in the second chapter of the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, where the Buddhists point out:

'If a man does not allow that inference is a form of evidence, *pramāṇa*, one may reply: "You merely assert thus much, that inference is not a form of evidence: do you allege no proof of this, or do you allege any? The former alternative is not allowable according to the maxim that bare assertion is no proof of the matter asserted. Nor is the latter alternative any better, for if while you assert that inference is no form of evidence, you produce some truncated argument (to prove, i.e., infer, that it is none), you will be involved in an absurdity, just as if you asserted your own mother to be barren. Besides, when you affirm that the establishment of a form of evidence and of the corresponding fallacious evidence results from their homogeneity, you yourself admit induction by identity. Again, when you affirm that the dissentiency of others is known by the symbolism of words, you yourself allow induction by causality. When you deny the existence of any object on the ground of its not being perceived, you yourself admit an inference of which non-perception is the middle term.'

The Cārvākas believed that there were only four elements, namely, earth, water, fire, and air; *ākāśa* was not an element, but a void, an absence of *āvaraṇa*. Everything, including the phenomenal world, the sense-organs, and the physical organisms were the products of the four elements. But how are these produced? The Cārvākas have no answer for this problem. They have rejected all kinds of causes, seen or unseen (*adṛṣṭa*). God or 'eternal intelligence' being superfluous has also been rejected. Hence the only alternative open to the Cārvākas is to aver that all productions including life and consciousness are the results of fortuitous concourse of the blind constitutive parti-

[1]When to an ignorant man it is pointed out that a *gavaya* (a wild cow without dew-lap) looks like a cow (*gau*), it is an instance of *upamāna*.

cles of matter. In other words, the effects are without any cause. They just happen, and it is improper to demand an explanation where no explanation can be given.

What is the self (*ātman*)? Originally the Cārvākas believed that when the four elements are transformed into the body, intelligence is produced, just as inebriating power is developed from the mixing of certain ingredients, and when the body is destroyed, intelligence perishes at once. In support of this view, they quoted *Bṛhadaraṇyaka* 2.4.12: 'Arising out of these elements, the self is destroyed as soon as they are destroyed. After death no conscience (or intelligence, *samjñā*) remains.'[1] The Cārvākas also attempted to prove logically that consciousness was a function of the body.

The *Vedāntasāra* (51) mentions four types of Cārvākas. It first states that very foolish persons relying on the *Kauṣitakī Upaniṣad* (2.11) statement *ātmā vai putra* (Verily, a son is the self)[2] holds that son is really a person's *ātman* (soul). The Cārvākas, however, rely on the following passage from the *Taittirīya* (2.1.1): 'This verily is the person (*puruṣa*) that consists of the essence of food.' They argue that a man saves himself from a blazing house leaving his son behind in the fire; and feeling that he is getting emaciated or fat, a man declares 'I am thin', or 'I am fat'. It is therefore apparent that the body is the soul not the son.

Another group of Cārvākas, whom the *Vidvān-manorañjinī* commentary calls Lokāyata (*Lokāyatānāṁ Cārvāka-viśeṣāṇām*) relies on the *Chāndogya* 5.1.7[3] and argues that body movement comes to a halt on the absence of the organs, and since a blind man feels 'I am blind', a deaf man feels 'I am deaf', etc., therefore not the body but the conglomeration of the sense-organs (*indriyāṇi*) is the *ātman*.

Another group of Cārvākas relies on *Taittirīya* 2.2.1,[4] and holds that vital

[1]The implication of this passage, which has been taken out of context, is quite different. Yājñavalkya was explaining that there was only one Ātman, and individual souls merge in Him.

[2]The passage of the *Kauṣitakī* (2.11) is: 'Now when one has been away, on coming back he should kiss (lit. 'sniff,' *abhijighret*) his son's head and say:

"From every limb of mine you come!
Right from my heart you are born forth!
You are myself (*ātman*), indeed, my son!
So live a hundred autumn long!" Translation by R.E. Hume

This was an old Vedic practice.

[3]The *Vedāntasāra* quotes only the first line from the following passage: 'The *prāṇas* approached Father Prajāpati and said: "Revered Sir, who among us is the most superior?" He replied: "That one of you after whose going off the body appears worst—he is the most superior among you." ' (*Chāndogya*, 5.1.7). *Prāṇa* usually means breath, but from the following passages it is clear that here the word includes sense-organs, mind, and vital breath.

[4]Here again the *Vedāntasāra* quotes only the second line from a long passage. Taken with the first sentence it means: 'Verily, other than that and within that consists of the essence of food is the self that consists of breath.' *Taittirīya*, 2.2.1.

breath (*prāṇa*) is *ātman*, because all the sense-organs become inactive in the absence of *prāṇa*. A person feels 'I am hungry' or 'I am thirsty' which are the functions of *prāṇa*.

Another group of Cārvākas relies on the *Taittirīya* 2.3.1,[1] and declares that mind is the self. Because when the mind ceases functioning, there is absence of *prāṇa* and there is cessation of such feelings as 'I wish', 'I imagine', 'I think' etc.

How far is it proper to ascribe to the Cārvākas these quotations from the Upaniṣads on the basis of the works written by their detractors? According to the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, the Cārvākas relied on one passage of the *Bṛhadaraṇyaka* quoted above, but the *Vedāntasāra* divides them into four groups three of which relied on three passages of the *Taittirīya* and the fourth on a passage of the *Chāndogya*. Possibly in course of time the Cārvākas had been forced to adopt these positions. They had denied the validity of logical proof and had practically asserted that an effect had no cause. Therefore, they may have been forced to rely on isolated Upaniṣadic sayings, which, torn from their context, appear at first sight to support their view. This tactic could not have deceived others.

Various sources indicate that at one time the word Lokāyata stood for *vitaṇḍā* or 'quibbling'. In Indian logical system *vitaṇḍā* has a place, because it destroys the opponents (*parapakṣa-pratiṣedha*). But no system can stand on its own without a positive theory to propound (*sva-pakṣa-sthāpanā*). A destructive system without any constructive element is neither alluring nor valuable as a philosophical system, and particularly repulsive when it denies all authority. The cumulative effect of these factors stamped this system with the brand of infamy.

The main thrust of the Cārvākas was against Vedic rituals. With the rise and development of Buddhism and Jainism they lost their appeal even to the intellectuals. It was possibly then that they picked isolated sentences from the Upaniṣads, which must have compromised their anti-Vedic position, and only hastened their exit from the scene of Indian philosophy.

Scepticism is the beginning of philosophy. From the dawn of our recorded history, certain rituals and hymns dominated the life of the people. These were institutionalized, and ultimately the Vedic religion became oppressive and crude. Bṛhaspati and Cārvāka had the moral courage to denounce the system openly. People became intellectually alert, alive after a lingering period of moribund conformity. The unequivocal attack on a great historical tradition compelled the Hindus to retrace their steps, and raise once more the fundamental questions which in their period of intellectual somnolence they had comfortably disposed of by dogmatic formulas that had to be exploded to bring about a critical point of view. Honest scepticism reorganized

[1]Like the former passage, here again two sentences have to be read together: 'Verily, other than and within that one that consists of breath (*prāṇa-maya*) is a self that consists of mind (*mano-maya*)', *Taittirīya*, 2.3.1. Thus the *Taittirīya* proceeds, and ends by declaring: 'The self is bliss' (*ātmā ānanda-maya* 2.5.1).

beliefs. Thus far Cārvāka triumphed. But Indian philosophy took its stand on the spirit which is above mere logic. To fulfil that need, other systems were evolved on the ground cleared by Cārvāka. The Indian mind is capable of scientific investigation and logical disputation, but above all it craves for an inspiring ideal to which it can dedicate itself.

CHAPTER XVI

NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA PHILOSOPHY

EARLY HISTORY

TRADITIONALLY Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems of philosophy begin with their respective *sūtras* by Gautama Akṣapāda, and Kaṇāda also known as Ulūka. Nothing is known of these two philosophers, and their dates are also unknown. We have seen in the previous chapter that Kauṭilya mentions Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Ānvīkṣikī, from which it appears that by his time, that is about 300 BC, *nyāya* was not a familiar term. The ascription of any date to the *Vaiśeṣika-sutras* (VS) is even more difficult. All that can be said in our present state of ignorance is that *nyāya* was developed out of the *vākovākyas* mentioned in *Chāndogya* 7.1.2, which Śaṃkara explains as *tarka-śāstra*.

One of the earliest use of the word *tarka* is found in *Kaṭha* 1.2.9, where it is declared: 'Not by reasoning (*tarka*) is this thought (*mati*, explained by Śaṃkara as *ātma-mati*) to be attained.' The word *mantavyaḥ* in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 2.4.5 and 4.5.6 (Lo, verily it is the *ātman* that should be seen, that should be hearkened to, that should be pondered on) is held by the objector in Br.S. 1.1.2 and also by Śaṃkara on Br.S. 2.1.4 as referring to *tarka*.[1] The *Maitrī Upaniṣad* (6 18 and 6.20) accepts *tarka* as an *aṅga* of *yoga*.

Manu 12.106 has recommended the realization of *dharma* by *tarka* (ratiocination) on the basis of Veda. Commenting on this verse, Medhātithi explains *tarka* as 'texts on *tarka*' (*tarka-pradhāna-grantha*) and includes within this category works by Buddhists, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kapila, Akṣapāda Gautama, and Kaṇāda. Medhātithi recommends that of these the first three should be rejected as they are anti-vedic, while the last three being pro-vedic should be accepted. However Medhātithi is careful enough to point out that the Nyāya doctrine that God is the author of Veda is wrong. Yājñvalkya 1.3 mentions *nyāya* as one of the fourteen *vidyās* and one of the means of knowning *dharma* and the *Mitākṣarā* explains *nyāya* as *tarka-vidyā*. Aparārka on Yājñavalkya 3.110 explains *tarka* as 'deliberation on the *ātman* by giving up mentation and intellectual cogitation (*mano-buddhi parityāgen-ātmani vimarśas=tarkaḥ*). This is elaborated by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who says that by reading the scriptures one gains *aparokṣa-jñāna*, which has to be firmly established by reasoning, and by logically demolishing the opponents view.[2]

Thus *tarka* or *nyāya* has been recognized as an indispensable part not only

[1] The reference in Br. S. 1.1.2 is to the Naiyāyikas.

[2] Madhusūdana Saraswatī, *Advaita-ratna-rakṣā*, NSP, pp. 44-5, quoted by G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 76 fn.

of philosophy but of *sādhanā* as well. But it is also recognised that the *nyāya* must be of those schools which recognize the authority of the Veda, while the *nyāya* of the heterodox schools has to be rejected. To this attitude is due the development of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika logic, for the heterodox logic, particularly that of the Buddhists, had to be demolished logically.

The *Caraka-samhitā*, a treatise on medicine written about AD 78, and the *Nyāya-sūtra* (NS) have treated the practical art of debating, using practically the same terms, though some of the technical terms used in the two texts differ. On the whole, however, there is so much agreement between the *Caraka* and the NS, that it is possible that both were indebted to an earlier work on this subject. The NS also contains criticism against doctrines which have been ascribed to Śāntarakṣita and the Vijñānvāda Buddhists, the nihilists, the Sāṁkhya, the Cārvāka and some other schools of thought which have disappeared since then. The advocacy of Yoga methods in the NS (4.2. 38-42 and 46) may have been a later tradition as suggested by scholars, but the theory that a part of the NS was written by Gautama which was later supplemented by Akṣapāda is no longer held.

Regarding Vaiśeṣika, Dr. Dasgupta has suggested that it represent an 'old school of Mīmāṁsā, older than that represented in the Mīmāṁsā-sūtra'.[1]

NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA

It is apparent that to begin with Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika represented two schools of philosophy. But from the time of Praśastapāda (*c.* AD 500) and Uddyotakara (*c.* AD 635) the two systems have been treated as almost one system with only slight variations. The main difference between the two systems is that the VS do not count *śabda* (scripture) as a separate *pramāṇa* (proof), while in the NS, *śabda* as a *pramāṇa* applies not only to the Vedas but to the testimony of any trustworthy person.[2]

Among other differences, the most important is that the NS classifies inference into three groups, namely, *pūrvavat*, *śeṣavat*, and *sāmānyato-dṛṣṭa*, which are not to be found in the VS. The NS also does not mention the six Vaiśeṣika categories like *dravya* etc. The NS mentions Īśvarva (God), while the VS does not, and is therefore sometimes held to be an atheist system. It should be remembered, however, that the NS and the VS represent a stage,—a very important stage,—in the development of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system, while the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy, as we know it today, progressively developed during the succeeding ages. For example, the

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, 1957 reprint, p. 280. 'These considerations lead me to think that the Vaiśeṣika represented a school of Mīmāṁsā thought which supplemented a metaphysics to strengthen the grounds of Vedas'. ibid, p. 285.

[2]Vātsyāyana in his commentary says that trustworthy persons may be *ṛṣis* (seers), *āryas* (Indians) and *mlecchas* (foreigners). It is interesting to note that Kauṭilya 3.13. 1-3 has used the terms *ārya* and *mleccha* in identical sense.

NS does not define *pramāṇa*, nor does it or the VS properly formulate the doctrine of *vyāpti* (universal accompaniment of the middle term by the major), which became extremely important later. From about 6th century AD, when Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika took their present shape, they were treated by their adherents as one school.

There was, however, one difference between the two *sūtras* which was passed over by the commentators. The VS (1.1.1) states that its purpose is to explain *dharma*, and the *dharma* is that by which prosperity (*abhyudaya*) and salvation (*niḥśreyasa*) are attained (*athāto dharma vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*; *yato'abhyudaya-niḥsreyasa-siddhiḥ sa dharmaḥ*). The VS then enumerates the categories (explained later) the knowledge of which lead to *niḥśreyasa*. The VS 5.2.28 further states that 'release means the absence of association or appearance due to the dissociation from the effect of virtue or vice (as the essential cause of pleasure or pain) either in this body or in another (*tad abhave saṃyog-abhāvo'prādurbhavaś=ca mokṣaḥ*).[1] The NS (1.1.1) also enumerates the categories the knowledge of which lead to *niḥśreyasa* but it does not mention *dharma*. In the next aphorism of the NS (1.1.2) it is clearly stated that *apavarga* (explained later) is to be attained by shedding misery, birth, desire, faults, and nescience, (*duḥkha-janma-pravṛtti-doṣa-mithyājñānānām uttorottar apāye tad anantar-apaāyad apavargaḥ*). *Apavarga* has been defined in NS 1.1.22 as 'complete cessation of all pains.'

The meanings of *niḥśreyasa* and *apavarga* have been discussed at length by the commentators, but it appears that the two terms signified the same ideal: cessation of pain, a negative attitude, which will be discussed below. It may be suggested here that the VS begins with an emphasis on *dharma* possibly due to its early connection with Mīmāṁsā, as suggested by Prof. Dasgupta, from which it differed fundamentally when the VS was written, and the VS sought to present an aspect of *dharma* which is not given in the Mīmāṁsā. One of the most fundamental difference between the VS and the Mīmāṁsā is that the former (2.1.18 and 6.1.1-2) holds that the Veda was written by some persons superior to us, while the Mīmāṁsā holds that the Vedas are eternal. The Mīmāṁsā developed a system of interpretation and logical analysis with the Vedic texts as its models, while the Vaiśeṣika developed a theory of atomistic pluralism based on observation and categorization of 'reality'. In its quest for scientific truth, as could be then available, it turned to Nyāya which was developing into a system of logical realism. Later the two systems virtually coalesced.

NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA LOGIC

The word *nyāya* is said to mean *nīyate anena*: 'that, by means of which [the mind] is led [to a conclusion]'. In its derivative sense, *nyāya* means 'just' or

[1] *Tad* here means *adṛṣṭa* (explained below) in the previous *sūtra*. See MM. Phanibhusan Tarkavāgīśa, *Nyāya-paricaya*, Calcutta, 1347, Bengali Year (AD 1940), pp. 5-6.

'right', hence the actual connotation of the word in the present context would be 'the science of demonstration of correct knowledge by means of just or logical reasoning'.

All knowledge consists of four constituents : 1. *pramātṛ*, the cognizer; 2. *prameya*, the object of cognition; 3. *pramiti*, cognition and 4. *pramāṇa*, the means of cognition. We shall begin our present study with a discussion of *pramāṇa*, because the validity of knowledge depends upon *pramāṇa*, which is the most important part of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system.

In his first sutra Gautama says that *niḥśreyasa* is possible through proper understanding of the real nature of the following sixteen topics : 1. *pramāṇa*; 2. *prameya*; 3. *saṁśayā* (doubt); 4. *prayojana* (purpose, end, or objective); 5. *dṛṣṭānta* (example), 6. *siddhānta* (approved conclusion), 7. *avayava* (members of a syllogism); 8. *tarka* (corroborative reasoning); 9. *nirṇaya* (determinative conviction); 10. *vāda* (debate or discussion with a view to discovering the truth); 11. *jalpa* (disputation by means of sophistry); 12. *vitaṇḍa* (destructive criticism); 13. *hetvābhāsa* (fallacy); 14. *chala* (quibbles); 15. *jāti* (refutation on false analogical arguments); and 16. *nigrahasthāna* (clinchers or points of opponents defeat). We shall now discuss these topics briefly.

Pramāṇa

What is *pramāṇa*? As stated above, the NS does not define *pramāṇa*, but merely states that *pramāṇa* is of four kinds which will be discussed below.

Vātsyāyana in his *Nyāya-bhāṣya* (commentary on the NS, 1.1.1) defined *pramāṇa* as 'an instrument of knowledge by which the knowing subject knows the object'. Uddyotakara defined *pramāṇa* as *upalabdhi-hetu* (cause of knowledge). Vācaspati in his *Tātparyāṭīkā* (p. 15) considers the action of the senses as *pramāṇa* which is the direct cause of the production of knowledge, but as the production could not have taken place without the subject and object they also have to be regarded as causes to some extent (*tad hetu kathañcit*).[1] Bhāsarvajña in his *Nyāyasāra* 1.1.1 defines *pramāṇa* as *samyag= anubhava-sādhanam* where *anubhava* is defined as *smṛti-bhinnam jñānam* (all knowledge other than memory). Hence *pramāṇa* may be defined as 'an instrument of knowledge for correct apprehension'.[2]

Doubt and error

Cognition which is devoid of certitude is *saṁśayā* or doubt. Doubt, which is a conflicting judgement about the precise character of an object, arises from

[1]Quoted in S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 331 fn. For Jayanta's definition of *pramaṇa* see ibid, pp. 330-31.

[2]Bhāsarvajña 'was the first Hindu logician who dealt with the theory of knowledge as a subject by itself in his work [*Nyāyasāra*].' Jwala Prasad, *History of Indian Epistemology*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1958, p. 341. Gaṁgeśa came after Bhāsarvajña. Bhāsarvajña intended his work to serve as a primer for young students (*śiśu-prabodhāya*). We have used the edition by V. Abhyankar and C.R. Devadhar, Poona, 1922, which includes the *Nyayāsāra-padapañcikā* commentary by Vāsudeva.

the recognition of properties common to many objects, or of properties not common to any of the objects, from conflicting testimony and from irregularity of perception and non-perception (NS, 1.1.23). Doubt resembles falsity (*apramā*) to the extent that it is the knowledge of the object but only in an indeterminate manner. For example, a tall object seen from a distance in failing light may be a pole (*sthānu*) or a motionless person. When the observer decides in favour of the wrong alternative, the doubt becomes an error, because certainty through wrong sense has replaced the doubt. Hence doubt is sometimes classified as 'false knowledge,' which may be of four kinds: i. *saṁśayā* (doubt), ii. *viparyaya* (wrong apprehension), iii. *anadhyavasāya* (non-apprehension), and iv. *svapna* (dream).

Kinds of Proof

As opposed to false knowledge is true knowledge or *pramā* based on *pramāṇa* which has been defined above. The NS admits four kinds of *pramāṇa*, namely, A. *pratyakṣa* (perception), B. *anumāna* (inference), C. *upamāna* (similarity or comparison) and D. *śabda*. Of these the VS admits only *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, the last two being included within *anumāna*. It is interesting to note that Bhāsarvajña admits only three kinds of *pramāṇa*, namely, *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, and *āgama* (scriptures).

A. *Pratyakṣa or Perception*

The NS 1.1.4 defines perception as: *indriyārtha-sannikarṣotpannam jñānam avyapadeśyam avyabhicāri vyavasāyātmakaṁ pratyakṣam*. That is, 'perception is the right knowledge generated by the contact of the senses with the object, devoid of doubt and error, and definite.'[1] There are thus four factors involved in the act of perception: 1. *indriya* (senses), 2. *artha* (their objects), 3. *sannikarṣa* (contact of the senses with their objects, and 4. *jñānam* (cognition produced by the contact).

Gaṁgeśa's definition of perception is: *pratyakṣasya sākṣātkāritvam lakṣaṇam* (perception is immediate awareness). He then adds that 'perception is knowledge that is not derived through the instrumentality of other knowledge' (*jñanakāraṇakam jñānam*).[2] A shorter and more practical definition is given in *Siddhānta-muktāvalī* (SM) commentary on the *Bhāṣā-pariccheda* 51 (BP) namely, *indriyajanyaṁ jñānam pratyakṣam* (perception is the knowledge produced by the sense-organs)[3] Viśvanātha then gives six instruments of

[1]For a discussion of the meaning of this definition, see Jwala Prasad, op. cit., pp. 154-61. He translates the *sūtra* as: 'that cognition which is the product of the contact of the sense-organs with the object; which is non-inferential and non-descriptive; non-discrepant and definite;' ibid, p. 161.

[2]*Tattvacintāmaṇi* quoted by S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 334, fn. and D.M. Datta, *The Six Ways of Knowing*, Calcutta, 1960, 2nd ed., p. 57; Jwala Prasad, op. cit., p. 345.

[3]Both the *Bhāsā-pariccheda* (BP) and is commentary the *Siddhānta-muktāvalī* (SM) were written by Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana. Viśvanātha's *Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti* is dated 1556 Saka era (AD 1634), hence the BP must have been written about that time, possibly

perception and their corresponding objects (BP, 53, 57):

1. Nose for smell, smellhood etc.
2. Tongue for taste (etc.).
3. Ear for sound etc.
4. Eye for colour, coloured objects, separateness, number, disjunction, conjunction, distance, proximity, viscocity, liquidity, together with dimension.
5. Skin for substances possessing manifested touch, as also the latter, in fact, whatever is perceptible to the eye except colour (etc.). The contact of the skin with the mind is the cause of knowledge (*tvaco yogo manasa jñāna-kāraṇam*).
6. Mind for pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, knowledge (*mati*), and effort (*kṛti*).

The function of mind in perception was first noted by Vātsyāyana while commenting on NS 1.1.4 as *ātmā manasā mana indriyena indriyaṁ cārthena samyujyate*, that is, the senses come into contact with the object of perception, mind contacts the senses, and by the mind the self apprehends. An *indriya* is defined by Gaṁgeśa as 'the locus (or medium) of contact (or relation, conjunction) between the mind and an object when the contact is the cause of knowledge other than memory.'[1] The difficulty of this definition is that, though it holds good for external perceptions, in the case of internal perceptions (as in the case of mental satisfaction or pleasure) the contact of the mind is established again through mind. Hence in the case of internal perception mind has to be taken as a term of relation as well as the medium of relation or an *indriya*. Bhāsarvajna obviates this difficulty by stating that 'by eye one perceives the form etc., by touching touch, by smelling smells, by tasting tastes, by mind happiness etc.' That is, the mind mediates between the senses and the self, and plays the part of an internal sense having for its object the working of the mind, and can come into contact with pleasure, pain, desire, antipathy, and will.

Vācaspati has introduced the conception of *savikalpa pratyakṣa* (determinate or reflective direct knowledge) and *nirvikalpa pratyakṣa* (non-determinate or non-reflective direct knowledge. According to him, *vyavasāyātmaka* in NS 1.1.4 denotes *savikalpa pratyakṣa*, while the term *avyapadeśya*, explained by him as 'that which cannot be expressed by words,' refers to *nirvikalpa pratyakṣa*.

Determinate (*savikalpa*) perception is the cause of apprehension of an object comprehending its connection with name and suchlike attributes, while indeterminate (*nirvikalpa*) perception generates the knowledge of the bare existence of an object unconnected with the object such as name. The basis of this dual character of perception is that perception of an object means the

in the first quarter of the 17th century. We have used the text and the commentary with a Bengali translation by Pañcānana Śāstrī, Calcutta, 1354 Bengali Year (AD 1957) and the English translation by Swami Mādhavānanda, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1954.

[1]D.M. Datta, op. cit., p. 57.

cognition of its distinction from other objects as well as the object itself and its character. Thus *ghaṭa* (a pot, the stock example) cannot be known as *ghaṭa* before its *ghaṭatva* (pot-ness) is known. Therefore, at first there is the recognition that an undefined something exists, upon which later on, when the determining character of the thing is known, determinate perception is built up. In later Nyāya, *savikalpa* has been defined as *nama-jāty-ādi-viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya avagāhi jñānam*, that is, 'knowledge which comprehends the relation of qualified and the qualifications such as name, class etc.' Thus, at first when a thing comes in view we apprehend it as an undefined something; this is followed by the recognition of its attributes which produce the determinate perception.

Viśvanātha in his commentary (on BP, 58) explains that at first there arises a knowledge which does not comprehend the relation between an object like a jar and any jarhood, and it is not perceptible (*na pratyakṣam*). He calls this knowledge *atindriya* that is, *nirvikalpa pratyakṣa* is not directly perceived, but its existence can be logically proved as a necessary preliminary of determinate perception. The determinate perceptual knowledge of a pot implies our ascription to it the attributes of pothood. But since this substance-attribute (*viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa*) relation cannot take place before the elements related are perceived, it has to be assumed that prior to the determinate perception of a pot we must have an indeterminate or non-relational knowledge of pot and pothood.

Nyāya admits two kinds of perceptions: 1. *laukika* (ordinary) and 2. *alaukika* (extraordinary). In a *laukika* perception, there is an ordinary relation between object and sense, while in an *alaukika* perception no ordinary relation between the object and any sense (i.e. sense-organ) can be ascertained. According to the VS (1.1.6, 15-17) substance (*dravya*) is the substratum of quality (*guṇa*), therefore *saṃyoga* (conjunction) relation is not possible with a quality, but only with a substance, this is also admitted by Nyāya. Hence Uddyotakara on NS, 1.1.4. has differentiated six kinds of ordinary relations (*sannikarṣa*) between object and senses being responsible for six kinds of objects. These are: i. *saṃyoga* (conjunction); ii. *saṃyukta-samavāya* (inherence in the conjoined); iii. *saṃyukta-samaveta·samavāya* (inherence in the one inhering in the conjoined); iv. *samavāya* (inherence); v. *samaveta-samavāya* (inherence in the one inhering) and vi. *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya-bhāva* (substance attribute relation) or *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣy-abhāva* (absence of attributive relation), or *saṃyukta·viśeṣanatā* (attributiveness to the compound.)

The Naiyāyikas held that an object is perceived through the appropriate sense, as for example a pot is perceived through the eyes. But the eyes cannot perceive the pothood or the form inhering in the pot, nor the colours which have a class (*jāti*) characteristic. In the perception of such qualities inhering in the pot there is no direct conjunction (*saṃyoga*) between the sense and the percept (eye and the pot). The relation in such cases is indirect: first there is the relation between the eye and the pot, and then the relation of inherence between the blue colour and the pot, which forms the second type of relation (*saṃyukta-samavāya*). Next the blueness inhering in the blue

colour is perceived, but still more indirectly: the links are sense-substance-inhering quality-universal inhering in the quality (*saṃyukta-samaveta-samavāya*). In the perception of sound, however, the relation between the sense (ear) and the object is said to be one of simple inherence (*samavāya*). This is because sound and space (*ākāśa*) are in *samavāya* relation, and as the ear is conceived by the Naiyāyikas as an *ākāśa* in limited form, the relation between the sound and the ear is also *samavāya*. However, the universal (*sāmānya*) that is, soundness, inhering in sound is perceived through an indirect relation between the sense and the object, and this relation is called *samaveta-samavāya*. According to the Vaiśeṣikas, however, the *samavāya* relation is inferential and not perceptual. This is made clear by Śaṃkara Miśra in the *Upaskāra* (7.2.28): *pratyakṣaḥ samavāya it* is *naiyāyikāḥ, tad apy=anupapannaṁ, samavāyo'tīndriyaḥ* (the Naiyayikas say that the *samavāya* relation can be perceived, which is impossible, *samavāya* being non-sensory). The Vaiśeṣika objection is based on the argument that the perception of a relation depends on the simultaneous perception of all the individual substrata (past, present and future) which is impossible in the case of a *samavāya* relation.

The sixth form of perception, *abhāva*, is in reality 'negation of perception' due to the non-existence of a particular object in a particular locus like 'absence of the pot on the ground' (*bhūtale ghaṭ-ābhāvaḥ*). Here the eye is in contact with the ground (*bhūtala*) of which the negative attribute is the absence of the pot (*ghaṭ-ābhavād bhūtalam*).[1]

The SM on BP 62 explains: 'But in darkness the above assumption cannot be made; hence there is no ocular perception of the non-existence of the jar etc. in darkness. Tactual perception, however, can indeed take place; for even without the conjunction of light, tactual perception can be assumed. Things like weight are incapable of being perceived; so their non-existence is also not perceptible, because there the perception of weight and the like is impossible to assume. The non-existence of manifested colour in air, of perfume in stone, of bitter taste in molasses, of coldness in fire, of sound in the ear, of pleasure in the soul, and so on, is perceived through the respective organs, since it is possible to assume those perceptions. In the perception of the non-existence of relationship the counterpositive must be perceptible; in the perception of mutual non-existence the substratum (*adhikaraṇa*) must be perceptible.'

Next is *alaukika* (extraordinary or supernormal) perception. It can be of three kinds: *sāmānya-lakṣaṇa* (that based on common features), *jñāna-lakṣaṇa* (that based on knowledge), and *yogaja* (that due to yoga). *Sāmānya-laksaṇa* is the perception of the generic nature of the individuals, as for example, when by coming in contact with a particular like smoke one is transcendentally (*alaukika*) in contact with all the particulars (in a general way) of which the corresponding universal, smokiness, may be predicated. Thus

[1]SM on BP 61; P. Tarkavāgīśa, op. cit., p. 178; *Nyāyasāra*, p. 10, the *sūtras* in the *Nyāyasāra* are not numbered; D.M. Datta, op. cit., p. 108.

when a person sees smoke and through it his sense is in contact with the universal associated with smoke, his visual sense is in contact with all smoke in general.

By *jñāna-lakṣaṇa* contact one associates the perception of other senses when perceiving by another sense. Thus one sees the sandalwood, but perceives its fragrance without any direct contact of the object with the organ of smell.[1]

The last is *yogaja* perception. Sense-perception together with inference, *upamāna*, and verbal cognition, which will be described later, are valid sources of knowledge for the ordinary man. Absolute knowledge, unlimited and revealing the heart of reality cannot be apprehended by these means. But such knowledges exist and are attainable by men who make the necessary effort, which is admitted in NS 4.2.38 (*samādhi viśeṣ-ābhyāsāt*) and in the VS 9.1.11-15 and 9.2.13. The *yogin* has perception of things remote by space and time, or of very subtle objects like an atom, which an ordinary person cannot see. Bhāsarvajña (p. 12) says that *yogaja* perception is twofold: i. when the mind is concentrated, and ii. when not concentrated. The former is the power of the seers to perceive in an intuitive vision the whole of truth. Contact of mind and soul which the ascetic has acquired is the exact cause of this form of supernormal knowledge. The second is produced 'by the result of contact of four or three or two.' Thus in the perception of smell, taste, vision, and touch four things have to be in contact with each other, namely, the object perceived, the sense-organ, the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*), and the soul (*ātman*). Since sound inheres in the ear, hearing needs the contact of three, namely, ear, mind, and soul. In the perception of qualities like pleasure and pain, contact of only two, mind and soul, takes places, since these qualities inhere in the soul. The second type can be called *yogaja* by ascribing the meaning 'yoking' to *yoga*. This was not acceptible to the later Naiyāyikas, and the SM on BP 66 makes it clear that by *yogaja* is meant the particular merit which arises from a particular *yoga* according to the *śrutis*, *smṛtis*, and the *purāṇas*. It adds that the *yogins* are divided into two categories, namely, those who have attained *samādhi*, and those who are striving for it. The former can always have knowledge of everything in the universe, while the latter needs particular meditations.

B. *Anumāna or Inference*

Introduction

Anumāna, the second mode of proof (*pramāṇa*) is usually rendered as 'inference', but since it includes both induction and deduction it is better to use the Sanskrit term.

[1]BP 63: Swami Mādhavānanda reads the verse as *alaukikas tu vyāpāraḥ*, while P. Śāstrī has *alaukikaḥ sannikarṣaḥ*. The SM explains *sannikarṣa* as *vyāpārah*, and concludes that knowledge gained through sense contact is always *laukika* (ordinary), while in non-sensory and mental contact knowledge is in the form of generality (*bahir-indriya sthale mānasa-sthale tu*).

Anumāna is the most valuable contribution of Nyāya to Indian logic. The Naiyāyikas ignored direct immediate convictions of self-conscious thought, and based their metaphysics on a series of inferential results. Their logical speculations had to face hostile criticisms from Vedāntins such as Citsukha and Śrīharṣa. Hence the Naiyāyikas had to strive towards the perfection of their definitions and analytical methods. In this process the most notable was the restructuring of *anumāna* by Gaṁgeśa. Inference is defined to be the judgement produced by the knowledge of the minor premise, qualified by the knowledge of the universal proposition, the major premise, which states the connection between the two terms in their universal reference. This universal connection is termed *vyāpti*, and a long definition of the concept of *vyāpti* and its various definitions is undertaken.

Syllogism : *Avayava*

Before proceeding further, it is preferable to give here the Nyāya syllogism The stock example is : 'The hill is on fire, because there is smoke,' (*parvato vahnimān dhūmāt*). This inference is based on the following premises :

1. *Pratijñā*: Statement of the proposition to be proved 'the hill is on fire.
2. *Hetu*: Statement of the reason: 'because it has smoke'.
3. *Udāharaṇa*: Statement of the universal proposition along with an instance: 'wherever there is smoke, there is fire, as in the kitchen'.
4. *Upanaya*: Statement of the presence of the mark (*liṁga*) in the case in question, 'there is smoke on this hill'.
5. *Nigamana*: Conclusion proved 'therefore, this hill is on fire.' The definitions of these terms have been given later.

The corresponding Vaiśeṣika terms of the syllogism are: 1. *pratijñā*, 2. *apadeśa*, 3. *nidarśana*, 4. *anusandhāna*, and 5. *pratyāmnāya*. Of these *pratijña* is the same in two systems, and *nidarśana* is quite similar to *dṛṣṭānta*. The last two are however entirely different. Kaṇāda does not mention the name of any of the premises except *apadeśa*. In VS 9 2.1, inference is called cognition by means of a mark (*laiṁgikam*) and is characterized by such relations as :

i. This is its effect (*asy=edaṁ kāryam*);
ii. This is its cause (*kāraṇam*);
iii. This is its conjunct (*saṃyogī*);
iv. This is its contradictory (*virodhī*);
v. This is its co-existent (*samavāyī*).

(*asy=edam kāryaṁ kāraṇaṁ saṃyogī virodhī c=eti laiṁgikam*)

It is then stated that this cause and effect relations are the limbs (of an inference). However, *anumāna* was later developed by the Naiyāyikas, and we shall deal only with the *anumāna* of the Nyāya school. Before proceeding further, we give here some other important technical terms used in Nyāya : i. smoke is called *liṁga* or *vyāpya* (probans); ii. fire is *liṁgin*, *vyāpaka*, or *sādhya* (major term, probandum); iii. concomitance of smoke with fire is

vyāpti; iv. hill is *pakṣa* (minor term); and v. inference (the hill is on fire) is *anumiti.*

Kinds of Inference

Gautama (NS 1.1.5) defines *anumana* as: *atha tat pūrvakaṁ trividham anumānam purvavac=cheṣavat sāmānyato dṛṣṭam ca. Tat* here refers to the preceding *sūtra* which says *vyavasāyātmakaṁ pratyakṣam.* Hence, according to Gautama, *anumāna* is that which is preceded by direct knowledge and is of the following three kinds:

1. *Pūrvavat:* the inference of effects from the cause: when we see clouds, we infer rain.
2. *Śeṣavat*: the inference of cause from the effect: when we see that unlike formerly the river is full and the current swift, we infer that it has been raining.
3. *Sāmānyatodṛṣṭa*: the inference in all cases other than those of cause of effect: the inference of the sour taste of tamarind.

Nature of Anumāna

Both *anumāna* and *śabdā* (to be explained later) are indirect (*parokṣa*) means of apprehension, and it is the invariable concomitance which distinguishes the former from the later. The relation of this invariable concomitance known as *avinābhāva* is the natural link between the *hetu* (middle term) and the *sādhya* (major term). Thus *vyāpti* must not be arbitrarily conceived, but must be in the very nature of things. Regarding smoke and fire, there is causal relation between smoke and fire, therefore there is convincing reason for believing them as companions (*sahacara*), for the cause is bound to be there where the effect is, but *vyāpti* will not hold good for the reverse case, namely, wherever there is fire there is smoke, for there can be fire without smoke. However, to render the case of 'where there is fire there is smoke', an invariable one, a qualification (*upādhi*) has to be added, namely, 'wherever a fire is made of "wet fuel" there is smoke.' Here the *avinābhāva* is not a natural connection (*svābhāvika-sambandha*) but an *upādhi-prayojya-sambandha.* In a true *vyāpti*, however, the *sambandha* or *avinābhāva* must be a natural one, and not one that is assumed for the time being, nor one that depends upon some conditions.

In order to formulate a *vyāpti*, it is necessary not only to observe the association of fire and smoke in numerous instances (*anvaya*), but also to establish the absence of the contrary, that is, there is no instance where there is smoke without fire (*vyātireka*).

An *anumāna* can be *svārthānumāna* or *parārthānumāna.* The *svārthānumāna* is informal and represents the mental process through which an individual passes when he arrives at an inferential conclusion. When, however, he seeks to convince another person, he has to set out the premises in words, which is known as *parārthānumāna.* That is no syllogism is required to convince one's self, but to convince another person it is necessary in the form we have given

above.

There are different views as to what constitutes an *anumāna*. Vātsyāyana held that an *anumāna* can be made by the sight of the *liṁga* through the memory of the connection between the *liṁga* and the *limgin* (smoke and fire) through the memory of their connection previously perceived (*vyāpti-jñāna*). Uddyotakara raises the question as to whether the present perception of the *liṁga* or the memory of the *vyāpti* should be regarded as leading to *anumāna*? His answer is that both these lead to *anumāna*, but the proximate reason is *liṁga-parāmarśa*, that is, the present perception of *liṁga* (smoke) associated with the memory of its connection with *liṁgin* (fire). He is silent as to the nature of concomitance. According to Navya-nyāya, the discovery of the *liṁga* in the hill as associated with its concomitance with fire known as the *tṛtīya-liṁga-parāmarśa*, is the cause (*anumiti-kāraṇa* or *anumāṇa*) of the inference (*anumiti*). This is explained in the SM on BP 66-67:

'A man who has noticed in a kitchen etc., that smoke is a *vyāpya* (concomitant) of fire, happens to see afterwards, on a hill or the like, a trail of smoke connected with the surface. Then he recalls the invariable concomitance (*vyāpti-smaraṇam*) that smoke is a concomitance of fire (*tad anantaraṁ dhūmo vahnī-vyāpya ity=evam smaraṇaṁ tasya bhavati*). Next he has the knowledge that the hill is possessed of smoke which is a concomitant of fire. This is what is called "consideration" (*parāmarśa*).[1] After this there arises the inference (*anumiti*) that the hill is on fire. Here the old school (*prācīnaḥ*) says that the *liṁga*, actually being known as a concomitant, is the instrument of inference (*liṁgam-anumiti-kāraṇam. . . .*) However, if the *liṁga* be the instrument of inference, then from a *liṁga* that is yet to come (*anāgata*) or has been destroyed (*vinaṣṭena ca*) there would be no inference; for the *liṁga* which is the instrument of inference is then absent.'

According to Gaṁgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (II, p. 2), *anumiti* (inferential knowledge) means the character of the minor term (hill) in which that character is also characterized by an invaribale concomitance of the middle (smoke) with the major term (fire: *vyāpti-viśiṣṭa pakṣa dharmatā-jñāna janyam jñānām anumitiḥ tat-kāraṇam anumānam*). Thus the presence of the middle in the minor term (*pakṣa-dharmatā*, smoke and the hill) cannot lead to a valid inference unless it is combined with a universal relation between the middle and the major term (smoke and fire).

C and D. *Upamāna and Śabda*

Upamāna, the third *pramāṇa*, is admitted by Nyāya but not by Vaiśeṣika, which brings *upāmāna*, *aitihya*, (tradition), and *śabda* under *anumāna*.[2] The term *upamāna* means comparison by which one gains the knowledge of a

[1] In the next verse, the BP (68) defines *parāmarśa* as: 'The knowledge that the concomitant (*vyāpya*) exists in the subject (*pakṣa*) is called *parāmarśa!*., *Tṛtīya-liṁga-parāmarśa* may be rendered as 'contemplation of *liṁga* (middle term) for the third time.'

[2] The Vaiśeṣikas admit four kinds of valid knowledge: i. *pratyakṣa;* ii. *laiṁgika* (inference), iii. *smṛti* (remembrance), and iv. *ārṣa-jñāna* (intuitive knowledge).

thing from its similarity to another thing previously well known. The stock example is of a city-dweller, who has never seen a *gavaya* while going to a forest asking a forester, 'what is a *gavaya*?'[1] 'The forester replies that the *gavaya* looks like a cow (*yathā gaur=evaṁ gavaya ity=upamāna*). Then the city-dweller enters the forest and is able to identify a *gavaya*. This knowing a hitherto unknown thing by virtue of its similarity to a known thing is called *upamāna*. It would have been *śabda-pramana* if the forester had actually pointed out the animal to the city-dweller and had informed him that 'this animal is a *gavaya*.' Knowledge by *upamāna* is generated by the association of the unknown animal with the observer's previous experience of a known animal.

Śabda-pramāṇa or 'testimony' can be of two kinds: *dṛṣṭa* and *adṛṣṭa* (NS, 1.1.8). As explained above, some Vedic rules or recommendations have no perceptible reasons, nor do their performance produce any visible result; these are known as *adṛṣṭa* (unseen) rules, while those rules whose results are perceptible are known as *dṛṣṭa* (seen). Men are known to regulate their conducts on the precepts laid down by seers, *āryas* and *mlecchas*, whose words or dicta are valid testimony. This simple meaning of *śabda* was given up by later Naiyāyikas, according to whom *śabda* meant the manner in which verbal comprehension took place.

As stated above, the Vaiśeṣikas do not regard *śabda* as a separate *pramāṇa*, and Praśastapāda says; *śabd-ādinām apy=anumane'ntarbhāvaḥ* (*śabda* etc. are included within *anumāna*).

Prameya

i. *Prameya* means the 'object of right knowledge.' According to Gautama (NS, 1.1.9) there are twelve *prameyas*: i. *ātman* (self); ii. *śarīra* (body); iii. *indriya* (senses); iv. *artha* (objects of senses); v. *buddhi* (intellect); vi. *manas* (mind); vii. *pravṛtti* (desire or inclination); viii. *doṣa* (faults); ix. *pretyabhāva* (rebirth); x. *phala* (result); xi. *duḥkha* (misery); and xii. *apavarga* (release).

i. *ĀTMAN* is not defined, but the NS 1.1.10. states; *icchā dveṣa-prayatna-sukha-duḥkha jñānany=atmano liṁgam*, that is 'desire, aversion, volition, pleasure, pain, (and) cognition are the signs (*liṁga*) of *ātman*'. The Naiyāyikas prove the existence of *ātman* by means of *anumāna*, though confirmatory scriptural evidences are also added (NS, 1.1.10, 3.1.1-16)

Cognitions, desires, aversions, volitions, and the feelings of pleasure and pain are non-corporeal elements. The transitory modes of consciousness are qualities of the soul (*ātman*), which is a real substance having for its qualities desires etc. mentioned above. This permanent self is not *buddhi* (intellection), nor *upalabdhi* (apprehension), nor is it *jñāna* (knowledge; NS, 1.1-5). The soul is an eternal entity which is from time to time connected with a body in accordance with *karma*. The body has as its source in the acts done by the person, and it is the basis of pleasure and pain. The problem is, how to prove the existence of soul ? Gautama does it by inference (NS, 3.1.18-26).

[1]Gavaya is Bos Gaveus, a wild cow without the dewlap.

Gautama first assumes that the new-born baby's experience of delight, fear, and sorrow is due to its repeated practice of the same in past life (or lives). To this the objection is that the baby's behaviour may be compared to that of the opening and closing of a lotus bud. The reply is that the reaction of the lotus bud is due to the temperature and the season, not so the baby's. It may be said that iron is attracted by magnet just as a baby turns towards its mother's breast for feeding. This objection too is untenable, because iron is devoid of attachment; the going of iron towards the magnet is mere action divested of manifest effort. Actually, no one is born without the quality of attachment (*rāga*). This *rāga* is not imparted to a *jīva* (individual) at the time of birth in the manner in which forms etc. are given to a pot at the time of its manufacture. This *rāga* is due to *saṃkalpa*, which in the present context means 'stupor or error due to imagination.' Attachment is due to *rañjananīya-saṃkalpa* (pleasurable errors) and aversion to *kopanīya-saṃkalpa* (painful errors).

In its previous existence (or existences), the *jīva* has accepted certain things as conducive to happiness, and certain others as conducive to misery. In the present birth he will desire those things which gave him pleasure in past life (or lives), and he will try to avoid whatever had caused him anguish. Ultimately, Gautama concludes (NS, 3.2.60): *pūrvakṛta-phalānubandhāt tad=utpatti*, that is, the origin of the body is due to the result of actions performed in previous birth (or births).

Uddyotakara holds that the reality of the *ātman* is apprehended by means of perception also. According to him, the notion of 'I' is the *ātman*, while the recognition of different cognitions as 'mine' proves the continued presence of the soul. Uddyotakara then says: 'For one who denies a soul, every cognition must be distinct with a distinct object of its own; and no cognition or recollection would ever be possible.' He then adds: 'The recognition of one cognition by another cognition would be as possible as the recognition by one body of the experiences of another body.' (*Nyāya-vārtika*, 1.1.10).

It has been held that by *ātman* Gautama meant both *jīvātman* (individual self) and *paramātman* (Universal self).[1]

According to VS 9.1.11, the self is an object of yogic perception.

ii. *ŚARĪRA* or body is the locus of volitional activities of the senses (NS, 1.1.11). According to Gautama (NS, 3.1.28), earth is the material cause, and the other four elements (water, air, fire, and space) are the efficient causes of the body, hence it is also called *pañca-bhautika* (of five *bhūtas* or elements). This view is established on the basis of *śruti* (NS, 3.1.31) and is supported by VS 4.2.2.

iii. *THE INDRIYAS* are the senses of smell (nose), taste (tongue), vision (eye), touch (skin), and hearing (ear; NS, 1.1.12). This is elaborated in the third chapter of the NS which proves the existence of the *indriyas* by inference.

[1]P. Tarkavāgīśa, op. cit., pp. 161 and 246. Kaṇāda does not mention *jīva*, but from VS, 6.2.12 and 6.2.13, *adṛṣṭāc=ca* and *jātīviśeṣāc=ca* it has been held that he ascribes desire and aversion to *adṛṣṭa* and to birth. P. Tarkavāgīsa, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

iv. *ARTHA* means 'object' but here it means 'sense-objects', namely, smell, taste, form, touch, and sound. Gautama (NS 3.1.62-63) and Kaṇāda (VS 2.1. 1-5) state that the qualities of earth (solidity) are smell, taste, form, and touch; the qualities of fire (heat) are form and touch; and the qualities of air (gas) is touch. Sound is the quality of *ākāśa* (space).

v. *BUDDHI* as a *prameya* is distinguished from *manas* (mind). *Buddhi* is realization and cognition (*buddhir=upalabdhibhir=jñānam ity=anarthāntaram*, NS, 1.1.15). Nyāya refutes the Sāṁkhya view that *buddhi* is the first evolute of Prakṛti and that cognition is a function or attribute of *buddhi*.

vi. *MANAS:* The characteristic of mind is the non-production of simultaneous cognitions (*yugapaj=jñān-ānutpattir-manaso liṁgam*, NS, 1.1.16). That is, the mind selects only one cognition at a time. While the senses may be in contact with various sense-objects, cognition takes place only of that sense-object which has been selected by the mind. If the mind is not in contact with a sense, then there can be no cognition of the object apprehended by that sense. But mind is not all-pervasive (NS, 3.2.8).

vii. *PRAVṚTTI* is the totality of actions performed by speech, mind, and body (*pravṛttri=vāg-buddhi-śarīr-ārambha*, NS, 1.1.17.[1] According to Uddyotakara, *pravṛtti* is both cause and its effect. The desires for performing good and evil deeds, which generate merit and demerit respectively, are *pravṛtti* in the form of cause (*karma* or *kāraṇa*). The results of such actions are *pravṛttis* in the form of effects (*kārya*).

viii. *DOṢA* (fault or blemish) are the generators of *pravṛtti* (NS, 1.1.18). *Doṣa* is of three kinds, namely, *rāga* (desire), *dveṣa* (aversion), and *moha* (delusion); (NS, 4.1.3), the last being the worst of the three faults (NS, 4.1.6).

ix. *PRETVABHĀVA* is birth after death (NS, 1.1.9). Rebirth takes place because *ātman* is eternal (NS, 4.1.10). The eternality of *ātman* is proved by feelings like joy, fear, and sorrow, experienced by a new born baby (NS, 3.1.18), which must be due to the habits of its past life. Similarly, the desire for a new born baby to suck its mother's breast is also due to its habit of ingestion acquired in the past life.

x. *PHALA* or result is of two kinds: primary and secondary. Enjoyment of happiness and misery is the primary result, while their means of accomplishment, namely, the senses (*indrihyas*) are the secondary result.

xi. *DUḤKHA* is 'suffering' (NS, 1.1.21). Desire for happiness causes misery. Actually, desire itself is misery. A man in seeking happiness performs various acts, which result in his suffering repeated births, old age, infirmity, and diseases. Hence one desiring liberation must consider happiness also as 'suffering'. It is remarkable that *sukha* (happiness) is not one of the *prameyas*, though *sukha* is mentioned in several other *sūtras*. Hence it appears that *sukha* is recognized in Nyāya but not as a *prameya* apart from *duḥkha*. Bhāsarvajña (*Nyāyasāra*, p. 82) says: *sukham duḥkh-anusaṃgāt*; that is pleasure and pain are in perpetual contact. The commentator, Vāsudeva explains that in the origin of the *sukha* lies also the origin of *duḥkha*.

[1]Vātsyāyana makes it clear that *buddhi* here means *manas*, and *ārambha* means 'action'.

xii. *APAVARGA* is the last *prameya* or the final object of cognition. It has been defined as 'complete obliteration of suffering' (*tad=atyanta-vimokṣo' pavargaḥ*; NS, 1.1.22). Temporary relief from suffering is not *apavarga*, the relief must be absolute dissociation from suffering; in other words, *apavarga* is the elimination of all causes of future suffering so that there may not be any more birth.

Gautama has divided the *prameyas* into *upādeya* (acceptable) and *heya* (to be abandoned). Of the twelve *prameyas*, only the first (*ātman*) and the last (*apavarga*) are *upādeya*, the rest are *heya*.

OTHER TOPICS

As stated above, Gautama begins the NS by enumerating sixteen topics, of which we have discussed the fi st two. We shall now give short accounts of the remaining fourteen topics. Mbh 12.306.45 calls the *anvīkṣikī* the fourth *vidyā*. This has to be read with Mbh 3.149.31, where the first three *vidyās*, namely, *trayī* (Veda), *vārtā* (trade and agriculture), and *daṇḍanīti* (polity) are enumerated. This is supported by Manu 7.43. Hence the '*fourth vidyā*' evidently comprises mainly the following fourteen topics. Vatsyayana explains that without the comprehension of these fourteen topics, Nyāyadarśana would have been an *adhyātma-vidyā* (metaphysical speculation) like the Upaniṣads, and not the fourth *vidyā*, or a separate branch of study.

3. *SAṂSAYA* or 'doubt' is the attribution of multiple cognitions to one object (NS, 1.1.23). There can be five types of *saṁsayā*: i. During twilight a distant object may raise the doubt as to whether it is a pole (*sthānu*) or a man. ii. Whether *śabda* is eternal or not? iii. The Mīmāṁsakas say that *śabda* is *nitya*, but according to the Naiyāyikas it is not eternal (*anitya*). This doubt is known as *vipratipatti*, and can be resolved by logically establishing rival views. iv. Water is observed (*upalabdhi*) both in a tank and in a mirage. v. The fifth and the final type of doubt is *anupalabdhi*, where the doubt is whether the existing object is not being observed or the non-existing object is not being observed? (That is, water is not being observed because there is no water, or the vision being faulty the eye cannot see water which is present.)

4. *PRAYOJANA* (purpose) has been defined (NS, 1.1.24) as that object for which or to get rid of which one sets himself to work, Desire to obtain happiness and avoid suffering are primary, while the means adopted to achieve such ends are secondary *prayojanas*. (Kumārila says: *prayojanam anuddiśya na mando' pi pravartate:* 'Even a fool does not commence a work without fixing his purpose').

5. *DṚṢṬĀNTA* (example) is that on which the lay man (*laukika*) and the expert (*parīkṣaka*) hold the same view (*buddhi-sāmyam*, NS, 1.1.25).

6. *SIDDHĀNTA* (conclusion) is of four kinds (NS, 1.1.27): i. *sarva-tantra-siddha*, those which are accepted by all schools of thought; ii. *pratitantra-siddha*, those which are admitted by one school or similar schools, but are

opposed by others; iii. *adhikaraṇa-siddhānta*, those which being accepted, other conclusions will naturally follow, for example, if it is established that *dvyāṇuka* (double atom, to be explained later) has a maker, then the omniscience and the power of extra-sensory perception (without which *dvyāṇuka* cannot be made) must be attributed to its maker. iv. *Abhyupagama-siddhānta* are those of the opponents views which are admitted uncritically by a debater who then proceeds to refute the consequences which follow from such assumptions, thereby showing his skill and bringing the opponent's intellect into disrepute. For example, a Mīmāṁsaka says: '*Śabda* is a *dravya* and is *nitya*.' The Naiyāyika admits the *dravyatva* of *śabda* tacitly, and proceeds to demonstrate that *śabda* is not *nitya*. Once the Naiyāyika has established that *śabda* is *anitya*, the Mīmāṁsaka's other contention, that *śabda* is a *dravya*, falls to the ground.

7. *AVAYAVA* (premises) are (NS, 1.1.32): i. *pratijñā*, ii. *hetu*, iii. *udāharana*, iv. *upanaya*, and v. *nigamana*. Illustrative examples of these five terms have been given above under syllogism. Vācaspati says that as the various components combine to raise a structure, so do the five *avayavas* like *pratijñā* etc., together establish the logical validity of a proposition. Hence the five *avayavas* are collectively known as *nyāya*. The terms have been defined as follows:

i. *Pratijñā* is 'enunciation of the thing to be proved' (*sādhyanirdeśaḥ pratijñā*, NS, 1.1.33).

ii. *Hetu* (NS, 1.1.34-35) is the reason which establishes the conclusion on the strength of the similarity of the case in hand with known examples or negative instances.

iii. *Udāharaṇa* (NS, 1.1. 36-37) are illustrative examples and may either be positive (*anvaya*) or negative (*vyātīreka*).

iv. *Upanaya* (NS, 1.1.38) is corroboration by example. Bhāsarvajña (*Nyāyasāra*, p. 39) says that *upanaya* is the establishment by means of comparison with the example of the presence in the subject of the reason which is known to be invariable concomitant (with the conclusion) in the example. He adds that *Upanaya* is of two kinds, according as the *udahāraṇa* is positive or negative.

v. *Nigamana* (NS, 1.1.39) or the conclusion is the establishment of the proposition containing a statement of the reason.

Upanaya and *nigamana* are the repetition of the *hetu* and the *pratijñā*, for the former is nothing else than a particular application of the *hetu*, while the latter is same as *pratijñā*. Hence the Mīmāṁsakas recognized three members, namely *pratijñā*, *hetu*, and *udāharana*, while another school recognized *hetu*, *udāharaṇa*, and *upanaya*. The Vedantins also recognize only three premises, but they are not particular as to whether the first three or the last three should be recognized. The general view of all schools other than Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika is that only three premises are sufficient for a logical inference or *anumāna*. The reason of the other schools is that in inference premises are not always given for the conclusion to be arrived at. Quite often the conclu-

sion is first presented to the mind, and one has to find the premises that justify it, as happens when one advances arguments to justify one's instinctive beliefs or faith. The order of reasoning therefore can take either form: the premises first and the conclusion last, or the conclusion first and the premises last. But whether one takes the first three or the last three premises, the *udāharaṇa*, which supports the universal proposition by concrete example, is the characteristic keystone of Indian syllogism As pointed out by Dr. B.N. Seal, this use of *udāharaṇa* at once marks off the Indian syllogism from the mere formal and deductive syllogism of Aristotle on the one hand, and the mere material and inductive syllogism of Mill on the other, and makes of it a 'formal-material deductive-inductive process of reasoning.' Prof. Radhakrishnan points out that the *udāharaṇa* is a strong point against the view that Indian syllogism had a Greek origin.[1]

DEBATING DEVICES

The rest of the topics mentioned in NS, 1.1.1 are debating devices. As Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has suggested, Nyāya-darśana probably had its origin in polemics, which left their marks on the topics relating to disputations of the NS which are not given in any other system of Indian philosophy.[2] The topics relating to debate are numbers eight to sixteen of NS, 1.1.1: 8. *Tarka*; 9. *Nirṇaya*; 10. *Vāda*; 11. *Jalpa*; 12. *Vitaṇḍā*; 13. *Hetvābhāsa*; 14. *Chala*; 15. *Jāti* and 16. *Nigrahasthāna*.

8. *TARKA* (NS, 1.1.40) means the discussion of reasons (for or against) to determine the real nature of an unknown thing. Udayana in his *Ātma-tattva-viveka* has classified *tarka* under five heads: i. *atmāśraya* (dependent on its own self, i.e., proposition which depends on itself for its proof); ii. *itar-etar-aśraya* or *anyonyāśraya* (mutual dependence of two propositions for their validity); iii. *cakrakāśraya* or *cakraka* (arguing in circle); iv. *anavasthā* (an endless series of causes and effects) and v. *aniṣṭa-prasaṃga* (connection with a wrong argument or rule). All these five are in the nature of objections, known as *bādhiṭa-prasaṃga* or *aniṣṭāpatti*.[3] Manu (12.105-06) may have had some such disputation in mind when he stated: Perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), and the *śāstra* according to the various traditions, this triad is to be known well by one desiring clearness in regard to right. He who applies reasoning not contradicted by the Veda to the Veda and the (*smṛti*) doctrine of law, he, and no other, knows the law. Here Manu seems to be supported by Mbh, 12.140.16 which indirectly states that *dharma*

[1]B.N. Seal, *Positive Science of the Hindus*, Calcutta, 1915, p. 251; S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, reprint, London, 1948, pp. 85-6.

[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 360.

[3]*Bādhita* means (contradicted', or 'thwarted', *prasaṃga* means 'subject', and *aniṣta* 'not admitted'; *bādhita-prasaṃga* means 'the non-admittance of a proposition whose proof or validity has been contradicted or thwarted.' The fifth objection, *aniṣta-prasaṃga*, is really *aniṣṭ-āpatti*.

has to be ascertained by combining scriptures (*dharma vacana*) and *buddhi*, that is *tarka*.[1]

9. *NIRNAYA* means 'determination of the true nature of a thing after consideration of the alternatives' (NS, 1.1.41). Every dispute has two parties, *vādi* (disputant) and *prativādi* (opponent). The determination of the true nature of the thing in dispute by the judges is *nirṇaya*.

10. *VĀDA*, 11. *JALPA*, and 12. *VITAṆḌĀ* are collectively known as *kathā*. The debate may be between a teacher and his student, and in order to ascertain the truth the student may propose a counter-thesis to meet the arguments in favour of the teacher's thesis. Such a dispute is known as *vāda*, since the student has no intention of defeating his teacher, his only intention being the ascertainment of truth. Where the debate is between two contesting parties, it is called *vijigiṣu-kathā*, which includes *jalpa* and *vitaṇḍā*. In *jalpa* the opponent tries to establish his thesis and to demolish the opponent's thesis, while *vitaṇḍā* means demolition of the thesis by destructive criticism. Later, it was held that even in *vitaṇḍā* the opponent strives to establish his thesis, though he accomplishes his objective by demolishing the proponent's thesis. Gautama points out (NS, 4.2.50) that the sapling of a sprouting seed has to be protected with a fencing of thorny branches; similarly, emerging truth has to be guarded by *jalpa* and *vitaṇḍā*. Vātsyāyana points out that recourse to *jalpa* and *vitaṇḍā* should never be had for gain, honour, or fame. Vācaspati states that the *nāstikas* (Buddhists, Cārvākas) for diverse wicked reasons create revulsion towards Veda and *brāhmaṇas*, so much so, that even the king is deluded. In such cases, the learned men should have recourse to *jalpa* and *vitaṇḍā* for disconcerting the *nāstikas* and not for gaining personal ends.[2]

[1]This view is practically supported by Śaṃkara. Commenting on Br.S. 1.1.2, he refutes obviously the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view that God is the efficient cause of the world and can be inferred by means of arguments, and then states: 'While, however, the Vedānta passages primarily declare the cause of the origin etc., of the world, inference also, being an instrument of right knowledge in so far as it does not contradict the Vedānta-texts, is not to be excluded as a means of confirming the meaning ascertained. Scripture itself, morever, allows argumentation (*tarka*); for the passages . . . . [*Bṛhadarāṇyaka* 2.4.5, and *Chāndogya*, 6.14 2] declare that human understanding assists scripture.' In *Katha* 1.2.8, *ātman* is said to be *atarkya*, and in 1.2.9 it is said that *mati* (knowledge of self) is not to be attained by *tarka*, but Śaṃkara in his commentary makes it quite clear that by *tarka* is here meant 'logical deductions of an ignoramus.' Śaṃkara does not denounce the logical analysis of scriptural knowledge. This is made clear by him in his comments on Br.S. 2.1.11: '. . . . if all reasoning were unfounded, the whole course of practical human life would have come to an end . . . . Further, in the case of passages of Scripture (apparently) contradicting each other, the ascertainment of the real sense, which depends on a preliminary refutation of the apparent sense, can be effected only by an accurate definition of the meaning of senses, and that involves a process of reasoning.' Śaṃkara then quotes in his support Manu, 12.105-106. Translation of Br.S. by G. Thibaut.

[2]In *Gītā*, 10.32, Kṛṣṇa says that He is '*vāda* among *pravadatās*.' *Pravadatā* has been explained by several commentators including Śaṃkara and Rāmānuja as '*jalpa* and *vitaṇḍā*.' Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in explaining this *Gītā* passage actually quotes from the NS to explain these terms. It may be noted that in explaining *apohana* (*Gītā*, 15.15),

13. *HETVĀBHĀSA* (fallacy) is the next topic. The word means those statements which appear as *hetus* (valid reasons) but are not *hetus*, that is, fallacy of the middle term. It is not possible to be an adept in *kathā* without gaining an adequate knowledge of *hetvābhāsa*, which may be of five kinds (NS, 1.2.4):

i. *Svavyabhicāra* (erratic, NS, 1.2.5), where the same reason may prove contradictory conclusions. For example, the statement: 'sound is eternal, because like the *ātman* it cannot be touched.' But several non-eternal things like form etc., cannot be touched.

ii. *Viruddha* (contradictory, NS, 1.2.6), where a conclusion is arrived at on the basis of a *hetu* which contradicts the conclusion. For example, the statement: 'sound is eternal, because it has an origin.'

iii. *Prakaraṇa-sama* (NS, 1.2.7), is assertions by two opponents which have equal force. For example a Naiyāyika says: 'Sound is not eternal, because it has none of the characteristics of eternality.' On the other hand the Mīmāṁsaka says: 'Sound is eternal, because it has none of the characteristics of non-eternality.' The eternality or non-eternality of sound are the two *prakaraṇas*, but since their respective strength and weakness are not determinable, no conclusion is possible.

iv. *Sādhya-sama* (NS, 1.2.8) is an assertion where the *hetu* is identical with the point to be proved. For example, the statement: 'Shadow is a substance, because, it has motion', (*dravyaṁ chāyā gatimattvāt*). But according to the Naiyāyikas, shadow is obscuration of light by men etc, and the shadow does not move.

v. *Kālātīta* (NS, 1.2.9) is the fallacy where the *hetu* fails because it does not tally with the experience in point of time. For example, the statement, 'fire is not hot,' is fallacious. Because the absence of heatlessness (i.e., presence of heat) in fire is known by previous experience.

The later Naiyayikas developed the theory of fallacy and introduced different classifications and sub-divisions.[1]

14. *CHALA* (NS, 1.2.10-14) means the intentional misrepresentation of the opponents arguments for the purpose of defeating him.

15. *JĀTI* (NS, 1.2.18) consists in the drawing of contradictory conclusions, and the raising of false issues and the like with the deliberate intention of defeating an opponent. Later Gautama (NS, 5.1) has classified *jāti* under twenty-four heads.

16. *NIGRAHASTHĀNA* (NS, 1.2.19) is the sixteenth and the last topic. It means the exposure of the weakness and fallacies of the opponent's arguments by disclosing his *vipratipatti* (inconsistency) and *apratipatti* (ignorance). There are twenty-two kinds of *nigrahasthānas* (NS, 5.2).

Rāmānuja says that it is equivalent to *uha*, which he explains as '*vitarka*.' The word *uha* has been used in NS, 1.1.40 to define *tarka*.

[1]See *Nyāyasāra*, pp. 43-64; *BP*, pp. 71-78.

VAIŚEṢIKA CATEGORIES

As has been shown above, Vaiśeṣika logic differs but slightly from Nyāya logic. Similarly, Vaiśeṣika philosophy has been absorbed by Nyāya. It is obvious that from the beginning Vaiśeṣika categories are presupposed in the NS, which also admits the Vaiśeṣika doctrine of atomic structure. We have seen that for salvation Nayāya prescribes the proper comprehension of sixteen topics enumerated in the first *sūtra* of the NS. Similarly, the VS, beginning with a view to obtaining the supreme goal, says the supreme good is brought about by the knowledge of the essential nature of six *padārthas*, namely, 1. *dravya* (substance); 2. *Guṇa* (quality or attribute); 3. *Karma* (action) 4. *Sāmānya* (generality); 5. *Viśeṣa* (particularity) and 6. *Samavāya* (inherence). It is evident from a comparison of the nature of objects of the two systems that the Nyāya is mainly concerned with logic and epistemology, while the Vaiseśika's main concern is with physics and metaphysics, and that the two systems are complimentary.

The term *padārtha*, which has been rendered as 'category' needs explanation.

The word *padārtha* in a compound of two words, *pada* (word) and *artha* (meaning). Therefore, *padārtha* literally means 'meaning of words.' In metaphysical terminology, however, *padārtha* means 'an object which can be apprehended (*artha*) and named (*pada*).' All things having existence (*astitva*) have the qualities of being named (*abhidheyatva*) and of being cognized (*iñeyatva*) and are *padārthas*. Thus *padārthas* include all objects of experience and not merely the things of the physical world. The sixteen *padārthas* of Nyāya, excepting the first and the last, are enumeration of the central topics of logic, while the Vaiśeṣika *padārthas* attempt a complete analysis of the objects of knowledge. Hence we have rendered the Nyāya *padārthas* as 'topics,' and the Vaiśeṣika *padārthas* as 'categories.'

Dravya

Dravya has been defined as the locus of the qualities (*guṇāśraya*) on which all others depend. Earth, water, fire, air, ether, time, space, the soul, and mind are *dravyas*. To the question as to what is substancehood, Viśvanātha replies (SM, 3) that substancehood is established as the determinant (*avacchedaka*) of the inherent causality (*samavāyī-kāraṇa*) of an effect, or as the determinant of the inherent causality of conjunction and disjunction. Other categories like quality etc., can never be the determinant of inherent causality which is a unique quality of *dravya*. The substance and its qualities are different categories, and at the moment the substance is produced, it is qualityless. For, if the substance and the quality arise simultaneously, there cannot be any distinction between them. If they do not arise, then the substance would be free from qualities, but since by definition substance is the locus of qualities, this alternative is also untenable. Hence it is held that the substance is the substrate of the qualities either in *samavāya* relation or as

prāgabhāva (antecedent negation, i.e., potential future existence).

Of the nine substances mentioned above, earth, water, light, fire, air, mind, and soul have many individual qualities (*anekatvaṁ pratyekaṁ vyaktībhedaḥ, Nyāyakandlī*, p. 21). Of these the first five possess distance or nearness, limitedness, activity, and impulse. They are the five *bhūtas* (elements), the first four having touch can originate substances. Earth, water and fire have colour, liquidity, and perceptibility. The liquidity of earth and fire being artificial are considered to have special qualities that are non-pervading and transitory.

Guṇa

Guṇa or quality has been defined by Kaṇāda as 'that which has substance for its substratum, has no further qualities, and is not a cause of, nor has any concern with, conjunction or disjunction' (VS, 1.1.1.6). There are seventeen qualities (VS, 1.1.6).

i. *rūpa* (colour), ii. *rasa* (taste), iii. *gandha* (smell), iv. *sparśa* (touch), v. *saṃkhyā* (number), vi. *parimiti* (size), vii. *pṛthaktva* (individuality or mutual difference, or separation), of things, viii. *saṃyoga* (connection), ix. *vibhāga* (separation), x. *paratva* (priority), xi. *aparatva* (posteriority), xii. *buddhi* (knowledge), xiii. *sukha* (pleasure, happiness), xiv. *duḥkha* (sorrow, pain), xv. *icchā* (will), xvi. *dveṣa* (aversion), and xvii. *prayatna* (effort).

i. *Rūpa* is the general name for specific individual colours, *Rūpatva* (colourness) is the genus and *rūpa-guṇa* (quality or colour) is that on which this genus rests. *Rūpa* itself, not being a genus, can be apprehended by the eye. The colours are: white, blue, yellow, red, green, brown, and variegated (*citra*). Only earth, water, and fire have *rūpa*, that of the first being impermanent, and of the other two permanent.

ii. *Rasa* is that quality which can be apprehended only by the tongue. The *rasas* are: sweet, sour, pungent (*kaṭu*), astringent (*kaṣāya*), and bitter (*tikta*). Only earth and water have tastes. The substratum of *rasa* is *rasātva*, but both *rasa* and the *rasatva* can be apprehended by the tongue.

iii. *Gandha* belongs to earth (*kṣiti*) alone, and can be apprehended only by the nose. The presence of odour in air and water is due to the presence of earth materials. *Gandha* is of two kinds, fragrance and stench.

iv. *Sparśa* can be apprehended only by the skin. There are three kinds of touch: cold, hot, and neither hot nor cold. *Sparśa* belongs to earth, water, fire, and air.

v. *Saṃkhyā* is that entity of quality belonging to things by virtue of which one can count them as 1, 2, 3 etc. Unity (*ekatva*) is considered to be eternal in eternal substances, and transitory in transitory substances. All other numbers are non-eternal. Numbers beginning with duality and ending with hundred thousand billion are considered to spring from *apekṣā-buddhi*.[1] Though

[1] *Apekṣābuddhi* is the distinguishing perception by which one apprehends 'this is one,' 'this is one.' In the SDS, it has been defined as *vināśa-vināśaka-pratiyoginī buddhi*, that is, 'that operation of the mind which is the counter-entity to that emergent non-existence (i.e.,

apekṣā-buddhi apprehends 'this is one', 'this is one' etc.' but (other numbers) duality for instance does not reside in either of these but in *both* together.

vi. *Parimiti* is that entity of quality in things by virtue of which they are perceived as 'great' or 'small' and described as such. It is also known as *parimāṇa* (dimension), and defined in BP, 109 as 'the cause of the convention of measurement.' Dimension may be great, small, long, or short. It is transitory in transitory things, and eternal in eternal things. The dimension of non-eternal things is determined by the number, magnitude, and arrangement of the parts comprising them.

vii. *Pṛthaktva* is that quality by virtue of which things appear as different. 'Its purpose is not served by mutual non existence (*anyonyābhāva*), for the notion "It is separate from this", is distinct from the notion "It is not this", ' (BP, 114).

viii. *Saṃyoga* is the meeting of two things that are removed from each other. It may be of three kinds: 1. action in either object, e.g., when a falcon contacts a rock, 2. action of both, as encounter of rams, and 3. due to conjunction like the conjunction of half a jar and a tree. Conjunction due to action may be either impact (*abhighāta*) or contact (or impulsion, *modana*). Impact is the cause of sound.

ix. *Vibhāga* or disjunction is the separation of things which were in union. Disjunction may be caused by the motion of one of the two things (flight of the falcon from the rock), or of both (separation of the rams), or by another disjunction.

x-xi. *Paratva* and *aparatva* are the basis of distance and nearness which can be both spatial as well as temporal. 'Time is the cause of the things that are produced, and is considered to be the substratum of the universe. It is the cause of the notion of priority and posteriority. It is converted into a moment etc., owing to its limited adjuncts (*upādhi*). The cause of the notion of distance and nearness etc., is called space. It is one and eternal. Although one, it is spoken of as east etc., owing to its different limited adjuncts' (BP, 45-47).

xii-xvii. *Buddhi, Sukha, Duḥkha, Icchā, Dveṣa,* and *Prayatna* are qualities of the soul.

Buddhi or knowledge has two forms, namely, experience and recollection. Experience has four forms, namely, *pratyakṣa, anumāna, upamāna,* and *śabda,* explained above. '*Sukha* or pleasure is what is covetable to the whole world. It is produced by *dharma* (merit). *Duḥkha* or pain is produced by demerit. It is repugnant to all sentient beings. *Icchā* or desire for painlessness and pleasure arises only from knowledge of them, while there is desire for their means if there is the notion that they are means to what is desirable. Inclination (*pravṛtti*), disinclination (*nivṛtti*) and that (effort) which sustains life—thus has *prayatna* (effort) been described are of three kinds. . . . The cause of inclination is the desire to do, the notion of a thing being feasible through one's

destruction) which itself causes a subsequent destruction.' See *SDS*, tr. p. 153. The numbers according to logicians are *ekatva* (unity), *dvitva* (duality) etc., not 'one', 'two' etc.

effort and being productive of what is desirable, while disinclination springs from aversion and from the notion of producing something repugnant. The effort that sustains life remains throughout, and is beyond the senses. It is described as the cause of the movement of the vital force in the body.' (BP, 145-152)

Praśastapāda mentions some other qualifications. These are: *Gurutva* or heaviness is the quality of things by which they tend, when allowed to fall, to reach the ground. *Dravatva* or fluidity is the cause of the action of flowing and is either natural (*saṃsiddhika*) as in water, or induced (*naimittika*), as in molten gold. *Sneha* or viscidity belongs to water, and is the cause of cohesion, smoothness etc.

The *guṇa* of *saṃskāra* (faculty) is of three kinds: i. *vega* (impulse) which keeps a thing in motion; ii. *sthitisthāpaka* (elasticity) by virtue of which a thing reverts to its original state even though disturbed; and iii. *bhāvanā* (mental impression) by which the soul is able to remember and recognize experienced things. The last two are not perceptible to the senses. (BP, 159-160).

Dharma (merit) is the quality whose presence enables the soul to enjoy happiness or to attain salvation. *Adharma* (demerit) is the contrary quality the presence of which leads a soul to suffer. *Adṛṣṭa* (lit. 'unseen') or destiny is that unknown quality of things and soul which brings about the cosmic order and enables the souls to reap the harvest of their past deeds in accordance with their respective *dharma* and *adharma*.

Adṛṣṭa is of great significance and Prof. Radhakrishnan says: 'In the Vaiśeṣika it serves as the general panacea for all difficulties. Whatever cannot be accounted for is traced to *adṛṣṭa*.'[1] The reason is that Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika presupposes the existence of 'primary matter' (earth, water, fire, air, space) in an atomic state before the appearance of cosmic order. The atoms have to be set in motion by a certain inherence so that they may group themselves into different forms. 'The atoms and the *manas* being inert by nature have to be moved from without. The Self in itself cannot be a source of motion, for it is a continuum. The only active principle, if there could at all be anything deserving of this name in this system, is *adṛṣṭa* which resides as a specific quality in the Self. It is maintained that when the Self, charged with this *adṛṣṭa*, comes in contact with the atoms the latter are impelled to action.'[2]

Karma

Karma is the third *padārtha* which is held to be an irreducible reality like *dravya* or *guṇa*. All *karmas*, like *guṇas*, belong to *dravyas*, but while a *guṇa* (quality) is a permanent feature, *karma* is transitory. *Karma* is defined as 'that which resides only in one substance, is devoid of qualities, and is the direct and immediate cause of disjunction and conjunction.' (VS, 1.1.7.).

[1]S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., p. 207.

[2]G. Kaviraj, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy in his *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 84.

The word *karma* literally means 'movements' of which there are five: i. upward, ii. downward, iii. contraction, iv. expansion, and v. movement in general.

Sāmānya

Sāmānya or generality, also called *jāti* (class) is the fourth category. The possession of *sāmānya* by individuals is the reason for their being referred to as 'a class'. Thus one cow may be white, and another black, but both of them have such a sameness that they are called 'cow'. *Sāmānya* is eternal (*nityam*), one (*ekam*), residing in many (*anekānugatam*). There is a basic common element in everything, that they exist, in other words, they are *sat*. *Sat* or existence is found in *dravya*, *guṇa*, and *karma*. This generality of being is called *sattā* or *parajāti* (highest universal), while the intermediate *jātis* are known as *apara-jātis*. *Jāti* is non-destructible; it is not destroyed even when the individuals included within it are destroyed.

Viśeṣa

The Vaiśeṣika system derives its name from *viśeṣa*, or 'particularly', by which diverse things are perceived as different from each other. Atoms, time, space, *ākāśa*, souls, and *manas* all have their particularities, which are not quality of classes but only of individuals. These specific differences are final facts beyond which we cannot go. They must be regarded as eternally existing.

Sāmāvaya

Sāmāvaya is the inseparable relation of inherence. It is distinguished from *saṃyoga* or 'accidental conjunction' which is a quality of things. Before conjunction, conjoined objects have a separate existence, but in a *sāmāvaya* relation two different things appear so unified that they represent one whole, or 'one identical inseparable reality' (*ayutasiddha*). On the other hand, it is not identity, for the two things are not one in reality. *Samavāya* relation exist between *dravya* and *guna*, *dravya* and *karma*, *dravya* and *sāmānya kāraṇa* (cause: clay) and *karya* (effect: pot). But the 'fruit on the ground' is not related to ground by *samavāya* relation, because the two can be separated, which is known as *yutasiddha*. *Samavāya* relation is said to be eternal and imperceptible though it can be inferred from the connection of things.

Abhāva

Kaṇāda did not admit *abhāva* or non-existence as an independent category. When the Vaiśeṣikas enlarged the scope of their dialectics and attempted to give an account of experience as a whole, they developed the category of *abhāva*. The *Sarvadarsanasaṃgraha* (SDS) defines *abhāva* as 'that which itself not having intimate relation is not intimate relation, and this is twofold "relative non-existence" (*samśargābhāva*) and "reciprocal non-existence" (*anyonyābhāva*). The former is again divided into "antecedent" (*prāgabhāva*),

"posterior" (*dhavaṁśābhāva*), and "absolute" (*atyantābhāva*).' Kaṇāda mentions these four *abhāvas* in the VS (Chapter IX), and is supported by Gaṁgeśa in his *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (p. 714). Jayanta in his *Nyāyamañjarī* (p. 63) refers to certain schools who admitted six types of *abhāvas* (*ṣaṭprakāra ity= anye*), but Jayanta admitted only two *abhāvas*, namely *dhvaṁśa* and *prāgabhāva*, and held that *atyanta* and *anyonyābhāva* were variations of *prāgabhāva*. In the *Dīdhiti* of the *Atmatattvaviveka* (p. 57), Raghunātha has admitted the four *abhāvas*.[1]

VAIŚEṢIKA ATOMIC THEORY

All things that we experience are made of parts, into which they are divisible. The limit of division is atom, called *aṇu* or *paramāṇu*. There are four kinds of atoms, namely, earth, water, fire, and air atoms. *Ākāśa* (space) is inert, and a continuum; it is the substratum of sound, which travels in waves in the manifesting medium of air.

An atom has mass, number, weight, fluidity (or hardness), viscosity (or its opposite), velocity, characteristic potential colour, taste, smell, or touch. The atoms combine to form a binary molecule or *dvyaṇuka*. Two, three, four, or five *dvyaṇukas* from themselves into grosser molecules of *tryaṇuka*, *caturmūkha* etc. The changes in the volume of bodies are determined by the accession and withdrawal of the atoms composing them. The individual atoms combine with others of the same class and continue in that state for some time and then disintegrate into their original solitary state to form new combinations. This process of grouping and separation goes on endlessly, but atoms do not exist in an uncombined state in creation.

Heat and light rays are supposed to consist of indefinitely small particles which dart forth or radiate in waves in all directions rectilineally with inconceivable velocity. The characters of atoms are changed under the impact of heat particles which can penetrate through the inter-atomic space, as when water boils in a pot put on fire. All cases of chemical combination are due to heat. Light penetrates through the inter-atomic spaces of transparent objects.

The atoms have neither a beginning nor an end, for they are without any parts or component members. It is only their aggregates as well as some qualities and all actions which are produced and destroyed. Though forms (*saṃsthāna*) may change, matter as such remains constant: being eternal it is capable neither of increase nor of diminution. Form, which is nothing but a collocation of parts (*avayava-sanniveśa*) is conceived as a quality inhering

[1]*Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* (SDS), tr. by E.B. Cowell, and A.E. Gough, London, 1914, pp. 159-60. For *abhāva* see also B.K. Matilal, *The Navya-Nyāya Doctrine of Negation*, HOS, 46, 1968, pp. 104-08, where the translations from the NS and Vātsyāyana are given, and pp. 109-42 for a translation of the relevant passages from the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*.

in matter. The appearance and disappearance of forms is bound up with the origin and destruction of individuals, for origin and dissolution, so far as the substances are concerned, are synonymous with agglomeration and separation of parts.[1]

THEORY OF CAUSATION

Every effect (*kārya*) must have an antecedent cause (*kāraṇa*). The cause is not merely accessory, but necessary for the production of the effect. It must also be an invariable antecedent, and not an unnecessary antecedent (*anyathāsiddha*, BP, 16).

There are two types of effect producing causes, : i. *upādānakāraṇa*, or material cause, (like clay in the production of the pot), and *nimitta-kāraṇa* (instrumental or efficient cause, like the potter's wheel). The Sāṁkhya doctrine of *satkārya-vāda* holds that the effect is present in the material cause, for a non-existent entity cannot be produced. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika holds that the material cause has some power within it, and the instrumental cause has other powers, the collocation of these two destroys the cause and produces the effect which did not exist before but is newly produced. This doctrine is known as *a-satkārya-vāda*. It may be objected that if non-existent objects may be produced, then such impossible things such as hare's horn may also be produced. Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika answer is that not anything which is non-existent can be produced, but that which is produced did not exist beforehand.

The BP (16-17) enumerates three causes: *samavāyi*, *asamavāyi*, and *naimittika*. A *samavāyi* cause is the material substratum of the effect and is indissolubly connected with it, like clay and pot. An *asamavāyi* cause produces its characteristics in the effect through the medium of the *samavāyi* (or the material) cause like the colour of the pot. The clay is not the cause of the colour of the pot, but the colour of the pot is due to the colour which inheres in the pot. The SM on BP 35 says that 'the rule (*vyāpti*) is that, a thing that is produced by the destruction of another is the effect of the material forming the latter,' (*yad-dravya-dhavaṁsa-janyaṁ tat tad-upādānamopadeyam iti vyāpteḥ*).

ĪŚVARA : GOD

The VS does not mention Īśvara or God. The NS deals with Īśvara in three aphorisms, the first of which (NS, 4.1.19) says: 'God is the cause, because failure of human endeavour is seen.' The reply is (NS, 4.1.20); 'No, without

[1]G. Kaviraj, op. cit., p. 82. For Hindu atomic theory see P.C. Ray, *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India*, ed. by P. C. Ray, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 44-46, and p. 294-303 for Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Atomic Theory by B.N. Seal.

personal effort no result is obtainable.' The next *sutra tat kāritatvād=ahetuḥ* raises some problems. It is pointed out that the first *sūtra* was by the objector (*pūrva-pakṣa*), the second by one who believes in *karma-vāda*, while the third is a synthesis and is the considered opinion of Gautama. Here *tat* refers God of 4.1.19 and states that the reasons advanced by the previous two *sūtras* are *ahetu*, that is, fallacious (lit. 'no reason'). The implication, according to the commentators, is that Gautama gave equal importance to Divine dispensation and human endeavour leading to his acquiring merit and demerit, and enjoyment and suffering accordingly. Commenting on NS 4.1.21, Vātsyāyana says: 'God is a special type of self, possessed of attributes' ; (*guṇa-viśiṣṭam ātmāntaram ātmā*).

Later, Vaiśeṣika theism was developed by Śrīdhara in his *Nyāyakandalī*, and Nyāya theism by Udayana in his *Nyāyakusumāñjalī*. Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theism rests on their fundamental principle of causality. The world being an effect like any other effect must have a cause like any other effect. This cause we cannot see, not because Iśvara does not exist, but because he has no visible body.

Bhāsarvajña in his *Nyāyasāra* (p. 84) first says, 'one should know Para-Brāhman and Apara-Brāhman,' in explaining which the commentator quotes *Muṇḍaka* 3.1.1. and the *Gītā* 15.16-17. In the next *sutra*, Bhāsarvajña states: *tatr-aiśvarya-viśiṣṭaḥ saṃsāra-dharmair iṣad apy-asaṃspṛṣṭaḥ paro Bhagavān*[1] *Maheśvaraḥ sarvajñaḥ sakala jagad-vidhātā*; (The absolute Self is the highest, possessed of all powers, absolutely untouched by the limitations of *saṃsāra*, Lord Maheśvara, the creator of the universe). 'How to know him? (*sa katham jñātavyaḥ*?)' By inference and through scriptures (*anumānād agamāc =ca*).' Bhāsarvajña (and his commentator) then proceeds to say that the phenomenal world must have an intelligent agent, because it has come into existence from non-existence. That agent must be intelligent, and must possess knowledge of the means. As God is the creator, He must know the proper instruments and materials to be used. Every product has an intelligent agent. By elimination and peculiar character of the work the existence of a supreme agent is proved. The objection may be that a potter in addition to the knowledge of his materials, his desire, and his action must have a body to bring about the result, and so God must have a body which is contrary to our observation. The commentator, after advancing several arguments shows that the real point at issue is not the mere possession of body but rather the knowledge which an unembodied being (*aśarīrī*) does possess.

Bhāsarvajña argues in a slightly different manner than the great Naiyāyika teachers like Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara, and Udayana. Still his views have been given here because he presents his thesis in a simple form without transgressing the Nyāya doctrine, according to which God is the only intelligent agent, the atoms, souls, and *adṛṣṭa* all being insentient. At the time of cosmic rest (*pralaya*), the atoms remain in a free state, but in order to create

[1]*Bhagavān* usually means 'God'; for its technical meaning see, *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 3.31.33.

the universe they have to join. But the motion of the insentient atoms must be due to some sentient agency, like the potter revolving the wheel. This conscious principle through whose guidance atoms are made active is God. This is possible, as Uddyotakara explains, because God possesses *aparokṣa-jñāna-cikirṣāvattva* (direct cognition and will), and is endowed with *akliṣṭa icchā* (unimpeded desire), which means that whatever he desires, happens. He is also free from *kleśa* (error), which are *rāga* (attachment), *dveṣa* (aversion), and *moha* (stupor). God's *kartṛtva* (agency) is nothing but *kṛtimatva* (volitional activity) generated by direct cognition and desire. Absence of an agent (*sa-kartṛtv-ābhāva*) leads to the absence of productivity (*karyatv-ābhāva*). Hence the necessary concomitance of the absence of any type of cause (*yatkiñcit kāraṇ-ābhāva*), and of non-productivity (*kāryatv-ābhāva*) is established.

Neither Kaṇāda nor Praśastapāda mentions Īśvara. However, after stating the nine *dravyas* mentioned by Kaṇāda, Praśastapāda states that there is no other category, because nothing else is mentioned (*tad vyatirekeṇ-ānyasya saṃjñ-ānabhidhānāt*). Hence it appears that Praśastapāda interprets *ātman* to mean both as Paramatman, that is Īśvara, and also as *jīvātman*, that is individual soul. For, later he refers to Maheśvara as the agent of creation and destruction (*śṛṣṭi-saṃhāra-kartā*), and this Maheśvara has not been included in any category. This statement is supported by Śrīdhara's statement at the end of the *Nyāyakandalī* that 'Īsvara also is *ātman* because of his possession of the quality of *buddhi* (knowledge, *īsvaro'pi buddhi-gunatvād ātm-aiva*). Śaṃkara on Br. S. 2.2.37 also states: 'Similarly, the Vaiśeṣikas and others also teach, according to their various systems, that Īśvara is the efficient cause (*nimitta-kāraṇam īśvara*) of the world.'[1]

Mokṣa

As stated above, Gautama says (NS, 1.1.22) that *apavarga* is 'complete obliteration of suffering', *tad atyanta vimokṣo' pavargaḥ*. '*Tad*' or 'that' here stands for 'misery' or 'pain' mentioned in the previous *sutra* (*bādhanā-lakṣaṇaṁ duḥkham*). Thus according to Gautama, *apavarga* or ultimate release means release from all misery.

Kaṇāda defines mokṣa as: *tad abhāve-samyog abhāvo'prādurbhāvaśca mokṣaḥ*. In the previous *sūtra*, Kaṇāda has referred to *adṛṣṭa*, hence *tad* here means *adṛṣṭa*, that is the *jīva's* merits and demerits. The *sūtra* therefore means that *mokṣa* is the elimination of any chance of future union (*saṃyoga*: conjunction) of the *ātman* with the body because of the absence of *adṛṣṭa*.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas do not admit that the *ātman* is *cit* (consciousness) and *ānanda* (bliss). On the contrary, they hold that *caitanya* or knowledge is one of the qualities of *ātman*, and this quality, like others, is non-eternal. *Dharma* and *adharma* induct pleasure and pain, and for the cessation of *dharma* and *adharma*, acts producing them must also cease. Therefore, in the

[1]For Naiyayika view, particularly of Udayana, See G. Bhattacharya, *Studies in Nyaya-Vaiśeṣika Theism*, Calcutta, 1961.

state of *apavarga* or *mokṣa* the *ātman* has no knowledge, no *dharma*, no *adharma*, no enjoyment of pleasure nor any suffering of pain.

It is possible, however, that some very early Naiyāyikas contemplated a state of eternal bliss for a released *ātman*. For, in explaining *apavarga*, Vātsyāyana states that the apprehension of happiness at the time of final release can neither be called happiness nor unhappiness, for nothing can be proved. The released soul can have no desire for enjoyment of pleasure or happiness, for desire is bondage (*na hi bandhane saty=api kaścin mukta ity=ucyate*).

How to get release? Gautama says that one must get rid of ego, the cause of *doṣa* (*rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *moha*), through the knowledge of the *tattvas* (truth, *doṣa-nimittānāṁ tattva-jñānād ahaṃkāra nivṛttiḥ*, NS, 4.2.1). In the next *sūtra*, Gautama says that *apavarga* is *achieved* by the elimination one after the other *pravṛtti* of sorrow, birth, *doṣa*, and false knowledge (*duḥkha-janma-pravṛtti-doṣa-mithy-ājñanānām uttar-ottar-apāye tad anantar-āpāyād apavargaḥ*). *Pravṛtti* in this *sūtra* stands for *dharma* and *adharma*. This can be done by *samādhi* (*samadhi-viśeṣ-ābhyāsāt*, NS, 4.2.38) specially practised. For this purpose one has to purify his self by *yama*, and *niyama* (explained above) and *adhyātma* through prescribed methods (NS, 4.2.46). Apparently, Gautama was inclined towards *yoga* methods.

This tendency is more developed in Bhāsarvajña. At the end of the *Nyāya-sāra* he first quotes from the YS (2.9) the eight *yogāṅgas*, and then having explained *samādhi*, states: 'These aids to *yoga* should be practised with great perseverance and with supreme devotion to Maheśvara, and with an attitude of complete dispassion induced by the thought that Brahmaloka and other high worlds are fraught with various miseries. Then within a short time one perceives the peerless and true Lord Śiva, the Truth. Having seen him, one realizes the ultimate beatitude (*niratiśayaṁ śreyaḥ*, explained by the commentator Vāsudeva as *mokṣa*).' Here Bhāsarvajña seems to have followed the Vyāsa-bhāṣya and Vācaspati's *tīkā* on YS 1.23, namely, *īsvara-pranidhānād va*, though Patañjali's Īśvara, as will be explained later is quite different from Lord Śiva.

However, Bhāsarvajña then quotes from the *Śvetāśvatara* (6.20) with a slight change:

When men shall roll up the sky,
As if it were a piece of leather,
Then will there be an end of suffering
Without knowing Śiva.[1]

He then quotes the third *pāda* from the *Śvetāśvatara* (3.8: 'only by knowing him one passes over death'), and from the *Chāndogya* (*tarati śokam ātma-vid iti*) 'one who knows the self passes beyond misery', and adds: 'Therefore, *mokṣa* is due to the vision of Śiva.'

Bhāsarvajña then poses the question: 'What then is *mokṣa*?' and states: 'Some describe that it is the absolute condition of the self like the absolute

[1]Bhāsarvajña has substituted 'Śiva' for 'Deva' of the *Śvetāśvatara*, 6.20.

condition of ether in dissolution when all the specific qualities of the self are destroyed. Pleasure and pain are in inseparable connection and one cannot have one without the other. Nor do men always hanker after pleasure. For example, one removes a thorn that is causing pain.' Bhāsarvajña then states the criticism of the Vaiśeṣika view and says: 'Others say that no discriminating person aspires for a state of stupor (*mohāvasthā*).' But, Bhāsarvajña says, 'in a state of pain enjoyment of pleasure is impossible; the extraction of the thorn leads to pleasure.' Then Bhāsarvajña asks rhetorically: 'How can a released soul have cognizance of *sukha*?' He answers: 'From scriptures (*āgamāt*),' and quotes the following verse, the first line of which is from *Gītā* 6.21 (first line): 'Know that to be *mokṣa* where (in which state) there is infinite happiness which can be apprehended by the (pure) intellect but is beyond the grasp of the senses.'[1] Then it is stated that 'in *mokṣa* Brahman is manifested in the form of *ānanda*.' This is followed by a quotation from *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 3.9.28: *vijñānam ānandam Brahma* (Brahman is knowledge, is bliss).

Bhāsarvajña has taken an extreme position among the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika teachers, and seems to have attempted to graft Vedānta and Yoga to Nyāya, though he may possibly cite Gautama as his authority for inducting *yoga*. But the authority of the *śruti* was admitted by the Naiyāyikas, and one of the arguments on which Udayana bases his case for the existence of God is *śruti*. Udayana not only quotes from the *śruti*, but has also quoted from the *Gītā* in the *Nyāyakusumāñjalī* (3.15). Still Bhāsarvajña's position is qualitatively different from Udayana's. Bhāsarvajña was writing probably in the 10th century when there was a strong theistic movement and the country was under the influence of Vedānta preached by Śaṃkara. Though the later Naiyāyikas ignored the theistic *sūtras* of the *Nyāyasāra*, they were not personally atheistic, and Viśvanātha opens the BP with the following invocation: 'Salutation to Kṛṣṇa, who has the lustre of rain-bearing cloud, who stole the garments of the young cowherd maidens, [and] who is the seed of the tree of the universe.'[2]

Viśvanātha's invocation was a personal declaration of faith, which was permissible like Bhāsarvajña's invocation to Śambhu (Śiva) at the beginning of the *Nyāyasāra*. But Bhāsarvajña's ideal of *mokṣa* was contrary to Nyaya philosophy, and the SDS remarks:

'Again, we have the same recognition of our "abolition of pain" in the doctrine of Bhaṭṭa Sarvajña and his followers that "Liberation is the manifestation of an eternal happiness incapable of being increased," but here we have the difficulty that an eternal happiness does not come within the range

[1] *Gītā* has '*yat tad*', while Bhāsarvajña has '*yatram*.'

[2] Evidently, Viśvanātha was a Vaiṣṇava, but apparently in those days the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal were non-vegetarians, for Viśvanātha wrote the *Māṁsa-tattva-viveka* to vindicate the practice of meat eating opposed by the *brāhmaṇas* of Mahārāṣṭra. All the great Naiyāyikas of modern Bengal were Vaiṣṇavas or deeply influenced by Vaiṣṇavism, ever since Śrī Caitanya converted Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, the great teacher of Navyanyāya, in the 16th century.

of definite proof. If you allege *śruti* as the proof, we reply that *śruti* has no place when the thing itself is precluded by a valid non-perception, or if you allow its authority, then you will have to concede the existence of such things as floating stone .... Therefore, it is that we hold it as indisputable that for him, pre-eminent among his fellows, who through the favour of the Supreme Being, has, by the regular methods of listening to the revealed *śruti*, etc., attained unto the knowledge of the soul, for him the abolition of pain is the true liberation.'[1] Modern authorities also do not agree with Bhāsarvajña.[2]

Popularly, however, it was to the Vaiśeṣikas that the doctrine of *mukti* as cessation of pain was ascribed. A popular verse says: 'I would roam as a jackal in Vṛndāvana than enjoy Vaiśeṣika *mukti*.' This is corroborated by the following anecdote found in the *Śaṃkaradigvijaya* (16. 68-69): A Naiyāyika asked Śaṃkara to distinguish between Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, if he (Śaṃkara) wanted to establish his claim as *sarva-vit* ('one who knows everything'). In his summary reply, Śaṃkara said that according to Kaṇāda, *mukti* meant the total destruction of all the *guṇas* of the *ātman* which exist in a sky-like state (*sthitir nabhovat*), while Gautama contemplated a similar *mukti* coupled with the consciousness of bliss (*sānanda-samvit sahita*).

This brings us again to Bhāsarvajña, who ends the *Nyāyasāra* with the statement: *nitya-samvedyamāna-sukhena viśiṣṭ-ātyantikī duḥkha-nivṛttiḥ puruṣasya mokṣa iti* (End of human bondage is the complete cessation of pain with eternally felt happiness). *Nitya* means 'eternal', but 'eternal' connotes beginningless'. Hence we think that Bhāsarvajña really meant 'perpetual' or 'everlasting,' which have a beginning like 'perpetual endowment', or 'everlasting peace'. Taking Bhāsarvajña's example, when a thorn is removed, result is happiness. This happiness can last forever if one has eliminated all the chances of being pricked by a thorn (in the shape of misery or fleeting pleasure) in future. That state of bliss is *mokṣa*. Otherwise *mokṣa* becomes the peace of extinguished consciousness, a state of painless, passionless existence.

Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy aims at destroying *karma*, the force which helps to build up a particular body and unite it (and the *manas*) with the *ātman*. This attachment of body to the *ātman* generates mundane existence. To destroy mundane existence, therefore, *karma* has to be destroyed. How to destroy *karma*? Here the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika agree with all other schools of Indian philosophy, that from whichever standpoint one may look at Reality

[1] *SDS*, translation, pp. 170-71. 'Floating Stone' refers to *aśmanaḥ plavanti* (the stones float) in the *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* 5.12.

[2] S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 366 writes that Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika *mukti* 'is the negative state of absolute painlessness ... that is sometimes spoken of as being a state of absolute happiness (*ānanda*) though really speaking the state of *mukti* can never be a state of happiness. It is a passive state of self in its original and natural purity unassociated with pleasure, pain, knowledge, willing etc. *Nyāyamañjarī*, pp. 499-533.' S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., p. 152 states: 'Naiyāyikas are anxious to make out that the condition of freedom is one of bliss, (*Nyāyasāra*, pp. 39-41), but they cannot do so until they revise their conception of the soul's relation to consciousness.' But see MM. Ganganath Jha, Religion of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, in *CHI*, I, pp. 472-74, and Janaki Vallabha Bhattacharya, Navya-Nyāya, ibid, pp. 147-48.

avidyā (nescience) leads to *karma*, while *jñāna* (knowledge) destroys it, or sterilizes its forces. In the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view, ignorance consists in thinking that the self (*ātman*) is *kartā* and *bhoktā*, and that it is identical with the body and the senses, or at least is their possessor. Thus *ātman* becomes associated with the action of the specific qualities which inhere in it under the influence of *adṛṣṭa* during its term of embodied life. True knowledge of the *padārthas* reveals to him that all real agency or efficiency belongs to the Lord, and it was through ignorance that he had falsely identified himself to be the efficient cause. In reality human self is not a free agent (*kartā*), nor even an enjoyer (*bhoktā*) but is neutral (*udāsīna*). If he is not an enjoyer then how can he enjoy bliss in his *udāsīna* state? This was an insuperable problem, but the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika does not attach much importance to it. For, in spite of Udayana's declaration of faith in God[1] the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophers, with the possible exception of Bhāsarvajña, were deists, and not theists. For a theist, *summum bonum* can never be absolute dissociation from God, or the Supreme being.

The fact is that Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika contribution to Indian philosophy was dialectics, not metaphysics. Nyāya methodology with minor variations was adopted by other schools. The Nyāya list of fallacies supplied the Indian thinkers the means of discriminating between true and false inference, and affixing promptly to erroneous conclusions labels such as *cakra* or *sādhyasama*, indicative not only of their unsoundness but also the reasons for which they are declared unsound.

In Navya-Nyāya, that is in the final development of Nyāya, metaphysical speculation was given up altogether, and the 'neo-logicians' from Gaṁgeśa onwards busied themselves with *lakṣaṇa* (definition) and *pramāṅa*. Such studies were important, but gradually Naiyāyikas got enmeshed in the web of their own subtlety, totally divorced from the mainstream of Indian spiritual life or of creative thought.

[1]Prof. Satkari Mookherjee, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, in *CHI*, I, p. 124, states: 'The *Nyāya-kusumāñjalī* will remain, we may be permitted to remark without exaggeration or partisan spirit, one of the best works on theism in the whole of world literature, noted alike for its spiritual earnestness and logical consistency.' To those like us who do not possess Prof. Mookherjee's scholarly acumen the *Nyāya-kusumāñjalī* seems to have been written to refute the views ot the rival schools like the Cārvākas, Buddhists, Jainas, and the Mīmāṁsakas. Udayana has performed this task with exceptional brilliance. The main function of theistic creed is, however, to take a man nearer to God, and not to engage in polemical discussions of refined subtlety of an abstruse nature. Affirmation of the existence of God, and devotion to Him are sufficient to destroy atheistic creeds. As the *Kaṭha*, 2.3.12 says:

> Not by speech, not by mind,
> Nor by sight can He be apprehended.
> How can He be apprehended
> Otherwise than by one's saying 'He is'?

The self-created difficulty of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika was that the system left no scope for devotion in their elaborate logical structure. *Nyāya-kusumāñjalī* text and Hindi translation ed. and translated by Narayan Misra, Varanasi, 1968. See also G. Bhattacharya, *Studies in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Theism*, Calcutta, 1961, which gives the substance of the *Nyāya-kusumāñjalī*.

CHAPTER XVII

SĀṀKHYA AND YOGA

INTRODUCTION

LIKE Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sāṁkhya and Yoga form a composite system being complimentary to each other. The Yoga system is mainly concerned with the technique of *sādhanā* which leads to emancipation, but it presumes the Sāṁkhya philosophy with one notable exception which will be noticed later. The Sāṁkhya on the other hand is a metaphysical exposition of reality which relies on Yoga technique for realization. In Chapter X we have given an outline of Yoga technique in its principal aspects; the present chapter will be confined to a discussion of Sāṁkhya-Yoga philosophy.

Sāṁkhya philosophy is not only ancient but was considered to be extremely important. The Mbh, which as we shall see later discusses several schools of Sāṁkhya, asserts (12.290.103-104): 'Whatever knowledge is found in the Vedas, in Sāṁkhya and Yoga, in the various Purāṇas, in the extensive *itihāsas*, in the *arthaśāstra* which delight the learned, and whatever knowledge exists in this world, all that is derived from Sāṁkhya.' Swami Vivekananda seems to echo this claim when he says: 'The Sankhya philosophy of Kapila was the first rational system that the world ever saw. Every metaphysician in the world must pay homage to him.'[1] Swamiji is supported by Western scholars. R. Garbe, who made a special study of Sāṁkhya, said: 'In Kapila's doctrine, for the first time in the history of the world, the complete independence and freedom of the human mind, its full confidence in its own powers, were established.[2] M. Winternitz said: 'It seems to me to be proved that Pythagoras was influenced by the Indian Sāṁkhya.'[3] The characteristic Sāṁkhya ideas and the terms in which they are expressed are as common as those of the Upaniṣads in Indian philosophical literature And, if it is conceded that the Sāṁkhya conception of Prakṛti and *puruṣa* ultimately evolved as Śakti and Śiva, then it may be held that Sāṁkhya doctrine conferred on India art its most characteristic idea.

Definition of *yoga* has been discussed in Chapter X, and only the meaning of *sāṁkhya* need be considered here. A well-known verse defines Sāṁkhya as:

saṃkhyāṁ prakurvate c=aiva prakṛtim ca pracakṣate
tattvāni ca caturviṁśat tena sāṁkhyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ

[1] *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, birth centenary edition, II, Calcutta, 1963, p. 445.

[2] R. Garbe, *Philosophy in Ancient India*, p. 44.

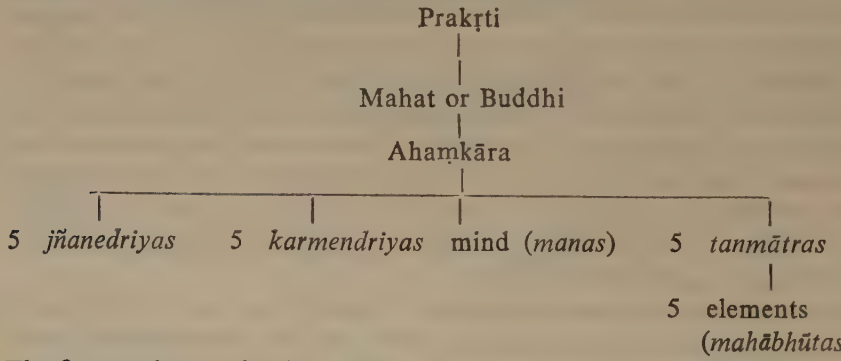
[3] M. Winternitz, *Calcutta Review*, 1924, p. 44, quoted in S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 249 fn.

It is explained that *sāṁkhya*, which generally means 'number' or 'enumeration' here means 'description of the self after proper discrimination.' Hence the verse may be rendered as: 'It is called Sāṁkhya, because it accounts for the self, describes Prakṛti, and the twenty-four categories.'

In this verse, the word *sāṁkhya* is derived from *saṁkhyā*, which means 'number', but the word *saṁkhyā* has another sense. The *Amarakoṣa*, which is followed by the *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, give *carcā* (rational examination), *sāṁkhyā*, and *vicāraṇā* (discernment) as synonymous terms. Hence MM. Kane observes that 'the word Sāṁkhya may be derived from it [*saṁkhyā*] in the sense of "system of rational examination", and in the sense of "philosopher (masculine)" according to "*tadadhīte tadveda*" (Pāṇini, IV. 2.59) meaning "*Sāṁkhyam veda.*" The *Bhāmatī* (on Br.S. 2.1.3) explains the word in the second sense. Sāṁkhya in a general sense means *tattvajñāna* (knowledge of ultimate reality, including Vedānta) or "a person who knows the ultimate reality." The word Sāṁkhya is frequently used in the *Bhagavadgītā* in the sense of *tattvajñāna* (as in II. 39, V. 5, XIII, 24) and in the sense of a person knowing the ultimate reality (in III. 3, V. 5).'[1]

SĀṀKHYA CATEGORIES

Sāṁkhya is a dualistic doctrine based on two principles: i. infinite number of *puruṣas* (selves), and ii. one Prakṛti or Mūlāprakṛti the 'evolvent.' Prakṛti has three *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, At the state of universal dissolution the *guṇas* or 'reals' are in equilibrium.' When some sort of contact is established between *puruṣa* and Prakṛti the equilibrium is lost and evolution begins. The evolutes arise in the following manner:



The first evolute *mahat* is really the 'universal intellect', which holds within it the intellects usually called '*buddhi*' of all *puruṣas* lost in the Prakṛti during the *pralaya*. *Ahaṃkāra* is ego, the specific expression of general consciousness which converts a general experience into 'my experience.' From *ahaṃkāra* evolves: i. five cognitive senses (*jñānendriyas*) of eye, ear, nose, tongue and skin; ii. the five conative senses (*karmendriyas*) of organ of

[1] *HDK*, V, ii, pp. 1378.

speech, hand, foot, the ejective and the generative organs; iii. *manas* or mind, and iv. 5 *tanmātras* or infra-atomic structure with the potential power of affecting our senses, and are hearing (*śabda*), touch (*sparśa*), *rūpa* (vision), *rasa* (taste), and *gandha* (smell). From the five *tanmātras* are produced the five corresponding elements: *kṣiti* (earth, from *gandha*), *ap* (water from *rasa*), *tejas* (fire; from *rūpa*), *marut* (air, from *sparśa*), and *akāśa* (sky, from *śabda*). These terms are classified in the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* (SK, 2) as: i. *avyakta* (unmanifest), Prakṛti; ii. *vyakta* (manifest) the evolutes, and iii. *jña* (the thinking soul) the *puruṣa*. They are also grouped as: 1. Prakṛti (evolvent); 2. 7 *Prakṛti-vikṛtis* (evolvents and evolutes), namely *mahat*, *ahaṃkāra*, and the 5 *tanmātras*; 3. the rest sixteen categories called *vikāras* or *vikṛtis* (evolutes); and 4. *puruṣa* which is neither. *Vikṛti* does not mean 'a product' or 'a thing' brought primarily into existence, but merely 'a modification of things', 'a state of being', a new development or form of something previously extant.

These terms will be explained in some detail later. Here it is only necessary to remember that these are considered to be typically Sāṁkhya terms, and any system which uses these terms is considered to be Sāṁkhya or influenced by Sāṁkhya.

EARLY SĀṀKHYA

Upaniṣads

Before reverting to the Upaniṣads, the following passage of the AV (X. 8.43) 'deserves notice' as pointed out by MM. Kane: 'The knowers of Brahman know that *yakṣa* endowed with *ātman* which abides in the lotus with nine gates (the physical body) covered by three *guṇas*.'[1] This is probably the earliest known use of the word *guṇa* as a metaphysical term, but its significance is not clear.

Śaṃkara on Br.S. 1.4.28 points out that the chief reason for special attention being given in the Br.S. to the refutation of Sāṁkhya doctrine 'is that the Vedānta-texts contain some passages which to people deficient in mental penetration (*mandamati*) may appear' to be near Sāṁkhya. He then admits: 'The (Sāṁkhya) doctrine, moreover, stands somewhat near to the Vedānta doctrine since, like the latter, it admits the non-difference of cause and effect, and it, moreover, has been accepted by some of the authors of the Dharmasūtra such as Devala etc.'

There are certain Upaniṣadic passages that either foreshadow Sāṁkhya doctrine, or employ words that have technical meanings in the Sāṁkhya system. Thus the *Muṇḍaka* 2.1.3 says: 'From Him are born *prāṇa*, mind, all the *indriyas*, sky, wind, *jyoti* (*fire*), waters and the earth.' It is remarkable that the *Muṇḍaka* (1.2.7-10) contains unequivocal denunciation of Vedic rites.

[1]ibid, pp. 1360.

The *Kaṭha* after emphasizing the separateness of the *indriyas* from the self in 2.3.6 says in the next verse (2.3.7):

Higher than the *indriyas* (senses) is the *manas* (mind),
Above the mind is *sattva* (*buddhi*),
Above *sattva* (*buddhi*) is the *mahān-ātmā* (great self),[1]
Beyond *mahat* is *avyakta* (unmanifest).

It should be noted that in this passage *ahaṃkāra* is not mentioned, and *buddhi* and *mahat* are held to be different. However, the *Kaṭha* 1.3.3-4 says that *ātman* rides the chariot which is the body, *buddhi* is the chariot-driver, mind is the reins, and *indriyas* are the horses. Then it adds (1.3.10) that higher than *indriyas* are sense-objects, *manas* is higher than the sense objects, *buddhi* is higher than *manas*, and *mahān ātman* is greater than *buddhi*.

The *Praśna* is more explicit. It states (4.7-8): 'As birds resort to a tree for a resting place, even so, O friend, it is to the supreme Soul (Ātman) that everything here resorts': earth, water, heat (*tejas*), wind and space, and their respective elements (*mātrā*), sight, hearing, smell, taste, skin, and their specific objects of apprehension, similarly, 'hands and what can be taken, the organ of generation and what can be enjoyed, the anus and what can be evacuated, the feet and what can be walked, *manas* and what can be thought of (*mantavya*), *buddhi* and what can be conceived, egoism (*ahaṃkāra*) and what can be connected with "me", *citta* and what can be thought,.....' Śaṃkara explains *mātrā* as *tanmātrā*, and *pṛthvi-mātrā* as *gandha-tanmātrā*, evidently accepting the Sāṁkhya theory. *Praśna* 6.4 mentions the five elements, namely, sky, air, fire, water, and earth, and *indriyas* and *manas*, but all these and certain others were, according to this Upaniṣad, derived from *prāṇa*.

The *Śvetāśvatara* (6.13) refers to Sāṁkhya and Yoga and says that 'on realizing that cause which can be apprehended by Sāṁkhya and Yoga he is released from all bonds.' The *Śvetāśvatara* 4.5. says:

ajām ekāṁ lohita-śukla-kṛṣṇāṁ
bahvīḥ prajāḥ sṛjamānāṁ sarūpāḥ
ajo hy=eko juṣamāṇo' nuśete
jahāty=enāṁ bhuktā-bhogām ajo' nyaḥ

The verse means that 'there is one unborn (female) constituted by red, white, and black, but producing manifold progeny resembling each other; there is one unborn being (a male) who resorts to her (loves her) and lies by her; there is another, who leaves her after having experienced enjoyment'.

This verse metaphorically speaks of Prakṛti, *puruṣa*, and the *guṇas* from the Sāṁkhya standpoint. *Ajā* and *aja* literally means 'she-goat' and 'he-goat,' but the words also mean 'unborn'. Here *ajā* stands for Prakṛti, and *aja* for *puruṣa*, both being eternal according to Sāṁkhya. The colours are the *guṇas*. *lohita* (red) is *rajas*, *śukla* (white) is *sattva*, and *kṛṣṇa* (dark) is *tamas*. From Prakṛti are evolved many creatures. Some souls, deluded by ignorance, cling

[1]Śaṃkara (on *Kaṭha* 1.3.10) explains *mahān-ātmā* as Hiraṇyagarbha, the first product of *avyakta* or 'unmanifest.' See also *Kaṭha*, 1.3.11.

to her, and falsely imagining that they experience pleasure or pain, or being in a state of stupor pass through the course of transmigratory existences. Other souls, having attained discrimination, lose their attachment to Prakṛti, and leave Her after having enjoyed Her.[1]

Sāṁkhya interpretation of this *Śvetāśvetara* passage appears to be supported by *Chāndogya* 6.3.4 2, where the red colour stands for heat, white for water, and dark for food, that is, earth. The idea expressed in the *Śvetāśvatara* is more explicitly supported by the Mbh. which uses the same simile in three verses (5.44. 18-19, *Sanatsujātīya*): *ābhāti śuklam iva lohitam iv=ātho kṛṣṇam.* Mbh. 12.291,45 specifically says:

śukla-lohita-kṛṣṇāni rupāṇy=etāni trīṇi tu
sarvāṇy=etāni rūpāṇi yān=īha prākṛtāni vai

(The three *rupas* (i.e., *guṇas*) are white, red, and dark. All the forms adopted by Prakṛti are due to those three.)[2] As we have seen *guṇas* are mentioned in the AV.

The protagonists of Sāṁkhya claim that Kapila mentioned in the *Śvetāśvatara* 5.2 was the same Kapila who promulgated the Sāṁkhya system. But Śaṃkara or Br.S. 2.1.1 points out that, because of the same name one cannot conclude that the two were identical, particularly because another Kapila is well known. However, the *Śvetāśvatara* is full of familiar Sāṁkhya terms, such as, *vyakt-āvyakta* (1.8), *guṇa* (5.7. ; 6.2 ; 4, and 16), *jña* (6.2, 17), Prakṛti (=Māyā, 4.10), *puruṣa* (1.2 ; 3.12, 13 ; 4.7), and *pradhāna* (1.10 ; 6.10, 16). Moreover, in the *Śvetāśvatara* as in Sāṁkhya, numbers are often used, as in 1.4 which says:

We understand Him [as a wheel] with one felly, with a triple tire[a],
With sixteen end-parts[b], fifty spokes[c], twenty counter-spokes[d],
With six sets of eights[e], whose one rope[f] is manifold,
Which has three different paths[g], whose one illusion (*moha*)[h]
has two conditioning causes[i].[3]

Sāṁkhya influence on the Upaniṣads is so clear, that Śaṃkara (on Br.S. II. 1.3) after quoting several passages from the Upaniṣads including passages from the *Śvetāśvatara* admīts: 'We willingly allow room for those portions of the two systems [Sāṁkhya and Yoga] which do not contradict the Veda. In their description of the soul, for instance, as free from all

[1]This is a summary of the Sāṁkhya view on *Śvetāsvatara* 4.5 as given by Śaṃkara on Br.S. 1.4.8. Śaṃkara, and other commentators including Rāmānuja and Nimbārka refute this view.

[2]The next verse of the Mbh which is similar to Manu 12.40 says that *sattva guṇa* leads to heaven, *rajas* to earth, and *tamas* to hell. See also *Gītā*, 14.18.

[3]Tr. by R.E. Hume, who explains this verse as: a. three *guṇas* b. five *bhūtas* (elements); five *jñanedriya*, five *karmendriyas*, and mind (=sixteen); c. cf., SK, 46 which speaks of 50 varieties of inequalities; d. 10 senses (*indriyas*) and their 10 corresponding objects; e. 1.8 producing causes of Prakṛti, namely, the 5 elements, mind, intellect (*buddhi*) and ego (*ahaṃkara*); 2. constituents of the body (*dhātu*) 3. 8 forms of superhuman powers,; 4. 8 conditions of *bhāva*; 5. 8 gods; and 6. 8 virtues; f. desire; g. *dharma*, *adharma*, and *jñāna*; h. illusion of self-consciousness; i. consequences of good and evil deeds; See also *Śvetāśvatara*, 1.5 and Hume, Intro. p. 8.

qualities the Sāṁkhyas are in harmony with the Veda which teaches that the person (*puruṣa*) is always pure.'

Sāṁkhya influence has been traced to the following passage of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (4.4.17): 'He in whom the five "five-people" and space are established, Him alone I believe to be the Self.....' Śaṃkara, on Br.S. I.4. 11, after quoting this passage, quotes SK 3, and states the *pūrvapakṣa* (prima facie) view: 'As therefore the number twenty-five, which occurs in the scriptural passage quoted, clearly refers to the twenty-five categories taught in the Sāṁkhya-smṛti, it follows that the doctrine of *pradhāna* etc., rests on scriptural basis.' Śaṁkara, however, refutes this view.

The problem of the relation between Sāṁkhya and the Upaniṣads have attracted the attention of modern scholars for a long time, but no satisfactory solution is available. As Lokamānya Tilak said in his introduction to the *Gītā*, the first problem is, who originated those ideas which are common to both Sāṁkhya and Vedānta? He proposed three alternatives: 1. the Upaniṣads and Sāṁkhya made parallel progress like two step-brothers, and the Seers of the Upaniṣad discovered these truths independent of Sāṁkhya; 2. Some Vedāntins borrowed some Sāṁkhya features and put them into a Vedāntic garb ; 3. Kapila changed the Vedānta doctrine to suit his point of view. The Lokamānya was inclined to accept the third alternative due to the antiquity of the Upaniṣads.[1]

The Lokamānya's conclusion seems to be supported by the Mbh. which presents several phases of Sāṁkhya's development all of which evolved out of the Upaniṣadic doctrine. Only difference is that Sāṁkhya shows that there is no reason for assuming the existence of God. This was probably Kapila's view, and ultimately this view was accepted as the Sāṁkhya doctrine, and the several systems discussed in the Mbh. failed to gain adherents. We shall now discuss the Sāṁkhya systems described in the Mbh.

Sāṁkhya in the Mahābhārata

Many chapters of the Mbh. discuss philosophy, mainly Sāṁkhya. Most of these philosophical chapters are found in the Śāntiparva (168-352) collectively known as the Mokṣa-dharma-parva. Many of these chapters contain legends and other matters which have nothing to do with Sāṁkhya, even so it is impossible to trace here anything beyond the outline of the Sāṁkhya materials presented by the Mokṣa-dharma chapters. Sāṁkhya materials form an important part of the *Gītā*, which is traditionally considered to be an integral part of the Mbh. but the *Gītā* will be treated separately.

Chapters 175 to 185[2] describe a conversation between Bharadvāja and Bhṛgu which give a peculiar account of the origin of the world; and various categories like *avyakta*, *ākāśa*, *mahat*, *ahaṃkāra*, etc., are related by Bhṛgu to

[1]B.G. Tilak, *Gītārahasya*, Bengali tr. by S.N. Tagore, pp. 151-52. See also *HDK*, V, ii, pp. 1363. MM. Kane also has accepted this alternative.

[2]Unless stated otherwise, the chapters refer to the Śāntiparva of the *Mbh.* critical edition, Pune (Poona).

Bharadvāja. Ch. 177 describes the origin of the five *mahā-bhūtas* (elements), the five *indriyas*, and their functions etc. Ch. 178. describes the functions of various *vāyus* (*prāṇa*, *apāna*) which is followed by discursive discussions on various topics which is a peculiarity of the Epic. 180.25 mentions the three *guṇas* in the course of a reply to Bharadvāja's questions (Ch. 179) which are typically agnostic. This is followed by a peculiar account of the origin of the castes (Ch. 181) and other topics.[1]

In Ch. 187, Bhīṣma enumerates the five *mahā-bhūtas* and their qualities. 187. 37-39, and 42 say that *sattva* (*buddhi*) and *kṣetrajña* (*ātman*) are both subtle; *sattva* creates the *guṇas* which is witnessed by the *kṣetrajña*, and both are eternally united like insects with a fig, or fish and water. This is repeated in 240.19-21. This doctrine is contrary to Sāṁkhya, and is rectified in 296.22-26 and 303.13-18 where the role of Prakṛti is properly delineated, but her relation with *puruṣa* is described with the same similes.

Ch. 188 is interesting for Yoga practices. Chs. 189 to 193 are devoted to *japa*, and 189.7 equates Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Vedānta so far as meditation through *japa* is concerned. Chs. 194 to 199 contain a dialogue between Manu and Bṛhaspati, in which Bṛhaspati (194.4) first asserts that Vedic *mantras* etc. are inadequate [for salvation]. In reply Manu first praises *niskāma-karma* (action without desire, 194.11) and ends the chapter by stating that he would describe what is not revealed by Veda (*yan mantra-śabdair akṛta-prakāśam*, 194.22). In 195.1, Manu states that from Akṣara came *kha* (sky), from it *vāyu*, from *vāyu* fire, from fire water, and from water the earth, from which came everything in the world. 195. 9-10 refer to five *indriyas* as five wicks of a lamp (*dīpa-vrkṣa*), and he says that the five sense-organs are like five ministers, while *jñāna* (*buddhi*) is the determining agent like the king. From the sky evolves the ear, and from ear the nose, but every sense-organ follows the mind; mind follows the *buddhi*, and *buddhi* follows *svabhāva*, that is, *ātman* (195. 20-21)

Ch. 196 establishes that *ātman* is different from the body, *indriyas*, mind, and *buddhi*, and is eternal. It is *ātman* which transmigrates. Ch. 197 describes the manner in which *ātman* apprehends *paramātman*. 197.10 says that 'mind is beyond *indriya*, *buddhi* is beyond mind, beyond *buddhi* is *jñāna*, and beyond *jñāna* is *parama*, that is ultimate reality (cf., *Gita*, 3.42). 197.16 is same as *Gītā* 2.59, and the next verse says that Brahman is apprehended when *buddhi*, free from the *guṇas* of *karma*, rests quietly on the mind. Ch. 198 continues the same topic, but at the end (198. 16-17) states that *bhūta*, that is *jīva*, is the conglomeration of (the *tattvas*, namely), *puruṣa*, Prakṛti, *buddhi*, 5 sense-objects, 10 *indriyas*, *ahaṃkāra* and *abhimāna* (i.e., *manas*); of these *buddhi* etc. are born of Pradhāna. 199.10-12 give the following sequence of evolution: earth—water—fire—air—sky—mind—buddhi—time (*kāla*)—Viṣṇu, the ultimate reality. 199.29 says that the body, in spite of the *indriyas* and the five elements, does not move of its own accord independent of the Highest

[1]Bhṛgu says that all men were originally *brāhmaṇas*.

Immutable (*parama avyaya*). The last two verses of Ch. 199, with which Manu ends his discourse, practically supports Advaita Vedānta.

Chs. 200 to 202 consist mostly of mythology, while Chs. 203 to 210, known as the Vārṣṇeya Adhyātma, contain a dialogue between a preceptor and his student. After stating (203. 21-22) that Nārāyaṇa is beginningless, endless, and unknowable Brahman, from whom this 'medicine for sorrow' (Brahma-jñāna) has been handed down, the *guru* says that Prakṛti produces the world (cf. *Gītā*, 9.10). Just as thousands of lights are lit from one lamp, so does the products come out of endless (*anantā*) Prakṛti. From *avyakta* (unmanifest, Prakṛti) evolves *buddhi*, from *buddhi ahaṃkāra*, from *ahaṃkāra* the sky, and from sky *vāyu* is produced. From *vāyu* (air) fire, from fire water, and from water comes the world (*jagat*). 'These are the eight basic *prakṛtis* (*mūla-prakṛtayo hy=astau*) on which the world (*jagat*) is established.' Five cognitive *indriyas*, five sense-objects, and mind are known as *vikāras* (203.23-31). Next follows the details of the *indriyas* and the sense-objects, and then it is stated that 'the sixteen *tattvas* which dwell in this body worship the *jñāna-kartā*' (203.31). This *jñāna-kartā* must be the *pūruṣa*, but in contrast to usual Sāṁkhya he is described as *kartā* (agent), and unlike the Sāṁkhya *puruṣa* who is *udāsīna* (neutral), this *kartā* is *upāsīna* (attentive). 206.7-9 compares Prakṛti with woman and *puruṣa* with man, and states that to get rid of the bondage of Prakṛti one should keep away from women. Ch. 207 deals mainly with *brahmacarya* (continence), and 207.12 forbids one to discuss women, and not to look at a nude woman.

Chapters 211 to 213 are important for they refer to the traditional founders of the Sāṁkhya doctrine. The story is that in the court of King Janadeva of Mithilā[1] had gathered many teachers of diverse heretical faiths. One day Pañcaśikha, the 'Kāpileya' arrived in Janadeva's court. The sobriquet 'Kāpileya' is usually taken to be a patronymic meaning 'son of Kapila', apparently the founder of the Sāṁkhya doctrine. However, though Pañcaśikha is called Kāpileya in 211.6-11, and 18, from 211. 14-17 it appears that there was a *brāhmaṇī* (not Brāhmī) called Kapilā; she served as a wet-nurse to the child Pañcaśikha, hence he was called Kāpileya. There is nothing to indicate that Kapilā was the wife of Āsuri as has been sometimes assumed. According to 211.9-10, it was said that the great sage Kapila, the Prajāpati, seems to have appeared in the form [of Pañcaśikha]. He [Pañcaśikha] was Āsuri's first disciple.

One day Pañcaśikha came to Janadeva and explained to him 'the great Kāpila *maṇḍala*' (the circle of doctrines first propounded of Kapila, 211.11),[2] which was the highest truth or *puruṣāvastham avyaktam*. Prof. S.N. Dasgupta maintained that the account of Sāṁkhya given in the *Caraka-saṃhitā* agrees with the doctrine propounded by Pañcaśikha (as given in Ch. 211), and

[1]Also called Janaka, because all kings of Mithilā bore the surname or the title of Janaka.

[2]*HDK*, V, ii, 1367, fn. 2233. 'Kapila's *maṇḍala*' may also mean 'a treatise of Kapila's philosophy' on the analogy of the *maṇḍalas* of the RV.

Pulinbehari Chakravarty held the same view. They explain *puruṣāvastham avyaktam* as '*avyakta* in the state of *puruṣa*', but V.M. Bedekar points out that, this interpretation is not warranted by the teaching of Pañcaśikha as adumbrated by these chapters.[1]

Pañcaśikha explained to Janaka the way to final liberation as taught in Sāṁkhya. He began by stating that the world is evanescent and full of misery. Despairing of allaying the misery by natural science, man turns to scriptures (*āgama*) in the vain hope of obtaining release. 'If, nevertheless, one were to argue that a thing can exist even though the world might not be able to supply proofs for it, just as, for example, our king here (i.e., Janaka) considers the *ātman* as ageless and breathless. We ask, "what is 'is' or 'is not' " when the concept has no basis to stand upon. How is that going to explain the world process? What can be its basis? Sense perception is the only basis of what we (ourselves) reason out and ascertain, and what we are told to believe in; so that *pratyakṣa* (perception) is equal to *āgama* and *kṛtānta* is nothing outside *pratyaksa* (211.24-26).' The editor of the Critical Edition, who has translated this passage, has rendered *kṛtānta* as 'reasoned out truth.' However, as MM. Kane has pointed out, *kṛtānta* means a *siddhānta* (systematic treatise or treatment) since the *Viṣṇudharmottara* states that 'for seeking Brahman there are five *kṛtāntas*, namely Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra, Śaiva and Pāśupata.'[2] Hence, evidently a book was meant in the Mbh. passage cited above, particularly because as shown above 211.11 mentions *mandalaṁ kāpilam*, which may be rendered as 'a book by Kapila', on the analogy of Vedic *maṇḍala*, which means 'a chapter.'

It is, however, difficult to correlate Pañcaśikha's system with Sāṁkhya. 211.13 speaks af '*ekākṣara* Brahman assuming many forms., It is further stated that Pañcaśikha became perfect [in knowledge] by the performance of *iṣṭis* and *sattras*, again by abounding *tapas*, had a vision of the deity (God), and he realized the distinction between *kṣetra* and *kṣetrajña* as well as Brahman symbolized by Om (211.12-13). Hence, as MM. Kane has observed, 'the doctrine of Pañcaśikha in these chapters of Śāntiparva is really *advaita* (monism) on which are grafted some doctrines similar to the later official Sāṁkhya for explaining creation and so forth.'[3]

Pañcaśikha expounds what is said to be the highest Sāṁkhya doctrine leading to liberation. He propounds in particular the important entities of which a human being is constituted. The five elements are sky, air etc., which come together on account of their *svabhāva* (212.7). The body, which

[1] *Mbh*, Śāntiparva, critical notes, p. 2170; S.N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 216-17. Pulinbehari Chakravarti, *Origin and Development of Sāṁkhya System of Thought*, Calcutta, 1951, 102ff; V.M. Bedekar, Pañcaśikha and Caraka, *ABORI*, XXXVIII, pp. 140-47. The Teachings of Pañcaśikha in the Mahabharata, ibid, pp. 233-244. MM. Kane has taken *puruṣāvastham-avyaktam* to mean 'he (Pañcaśikha) conveyed knowledge (to Janaka) about Avyakta (i.e., Pradhāna) that depends upon Puruṣa, (i.e., that becomes active through union of Puruṣa with it), which is the highest truth.' *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1366.

[2] *HDK*, V, ii, pp. 954 fn 1545 and p. 1376.

[3] ibid, p. 1367.

is the result of the conglomeration of the elements, functions through *jñāna*, *uṣman* (heat, explained as *jaṭharānala*, 'digestive fire in the stomach' or gastric fluid) and *vāyu* (*prāṇa*). The entities which are essential for the life of an individual are: senses, the sense-objects, *svabhāva*, *cetanā*, *manas*, *buddhi*, *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and other modifications (cf. *Gita*, 10.22 and 13.5-6). The five (cognitive) *indriyas* are those of hearing, touch, tongue, vision, and nose, and they apprehend their respective objects through the *citta*. *Śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa*, *rasa*, and *gandha* are *mūrtis*, and serve the purpose of apprehension till death (212.9-12). The body, which is the conglomeration of elements, is the *kṣetra*, and the entity which indwells the *manas* is the *kṣetrajña* (212.40). Sorrow results from the identification of the *guṇas* with the *ātman* (212.39). To realize this error of identification by means of right thinking and discrimination, and also to realize the true nature of *ātman* as an entity, which is pure and attributeless leads one to the highest happiness of Brahman. As rivers falling into the sea lose their identity, so also does he, who has realized the Self lose himself in Brahman (2 2.42 ; cf. *Muṇḍaka*, 3.2.8 ; *Gītā*, 11.28).

It thus appears that Pañcaśikha was preaching a doctrine which was neither Vedānta nor Sāṁkhya, but represented an intermediate stage when Sāṁkhya ideas were transforming the Upaniśadic conceptions.

In 228.28, Vyāsa says that both Sāṁkhya and Yoga recognize twenty-five *tattvas*, but there is some difference between them. However, the differences as described by him are very vague, and in 231.6 Vyāsa says that the *mahā-bhūtas* were created by Svayambhūva. Vyāsa reverts to the description of the *mahā-bhūtas* in the next chapter, and says (240.2) that sense-objects are higher than the senses, mind is higher than the objects, *buddhi* is higher than mind, and higher than *buddhi* is *ātman* (cf. *Gītā*, 3.42). It is stated that *buddhi* creates the *guṇas* (240.20), which is repeated in 241.1-2. Vyāsa then gives an account of the three *guṇas* which has nothing to do with the three *guṇas* of Sāṁkhya.

Chapters 260 to 262 contain a dialogue between Kapila and another sage, in which Kapila denounces the Vedic sacrifices, but does not discuss Sāṁkhya. In Ch. 267, Asita Devala describes another system which he calls Sāṁkhya (267.38). The first principle of this doctrine that is *kāla* (time) is impelled by *bhāva* or *ātman* (267.4-5). The exact nature of *bhāva* is not clear, Nīlakaṇṭha explaining it as *pūrva-saṁskāra* (impression of past life), and *abhāva* as *ajñāna* (nescience or ignorance). Impelled by *ātman*, *kāla* creates the five elements, these six being eternal. There are no other eternal verities other than the following eight: five elements, *kāla*, *bhāva*, and *abhāva* (267.6-9). The system also admits that *buddhi* is beyond mind, and beyond *buddhi* is the *kṣetrajña* (267.16), and includes within the cognitive senses (*jñānendriya*) the sense-organs, *citta*, mind, and *buddhi* (267.18), and among the *karmendriyas* (conative senses) feet, hands, mouth, and the two organs of evacuation is also included *bala* or strength (267.19-22). The rest of this peculiar doctrine is even more strange.

Chapter 289 seeks to explain the difference between Sāṁkhya and Yoga, but, without really explaining either, gives a rambling account of Yoga and Vedānta. From Arjunamiśra's comments, it appears that some persons believed that, according to Sāṁkhya a man might achieve *mokṣa* without *yoga-bala* (denied by Arjunamiśra), while in Yoga the truths are revealed by *Iśvara ārādhana*. Nīlakaṇṭha says that the Sāṁkhya described here is not Kapila's *Ṣaṣṭitantra*. It seems that some confusion has been created by the following verse:

anīśvaraḥ kathaṁ muñcyed ity=evaṁ śatru-karśana
vadanti kāraṇaiḥ śraiṣṭhyaṁ yogāḥ sāmyaṁ=manīṣiṇaḥ (289.3)

Most scholars interpret the word *anīśvara* as 'without God.' According to them, the essential difference between Sāṁkhya and Yoga is that the former is atheistic while the latter is theistic. The commentator Vādiraja, however, interprets *anīśvara* as 'having no power or knowledge.' Hence V.M. Bedekar has rendered this verse as: 'The aspirant to Yoga must be strong in body and mind, and must have mastery or control over himself. One who is weak and feeble-minded cannot hope to attain emancipation by Yoga.'[1] This conclusion seems to be supported by Manu (6.72), where *anīśvarān guṇān* is explained by Kulluka as those qualities (*guṇas*) which do not belong to, Īśvara, such as anger, greed, jealousy etc.[2] Apparently the verse means that under the influence of such vicious tendencies one cannot attain liberation.

Chapter 290. 14-17 gives a peculiar account according to which *sattva* has 10 qualities (*guṇa*), *rajas* 9, *tamas* 8, *budbhi* 7, mind 6, and sky 5, *Buddhi* again has four qualities, *tamas* three, *rajas* two, and *sattva* one. By realizing these qualities, one attains *mokṣa*. It is then stated (290. 22-23) that *buddhi* is attached to *tamas*, *tamas* to *rajas*, *rajas* to *sattva*, and *sattva* is located in *jīvātmā*. The *jīvātmā* belongs to Lord Nārāyaṇa. Attachment to the Lord is *mokṣa*.

Chapters 291 to 296 contain the teachings of Vasiṣṭha to Karālajanaka. Vasiṣṭha states (291. 18-19) that the Sāṁkhya-śāstra describes the various names and forms of the 'world-soul' (*viśvātmā*), the only immutable person, the creator of the three worlds, who pervades the worlds and is known as Viśvarūpa. Vasiṣṭha then enumerates the Sāṁkhya categories and refers to twenty-four categories (291.23-28), but the twenty-fifth *tattva* is said to be Viṣṇu, who indwells every heart (291.37-40). 291.45, which agrees with *Śvetāśvatara* 4.5 has been noted above, and it may be added that 291.46 which is practically the same as Manu 12.40, and similar to *Gītā* 14.18, states that *tamas* persons go to hell, *rajas* are born as men, while the *sāttvikas* go to heaven.

[1] *Mbh*, Śāntiparva, intro p. ccxliv. See also V.M. Bedekar, 'Theism is no Differentia of Yoga,' *Oriental Thought*, V, pp. 22-4; and 'Dr. Edgerton's Interpretation of Anīśvara,' ibid, VI, pp. 45-50.

[2] Medhātithi explains the term as the three *guṇas*, which, in the present context, would mean that a person cannot attain *mokṣa* unless he has control over the three *guṇas*. This would agree with the *Gītā*, 14.20.

Vasiṣṭha then continues that men follow the advice of unenlightened persons and the soul transmigrates from one body to another, sometimes in a lower life, sometimes as a *deva* (god), and sometimes as a human being. 'As the silk-worm produces silk threads and is tied up with its own products, similarly a man is bound by the *guṇas* which are produced by himself' (292. 1-4). Later, Vasiṣṭha states that Prakṛti-devī creates and destroys the world, and while Prakṛti is composed of the three *guṇas*, the Self is the lord of the three *guṇas* (292. 27-30). Prakṛti performs all the acts and enjoys the results (292.40, implying that *puruṣa's* experience is on account of its association with Prakṛti due to nescience). Then Vaṣīṣṭha says that whatever is seen in Yoga is known in Sāṁkhya; he who knows that the two systems are one is intelligent (293.19; cf. *Gītā* 5.5).

The dialogue is continued in the next chapter, and Vasiṣṭha says that the *avyakta*, which knows the *kṣetra* is called *kṣetrajña*, and because it lies in the *avyakta-pura* (unmanifest abode, i.e., Prakṛti, or body) it is called *puruṣa* (*āvyaktike pure śete puruṣaś c=eti kathyate*, 294.37).[1] What Vasiṣṭha says in 294.40 is not very clear, but he seems to mean that *avyakta* is *kṣetra*, and its lord is *sattva* (*buddhi*), the twenty-fifth (i.e., *puruṣa*) is neither the lord (*anīśvara*) nor a category (*tattva*). He then adds: 'This is Sāṁkhya-darśana, which is the *darśana* of enumeration. They enumerate and describe Prakṛti [as the material cause of the world].'

Chapters 298 to 306 contain the teachings of Yājñavalkya to Janaka. Yājñavalkya begins by stating that Prakṛtis are said to be eight, evolutes sixteen. [Of the eight Prakṛtis] seven are *vyakta* (manifest), namely, *mahat*, *aham*, *pṛthivī*, *vāyu*, *ākāśa*, *apa*, and *jyotiḥ*. The evolutes are: ear, skin, eye, tongue, nose, *śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa*, *rasa*, *gandha*, *vāc*, hands, legs, and the two organs of evacuation. Then there are *buddhi*, and mind making a total of sixteen (298.10-15). Yājñavalkya then enumerates time (*kāla-saṁkhyā*) of *avyakta*: one day of *avyakta* consists of 10,000 *yugas*, and one night is of the same duration. *Avyakta* first creates various trees (i.e., food) and then creates Brahmā, who comes out of the golden egg. Brahmā creates the earth, sky, and heaven, as stated in the Veda. One day of Brahma consists of 7,500 *kalpas*.[2] According to the commentators, Brahmā's first four sons were mind, *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, and *citta*. Then *ahaṃkāra* created the five elements, their special qualities are *śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa*, *rasa*, and *gandha*. Then comes the *indriyas*, their lord is mind (299.1-18). When Brahmā's day comes to an end, he sends the lord of *aham* (explained in the commentary as Rudra) to destroy the world. Yājñavalkya then explains other Sāṁkhya terms in his own way, which has nothing to do with Sāṁkhya. He reiterates that *sattva* leads a man to best place, *rajas* to medium, and *tamas* to the worst place, and practically repeats *Gītā* 14.14, and 14.10 (302.3 and 6). Yājñavalkya then

[1]This is one of the two explanations given by Śaṃkara while explaining *puruṣa* in *Gītā*, 8.4.

[2]For the doctrine of *Kāla* (time) as the ultimate principle, see *Mbh*, 13.1.43-49; AV, XIX, 53-54; *Śvetāśvatara*, 1.2; *Gītā*, 9.7.

says that *avyakta* is made of *guṇas*, and it can never go beyond *guṇas*; *avyakta* cannot 'know', while the *puruṣa* which knows is called *jña*. He ends by saying that Sāṁkhya-darśana is enumeration, that the followers of Sāṁkhya attains *kaivalya* (303.20). He then proceeds to describe Yoga (304 to 306) in course of which he explains in his own way several Sāṁkhya terms and asserts that one must know the Veda (306.48), and that when the souls realize their distinctiveness from nature, they realize the twenty-sixth *tattva*. The commentators have given complicated explanations of the twenty-sixth *tattva*, and it seems that a personal God, Hari or Nārāyaṇa, is intended (306.53-54; 70-74).

Chapter 307 contains another dialogue between Bhikṣu Pañcaśikha and King Janaka, in which the former instructs the king that there is no escape from decrepitude due to age and death.

Chapter 308 contains Dharmadhvaja-Janaka's instruction by the female sage Sulabhā referred to by Śaṃkara on Br.S. 3.3.32. Sulabhā was an accomplished and great *yoginī*, and transforming herself into a beautiful woman appeared before Janaka. Janaka, informed her that he was a pupil of *bhikṣu* Pañcaśikha who had expounded to him the threefold *mokṣa* (Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and the art of government). Janaka declared that he still occupied the throne, because the highest rule of *mokṣa* was 'non attachment which is due to correct knowledge, whereby one is freed from the bondage (of *saṃsāra*)' (308.24-29). However, Janaka gives another meaning of *mokṣa* propounded by Pañcaśikha to him, namely, i. highest knowledge and renunciation of actions; ii. strict adherence to the path of *karma* (duties prescribed by Dharmaśāstra); and iii. combination of knowledge and action, and those who follow the third path resemble the householders in several respects (308.38-40). Janaka then asserts that *mokṣa* does not consist in outward signs such as wearing ochre coloured dress, or shaving the head, nor in mere non-possession of wealth, but it is *jñāna* (knowledge) which enables one to attain *mokṣa*.

Then Sulabhā began her long discourse on her own brand of philosophy, in course of which she describes the thirty attributes of the body and declares: 'There are some who believe in unmanifest Prakṛti as the material cause of these attributes, while some dull-witted (*sthūla-darśī*, explained by Nīlakaṇṭha as Kaṇāda) considers the manifest (*vyakta*, atom) as the material cause. But whether the material cause be manifest or unmanifest, the philosophers consider the Prakṛti to be the material cause:' (308.98-114). It is not possible to give here further details of Sulabhā's philosophy, but her conception of embryology is as follows: 'Semen and blood forms a substance called *kalala* (germ, or embryo) which develops into *budbuda* (foetus, lit. bubble), from which developes the muscles; the muscles develop into limbs, and from the limbs develop hairs and nails. The *jīva* is born on the completion of nine months, and on its birth gets, its name, form, and distinction as male or female based on sex...' (308.116-125). Sulabhā then points out that Janaka being a king could not be a *jīvan-mukta* (308.127-146), and then doubts whe-

ther the king really understood Pañcaśikha (308.162-166).[1]

Later, there is an account of Śuka, the son of Vyāsa, and it is related (312.4) that Śuka read the complete Yoga-śāstra and Kapila, which presumably means the text written by Kapila, but no detail is given.

There are stray mention of Sāṁkhya and its terms in other chapters of the Mbh,[2] but these passages need not be considered. It is evident that Sāṁkhya terms were known, and also that the principle of Prakṛti and her evolutes as well as of the *guṇas* were recognized, though the term *tanmātra* is unknown. The important points, however, are: i. the multiple theories, and ii. assumption of a Supreme Creator in most of the theories. It appears likely that the protagonists of the theories were unwilling to cut themselves adrift from the safe anchorage of the Upaniṣads. There was, however, a general revulsion against the slaughter of animals involved in Vedic sacrifices, and to certain extent against sacrifices as such. Attempts were being made to find an alternative method leading to salvation, something which did not involve Vedic sacrifices. The answer was Yogic practices, and along with it came the Sāṁkhya philosophy, or rather parts of it, which could be admitted into the orthodox fold. Believers in Yoga would say that the successful practice of Yoga leads to Sāṁkhya realization, where the Self realizes itself and detaches itself from Prakṛti. Hence Sāṁkhya doctrine is bound to follow Yogic practices.

A detailed study may bring out some cohesion of thought or central idea underlying the various systems mentioned above. Such a study is beyond the scope of the present work. It may, however, be pointed out that 12: 187.37-39, 240.19-21, 296.22-26, and 303.13.18 employ the same simile in similar sets of passages to explain the relation between Prakṛti and *puruṣa*: like fig and the mosquitoes, and fish and water. Distinction is made in these passages between (1) Prakṛti, or *avyakta*, the twenty-fourth *tattva*; (2) *puruṣa*, the knower, the twenty-fifth *tattva*; and (3) the *kevala* or *sanātana* the *aja*, the twenty-sixth *tattva*. From Vādirāja's commentary on 296.23, it appears that if the examples are taken as *ādhāra-ādheya bhāva* (relation or action of the support or recipient upon the thing received or supported) of *jīva* and Paramātman, it would lead to duality, and if it is taken as *ādhārabhūta-Brahma*, it would lead to *ekatva* (unity, or identity, i e., monism), but never to *bhedābheda* (difference in identity).

If Vādirāja is correct, as he may well be, then these doctrines of the Mbh. should be called 'Vedānta' and not 'Sāṁkhya', reason being the same for which the *Gītā* is called a Vedānta text in spite of its acceptance of Sāṁkhya terms and categories.

Today by 'Sāṁkhya' is understood the philosophy of the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* and the *Sāṁkhyasūtra*, but even in the 9th century AD, there were different Sāṁkhya systems. Commenting on Br.S. 2.2.10, Śaṃkara writes: 'The

[1]For more details of Sulabhā's theory see A.K. Majumdar, *Economic Background of the Epic Society*, Calcutta, 1977, pp. 243-49.

[2]*Mbh*, 2.11, 16; 3.2.14; 3.178.16-26; 3.201.14-15; 3.202.2-8; 6.6.1-11.

doctrine of the Sāṁkhyas, moreover, is full of contradictions. Sometimes they enumerate seven *indriyas*, sometimes eleven. Sometimes they teach that the *tanmātras* proceed from the *mahat*, in other places again that they proceed from *ahaṃkāra*. Sometimes they speak of three *antaḥkaraṇas*, sometimes of one only.' Hence it is hardly surprising that the Mbh should have different theories involving Sāṁkhya. It should be noted, however, that Śaṃkara prefaces his comments on Br.S. 2.2.17 (in which he refutes the Vaiśeṣika doctrine) by stating. 'While the theory of *pradhāna* (i.e., Prakṛti) being the cause of the world has been accepted by adherents of the Veda—as for instance, Manu—with a view to the doctrines of the effect existing in the cause already . . . .' And on Br. S. 2.1.12 Śaṃkara admits that Sāṁkhya 'stands near to our Vedic system, is supported by somewhat weighty arguments, and has, to a certain extent, been adopted by some authorities who follow the Veda.. . .' One wonders if Śaṃkara had in view the Mokṣa-dharma chapters of the Mbh.

Gītā and Sāṁkhya

The *Bhagavadgītā* or the *Gītā* is one of the three main Vedānta texts, but Sāṁkhya terms form such an integral part of the *Gītā* that Prof. S.N. Dasgupta remarked that 'the *Gītā* is neither a Sāṁkhya work nor a Vedānta work.'[1] However, since the time of Śaṃkara, all great Vedānta teachers have written commentaries on it, and for this reason alone it has to be considered as a Vedānta text, and its philosophy will be discussed later in connection with Vedānta. Here it has to be pointed out that the *Gītā* is not a systematic philosophical text, and does not only not define its terms, but uses a term in various senses as will be shown later. Hence arises the difficulty in following the *Gītā* which is otherwise written in an easy style. One has, therefore, to consult the commentaries, of which there are a large number, and many available in print. But the commentaries are written from the point of view of the different Vedānta schools, so that they may sometimes be even more confusing than the text.

The difficulty is that our conception of terms such as *Prakṛti*, *puruṣa*, *avyakta*, *kṣetra*, *guṇa* etc., has been determined by their definitions in the *Sāṁkhyakārikā*, just as the conception of the word Brahman has been formed by the Upaniṣads as interpreted by Śaṃkara. For an understanding of the *Gītā*, however, it is necessary to shed these pre-conceived notions.

Prakṛti and *puruṣa* form the kernel of the philosophy of the *Gītā*, hence it is necessary to understand the meanings given to these two terms in the *Gītā*. The *Gītā* admits the difference between *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, but differs from the Sāṁkhya in that the two are not eternal verities, but dependent on the Ultimate Reality, or the Lord,[2] from whom everything emanates, upon

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., II, p. 476.

[2]Throughout the *Gītā*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the Ultimate Reality. It should be remembered that the *Gītā* is a religio-philosophical text. See *Gītā*, 9.8-11; 15.7; 10.20; 10.14-42; 9.34; 18.65; 12.8; 14.27; 7.24-25; 4.6-8; 7.14-15.

whom everything depends, and to whom everything finally resolves (8.20-22; 15.17; 10.20 etc.).

It has been stated above that Sāṁkhya terms have been used in various senses in the *Gītā*. We shall first take up the use of the term purusa.

The word *puruṣa* literally means 'a person', and it has been used in this sense in 3.4, and 9.3, and when Arjuna addresses Kṛṣṇa (in 8.1; 10.15; and 11.3) as *puruṣottama*, he uses the term in this sense to mean 'the best of man.' However, *puruṣa* is mostly used in the sense of *jīva* and may be rendered as 'an embodied soul', or 'a sentient being' and correspond to Sāṁkhya's *puruṣa* (13.19-21; 17.3).[1] Elsewhere, however, the meaning of *puruṣa* is less clear. In 8.4, *puruṣa* is called *adhi-daivatam*, that is, 'the supreme deity or divine agent operating in physical sphere', which is explained by Śaṃkara as 'Hiraṇyagarbha.' In 8.22 (*puruṣaḥ sa parah*) *puruṣa* means God, which is emphasized by Arjuna in his prayer (11.18 and 38) where he qualifies *purūṣa* as *sanātana* (eternal) and *anādi* (beginningless). In 15.16-19 we get *kṣara-puruṣa*, *akṣara-puruṣa*, *uttama-puruṣa*, and *puruṣottama*, the last two terms meaning the same: Ultimate Reality, or 'the highest active principle.' *Kṣara* (changeable) is all living beings, while *akṣara* is changeless, the primal cause.

It may be recalled here that the term *puruṣa* is used in the RV in the famous Puruṣa-sūkta, mentioned above several times. It is also used in the *Kaṭha* (1.3.10-11) where the ascending scale of entities are: *indriya*—objects of senses—mind—*buddhi*—*ātman*—*avyakta*—*puruṣa*, and it is stated that 'higher than the Puruṣa there is nothing at all. He is the goal. He is the highest course.' Evidently, *Kaṭha's* Puruṣa is *Gītā's* Puruṣottama, while *puruṣa* of *Gītā's* 13.19-21 is Sāṁkhya's *puruṣa*.

Prakṛti literally means 'nature', including 'human nature', and in this sense the word has been used in the *Gītā* five times (7.20; 9.12-13; 11.51; 18.59). However, Prakṛti has more often been used in its Sāṁkhya sense (3.27, 29,33; 13.19-21, 23, 29; 14.5; 15.7). Actually, commenting on 3.27, Śaṃkara explains Prakṛti as 'Pradhāna, the state of equilibrium of the *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*.' It is stated in 13.20 that Prakṛti is the cause of *kārya* (effect), (namely, the five elements and five sense objects), and *kāraṇa* (instruments, namely, ten organs, and *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, and mind), while the *puruṣa* is the enjoyer; here Śaṃkara explains *puruṣa* as *jīva*, (sentient being), *kṣetrajña* (soul), and *bhoktā* (enjoyer). Here it may be mentioned that the word *jīva* as such is nowhere used in the *Gītā*, though compounds such as *jīva-bhūta* (that which has acquired the form of a sentient being, 15.7), *jīva-bhūtam* (7.5), and *jīva-loke* (the region in which sentient beings live) have been used.

The main difference between Sāṁkhya's and *Gītā's* conception of Prakṛti

[1]The number of verses in Ch. 13 of the *Gītā* was given by Śaṃkara as 34. But sometimes an additional verse, Arjuna's question to Kṛṣṇa, is added at the beginning of the chapter, hence the verse numbering of this chapter is apt to differ by one from one edition to another.

is that in the former Prakṛti is uncreated, while in the *Gītā*. She is created by the Lord (4.6; 9.7; 9.8; 9.10). Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has rendered *mahad-brahma* (the great Brahma or the great multiplier) as 'procreatress', following Śrīdhara, but it should be noted that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī states that this Prakṛti is not *Sāṁkhya's* Prakṛti, because she is dependent on the Lord (*parameśvare-adhīnayoḥ*, on 14.3), which is admitted by Śrīdhara also. Prof. Dasgupta further adds: 'Śaṃkara surreptitiously introduces the word *māyā* between *mama* and *yoni*, and changes the whole meaning.'[1] Śaṁkara has indeed done so (quite openly), but explains *mahad brahma* as *tri-gun-ātmikā Prakṛti*, *garbha* (womb) Hiraṇyagarbha. Śrīdhara adds that the Lord impregnates Prakṛti by inseminating Her with *cidābhāsa*, a Vedānta concept of soul at a particular stage. Śaṃkara has consistently explained Prakṛti of the *Gītā* as 'the Lord's Māyā-śakti' which is supported by *Gītā*, 4 6: *prakṛtiṁ svām adhiṣṭhāya sambhavāmy=ātma māyayā* (Controlling Prakṛti which is mine, I [seem to] appear by my own Māyā). This is supported by *Śvetāśvatara* 4.10 which says: *Māyāṁ tu prakṛtiṁ vidyān Māyīnam tu Maheśvaram* ('One should know that Prakṛti is Māyā [lit. illusion] and Maheśvara [lit. Mighty Lord] is the Māyin [lit. illusion-marker]). Hence Māyā and Prakṛti can be taken as interchangeable terms in a professedly Vedānta text like the *Gītā*.

Besides *prakṛti*, the *Gītā* (7.4-5) mentions *parā-prakṛti* and *aparā-prakṛti*. The *aparā-prakṛti* consists of earth, water, fire, air, sky, mind, *buddhi*, and *ahaṃkāra* which are called *'bhinnā prakṛtir=aṣṭadhā* (divided eightfold *prakṛti*),[2] which according to Śaṃkara indicates the *tanmātras*, a word which is not mentioned in the *Gītā* except once as *mātrā* (2.14), where it probably means sense-objects rather than *tanmātra*. Beyond the *aparā-prakṛti* is the *parā-prakṛti*, which is the principle of consciousness in all beings, the source of life in all, and which sustains the universe.

Another word used frequently in the *Gīta* is *avyakta* (unmanifest). In 2.25, the Self is said to be unmanifest, and 2.28 says that 'the beings were unmanifest before their birth, during the period between birth and death they are manifest, at death they return to unmanifest again.'[3] The word has been used in the same sense in 8.18, but in 9.4 the compound *avyakta-mūrti* has been used, which may mean 'the form of the *avyakta*', or 'he who has the *avyakta* as his form', that is, 'that eternal form of the Lord which is not manifest to the senses.' However, 8.20-21 says: 'But behind the manifest and the unmanifest, there is another Existence, which is eternal and changeless. This is not dissolved in general cosmic dissolution. It has been called the unmanifest, the imperishable. To reach it is said to be greatest of all achievements. It is My highest state of being. Those who reach it are not reborn.' Similarly, in 7.24 it is said: 'Thus think the ignorant, that I the Unmanifest have taken

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., II, p. 462, and fn. The word *yoni* is again used in 7.6 to include both *parā* and *aparā prakṛti* (7.5), i.e., both *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*.

[2]The *Śvetāśvatara* 1.4 mentions six *aṣṭakas* of which the *prakṛty=aṣṭaka* is the eightfold *prakṛti*.

[3]Compare *Gītā*, 2.28 and 37 with *Mbh*. 11.2.8-9.

human form (*vyakta*). They do not know My real nature, which is changeless and unsurpassable.' From these passages as well as from 12.1,3 and 5, it is clear that *avyakta* in *Gītā* also means undifferentiated Brahman. However, in 13.5, where evolution is described according to Sāṁkhya, *avyakta* is used in the sense of Prakṛti. Śaṃkara interprets this verse as: from *avyakta* evolves *buddhi*, from *buddhi ahaṃkāra*, from which evolves the five gross elements, ten *indriyas*, and one (i.e., mind), and five sense-objects. Śaṃkara concludes that 'these constitute the twenty-four *tattvas* of Sāṁkhya' (*tāni etāni sāṁkhyāḥ caturviṁśa-tattvāni ācakṣate*). Madhusūdana Sarasvatī adds that *avyakta* here is Pradhāna, constituted of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamo gunas*, the cause of all and effect of none.

The *Gītā* uses the term *guṇa* in a more extended sense than Sāṁkhya, though the term is used to denote *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamao guṇas* as in Sāṁkhya. The *Gītā* repeatedly says that the *puruṣa* is impelled to act by the *guṇas* (3.29; 7.14; 13.19-20; 14.19-23). *Guṇa* is responsible for caste division (4.13). The three *guṇas* are held to determine the universal characteristics of all kinds of mental tendencies and the nature of all actions. 'They come forth from Prakṛti and bind the self to the body. *Sattva* is limpid, and leads a man to happiness and knowledge; *rajas* is passion and leads a man to action; and *tamas*, which is ignorance, leads a man to delusion, sluggishness, and stupor. Sometimes *sattva* prevails over the other two, sometimes *rajas* prevails, while at other times *tamas* prevails over *sattva* and *rajas*. If a man dies in the state of *sattva*, he attains to sinless state; if he dies in *rajas* state, he is reborn as a man, while if at the time of death *tamas* prevails he is born as an animal. Up goes the *sāttvika* man, the *rājasika* stays in the middle (i.e., in this world), while sunk in *tamas*, the lowest nature, he sinks to the under-world. When the seer (i.e., the *puruṣa*) sees that it is the three *guṇas* which are the doers, he knows that which is beyond the three *guṇas* and attains Me. Then he goes beyond birth, death, old age, and misery, and becomes immortal. A man is said to have transcended the *guṇas* when he neither hates the onset of desire or even of delusion nor long for the onset of knowledge. He sits unconcerned and is not disturbed by the *guṇas*. He rests in the inner calm of the *ātman* regarding happiness and suffering as the same. The pleasant and unpleasant, praise and blame, friend and foe are to him alike. He who worships Me with unfaltering devotion transcends these *guṇas*; he becomes capable of attaining Brahman' (14.5-26).[1]

There are three kinds of *śraddhā* (faith) depending on the respective *guṇa*, which determine the temperament of a man, and even his religious actions. Food too is of three kinds, and pleases the man according to their temperament determined by the three *guṇas*. Similar are sacrifices, austerities, and gifts (17.2-22).

It is also stated that *jñāna* (knowledge), *karma* (action), and *kartā* (agent) are classified on the basis of their particular *guṇa* according to the *guṇa-*

[1]This is a free rendering of *Gītā*, 14.5-26; few verses have been omitted.

saṁkhyāna, which Śaṃkara explains as Kapila-śāstra (18.19). Then comes the classification of *buddhi* (conscience or understanding), and *dhṛti* (determination) and three kinds of happiness again on the basis of *guṇas* (18.20-39). And, at the end is declared: 'There is no creature, either on earth or among the gods (*devas*) in heaven, who is free from these three *guṇas* which come forth from Prakṛti' (18.40).

Lastly, the *sat-kārya-vāda* of the *Gītā* has to be considered. The Sāṁkhya doctrine of *sat-kārya-vāda* means that the effect is already present in the cause, otherwise it could not have been produced. Thus the cloth exists in an unmanifest form in the yarn, or the jar in the clay, and their production means their manifestation in the forms of cloth or pot through the instrumentality of the loom and the potter's wheel and the agency of the weaver and the potter. We have seen that Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika refute this theory. *Gītā's sat-kārya-vāda* is based on the following verse:

n=āsato vidyate bhāvo n=ābhāvo vidyate sataḥ
ubhayor=api dṛṣṭo'ntas=tv=anayos tattva=darśibhiḥ (2.16)

(That which is non-existent can never come into being, and that which is can never cease to be. Those who have known the inmost reality know also the nature [of "is" and "is not"].)

This idea may be traced to the *Chāndogya*, 6.1.4-5 which states that 'the modification is merely a verbal distinction, a name; the reality is just "clay".' The Advaita commentators hold that this verse indicates that the effect as such is a mere appearance and has no true existence (*sat*), the cause alone is truly existent. Rāmānuja, however, explains this verse with reference to its context, namely, the body is destructible while the soul is indestructible, which is forcefully explained at the beginning (2.12-30), which also is the view of the Upaniṣads. Hence by *asat* Rāmānuja understands the body which can never be *sat*, while *sat* the *ātman* can never be *asat*, and adds that the '*sat-kārya-vada* being irrelevant in the present context, the verse does not refer to it.'

Śrīdhara, commenting on this verse, refers to 2.14, which says that the feelings of heat and cold, of pleasure and pain must be tolerated because they are transitory. Hence he explains that heat and cold being *asat* cannot abide in *ātman*, and *ātman* being *sat* is indestructible.

In this connection it should be noted that according to *Gītā*, 18.14, the fruition of action is rendered possible by the combined operations of *adhiṣṭhāna* (the seat of action, the body), *kartā* (the agent, the in-dwelling self), *karaṇas* (various instruments, i.e., the mind and the ten *indriyas*), *ceṣṭā* (various efforts), and *daiva* (Providence). This doctrine is called a Sāṁkhya doctrine, though it has been interpreted by Śaṃkara as a Vedānta view.

As 18.14 apparently contradicts 2.16, Prof. S.N. Dasgupta is constrained to remark: 'It is bound to strike anyone as very surprising that the *Gītā* should accept the *sat-kārya-vāda* doctrine in establishing the immortality of the self, and should assume *a-sat-kārya-vāda* doctrine regarding the production of action.'[1] This apparent contradiction can be resolved if one agrees

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., II, p. 473.

with Rāmānuja that 2.16 does not preach *sat-karya-vada*.

As has been shown above, the Sāṁkhya terms like *puruṣa*, *prakṛti*, *avyakta*, and *guṇa* have been used in the *Gītā* in more senses than one. We have also seen that *mahad-brahma* (14.3) has been used to denote Prakṛti, and Rāmānuja on 5.10 says that in this verse 'the word Brahman has been used to denote Prakṛti,' and in 3.15 the word Brahman has been used to denote: i. Vedas (Śaṃkara), ii. Prakṛti (Rāmānuja), iii. Veda or Prajāpati (Vallabha). The reason for this indeterminate use of words is that the *Gītā* is not a systematic philosophical treatise like a *Kārikā*, but a developing dialogue. The terms used are imprecise, and are meaningful only in their particular context. In his introduction to the commentary on the *Gītā*, Śaṃkara says that the *Gītā* is 'difficult to understand' (*durvijñeya*), and that many people in order to discover its meaning laboriously studied it, but wrongly interpreted it, hence he had to write the commentary.

In the *Gītā* as in the Mbh we can perceive a transition from the non-dualistic Upaniṣads to dualistic Sāṁkhya. Here were possibly the beginnings of thought which later developed into 'Sāṁkhya philosophy.' But as Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has pointed out: 'The philosophy of the *Gītā* thus differs materially from the traditional Sāṁkhya philosophy on almost every point.'[1] The same is true of the Mbh. also. The several doctrines propounded by the sages show that it was a developing system and had not taken a definite shape.

We have given above in Chapter X a short account of Yoga as described in the Mbh. Later we shall explain the term *yoga* as used in the *Gītā*. It will be seen that neither text is based on Patañjali's YS, though there are common elements. It seems, therefore, that when the Mbh. and the *Gītā* were composed, speculation based on the Sāṁkhya doctrine was rife, and *yoga* practices were common, but neither had been systematized. Therefore all that can be said in this regard is that the doctrines preached in the Mbh. and the *Gītā* represent the metaphysical speculation of the age, and are not influenced by the Sāṁkhya and Yoga theories with which we are now familiar. These conclusions are to some extent supported by Manu whom we shall now consider.

Sāṁkhya and Manusmṛti

An account of creation is given by Manu: 'This (universe) existed in the shape of darkness, *unperceived*, *without any distinctive marks*, *unattainable* by dialectics, *unknowable* as it were in a state of deep sleep' (1.5). Commenting on this verse, Medhātithi says that throughout his work Manu has sometimes followed the Purāṇas and sometimes Sāṁkhya, while Kulluka identifies 'darkness' (*tamo*) with Prakṛti.[2] The commentators differ as to the meanings

[1] ibid, p. 477.

[2] G. Bühler in his note states that 'all the commentators except Rāghavānanda explain *tamaḥ* "darkness" by *mūlā-prakṛtiḥ* "the root-evolvent" of the Sāṁkhya philosophy.' G. Bühler, The Laws of Manu, *SBE*, XXV, fn. on 1.5. However, Medhātithi explains 'darkness' by quoting RV, X. 129.3 (*tamo āsit*). He then states that all the elements etc. were concealed in Prakṛti. The term *mūlā-prakṛti* is used only by Nandana.

of the four italicized adjectives given above, but as G. Bühler says, the most reasonable appears to be Kulluka, who assumes that the four words refer to the impossibility of attaining the knowledge of Prakṛti by the three means (perception, inference, and scripture, Manu, 12.105) and by *tarka* (dialectics). Rāghavānanda, however states that by *aprajñāta* (unperceived) Cārvāka, by *alakṣaṇam* (without any distinctive marks) the Sāṁkhya, by *apratarkya* the Naiyāyikas, and by *avijñeya* the *āgama-mata* and the Mīmāṁsā are refuted. It is, however, most unlikely that these schools were sufficiently important to be refuted in a Smṛti text when Manu wrote.

'Then indiscernible Bhagvān Svayambhū revealed this, the five great elements etc., by his irresistible power, dispelling the darkness.' (Manu, 1.6). Commenting on this verse, Kulluka quotes *Gītā*, 9.10 [cf. Mbh., 12.203.23-25] according which Prakṛti creates under the guidance of the Lord. However, other commentators differ, and it is difficult to render the verses here owing to their different interpretations. Hence for the rest of the verses dealing with evolution (Manu, 1.7-20) only a summary is given :

He then shone forth of his own will, and desirous of producing various types of beings from his own body, first produced water and therein placed his seed. The seed became a golden egg, in which he was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of the whole world. He is called Nārāyaṇa, since waters, designated as *nāras* (offspring of Nara) were his first place of residence.[1] From that yet unfolded first cause, which can neither be called *sat* nor *asat*, was produced a *puruṣa* (a male) who is called by the people Brahmā.[2] The divine one resided in that egg for one year, and then He divided it into two parts: out of the two parts he formed heaven and earth, between the middle sphere, the eight directions, and the abode of waters (the sea). From Himself He drew forth mind which is both *sat* (real) and *asat* (unreal), from mind *ahaṃkāra*, and the *mahat-ātman*, and all products produced by the combinations of the three *guṇas*, and the five organs which perceive the sense objects. He created all beings by joining the subtle particles of the (*ahaṃkāra and tanmātras*) with portions of himself . . . . But from minute body (-framing) particles of these seven very powerful *puruṣas* springs this (world), the perishable from the unperishable. Among them each succeeding (element) acquires the quality of the prceding one, and whatever place (in the sequence) each of them occupies, even so many qualitives it is declared to possess.[3]

[1]*Manu*, 1.10ab is same as *Mbh*, 12.328.35ab (*apo nāra* etc.). See also *Viṣṇu*, 1.4.5-6; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 1.5.5-6; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 44.4-5. MM. Kane (*HDK*, V. ii, p. 1516 fn.) states that 'it is obvious that the two Purāṇas borrow from some work probably from Manu.' We would venture to suggest that the Purāṇas borrowed from the Mbh.

[2]According to Medhātithi, Govindarāja, and Kulluka, 'who is *sat* (existent and real) because he can be known through the Veda and the Vedanta, but *asat* (non-existent and ueal), as it were, because he cannot be perceived by the senses.' Nandana, however, points out that *kāraṇam* means 'the Lord (Bhagavān) who is *sat*, that is efficient cause, and *asat* is the unreal product of the Prakṛti, the phenomenal world.'

[3]The quality of (1) sky is sound, (2) of air is sound and touch, (3) of fire is sound, touch, and form, (4) of water is sound, touch, form, and taste, (5) of earth is sound,

Manu's theory combines the ideas contained in RV, X. 129. 1-3, *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, XI. 1. 6.1, and *Chāndogya*, 3.19.1-2 (Golden Egg) with the Sāṁkhya categories of *tattvas* and *guṇas*. He has, however, inverted the precedence of mind, *ahaṃkāra*, and *mahat* in the process of evolution. This anomaly is explained by the commentators in two different ways which need not be discussed here.[1]

Manu has two other theories of evolution of which we need not notice the first (1.32-41). According to the other theory (1.74-78), after he awakes from his sleep, Brahmā creates (or 'appoints', Kulluka) his mind which impelled by his desire to create produces *ākāśa*, of which sound is the quality. The *ākāśa* modifying itself creates *vāyu* the vehicle of all perfumes and possessing the quality of touch. From *vāyu* arises the refulgent light which dispels darkness and possesses the quality of colour. From light is produced water possessing the quality of taste, and from water is produced earth which has the quality of smell. 'Such is the creation in the beginning (*ity=eṣā śṛstir=āditaḥ*).' This theory is again a modification of the Sāṁkhya doctrine, according to which all five elements are evolutes of *tanmātra*, which in its turn is evolved from *ahaṃkāra*; Brahmā of course has no place in Sāṁkhya. But though we have called it 'a modification' Manu came much earlier than Īśvarakṛṣṇa the author of the *Sāṁkhyakārikā*. It is therefore quite possible that he was recording a tradition current during his time, and that may be the reason for his giving three different accounts of creation: that is, he was recording three current traditions. We have seen the same tendency in the Mbh, only the epic ascribes the theories to their respective authors who are named, while Manu takes upon himself the responsibility of propounding three different views on the same subject.

Sāṁkhya in Caraka-saṃhitā

Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has given an account of the Sāṁkhya philosophy as found in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, a medical treatise, and has compared it with some of the Mbh passages quoted above. He does not say which is earlier, but states that the Sāṁkhya system of Caraka and the Mbh passages which describe Pañcaśikha's system appear to be fundamentally the same, and that this system 'is probably the earliest form of Sāṁkhya available to us in a systematic form.' He gives the date of Caraka as AD 78.[2] About the similarity of view between Caraka and Pañcaśikha of Mbh, there can be no doubt, but the date of Caraka is open to dispute.

Traditionally Caraka was the physician of Kaṇiṣka, hence his work may have been written about AD 78. But in the text itself it is stated that it was revised by one Dṛḍabala who admits to having written 17 out of 28 or 30 chapters of Book VI. Dṛḍabala has been ascribed to the 8th or the 9th century AD, and it has been held that even otherwise the work is not original

touch, form, taste, and smell. See *Mbh*, 3.202.4-6; and 6.6.3-7. *Manu* 1.10 states; 'Water is called "*nāra*," for water is the child of Nara (the Primal Puruṣa).'

[1]For a discussion of these commentators see G. Bühler, op. cit., and *HDK*, I.

[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 218. See also above I, pp. 194-95.

and appears to have been a revision. A.B. Keith concludes that Caraka 'develops a form of Sāṁkhya which has erroneously been regarded as old.' Hence we need not consider the *Caraka-saṃhitā* here.

Sāṁkhya in the Buddhacarita

Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddhacarita* (XIII. 17-40) mentions a dialogue between Ārāda and Gautama, the future Buddha. In course of this dialogue, Ārāda mentions *prakṛti*, five elements, *ahaṃkāra*, *buddhi*, the *indriyas*, sense-objects, mind, and *ksetrajña* as *ātman*. Nescience, actions, and desires are stated to be the cause of *saṃsāra*. The nescience has five aspects. Then he speaks of *brahmacarya* and of *mukti*, and states that Kapila and his pupil were enlightened as to these matters.

Sāṁkhya in the Purāṇas

Many Purāṇas deal at some length with the Sāṁkhya doctrine and use Sāṁkhya terminology, but a detailed discussion of such Purāṇa passages is not possible here.

The *Matsya* (3.14-29) begins with Prakṛti, *guṇas*, and all the twenty-five *tattvas*, and remarks that the three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara, though one, arose from the *guṇas*. At the end it states that Sāṁkhya is full of enumerations, and was proclaimed by Kapila. However, *Matsya*, 3.28 speaks of Maheśvara as the twenty-sixth *tattva*, thus transforming Sāṁkhya into a theistic doctrine. Similarly, the *Liṁga* (1.71.51) has a twenty-seventh *tattva*, who is the Lord of all.

The *Brahmapurāṇa* (1.33-35; 3-4, 242, 67-70, 76-85) recounts the *tattvas* from *prakṛti* to *ksetrajña*, and at the end remarks that the soul becomes *kevala* (free from all contacts, liberated) when it realizes the truth about itself, a doctrine which is preached in Sāṁkhya and Yoga. The *Padma* (*Pātālakhaṇḍa*, 85. 11-18, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, 2.88-103; 15.177-187) closely follow the *Sāṁkhyakārikā*. The *Kūrma* (1.4.13-35) states that Maheśvara enters Prakṛti and *puruṣa* and activates them. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* (42.32-62) describes creation with the help of Sāṁkhya terminologies. A more elaborate use of Sāṁkhya concepts has been made in the *Bhāgavata* of which an account has been given by Prof. S.N. Dasgupta.

SĀṀKHYA LITERATURE

According to hoary tradition, Kapila was the founder of the Sāṁkhya system. We have already seen that one Kapila is mentioned in *Śvetāśvatara* 5.2, but, probably this Kapila was not the founder of the Sāṁkhya system. In the Mbh several sages called Kapila are mentioned, and in 12.211.9, 12.326.64, and 12.330.29-30 Kapila is identified as the promulgator of the Sāṁkhya system. Kapila is also mentioned in Mbh, 12.327.64-66 as one of the seven ancient sages who knew Yoga and Sāṁkhya. The *Gītā*, 10.26 mentions Kapila

Muni as one of the *siddhas*. Kapila is also mentioned in several Purāṇas, and the *Bhāgavata* describes him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Through all these myths and legends Kapila appears as an historical person, and possibly his name was associated with the ancient city of Kapilavastu. His date is unknown, but he must have flourished before Buddha. The *sūtra* work ascribed to Kapila is very late, and cannot be his, but most probably he wrote a *sūtra* work which is now lost.

The earliest Sāṁkhya work now available is Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṁkhyakārikā* (SK) where the author states (SK, 70): 'This great purifying (doctrine) the sage compassionately imparted to Āsuri; Āsuri taught it to Pañcaśikha, by whom it was extensively propagated.' We have seen above that Mbh, 12.211.9 identifies Kapila as the founder of Sāṁkhya system, and then states (12.211.10) that Āsuri was his first disciple, and Āsuri's disciple was Pañcaśikha (12.211.14). According to Prof. Radhakrishnan 'Āsuri probably lived before 600 BC if he be one with the Āsuri of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.'[1] The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2.6.3) in its list of teachers mentions one Āsuri, a disciple of Bharadvāja, and in another line of teachers (6.5.2) mentions apparently another Āsuri a disciple of Yājñavalkya. It is difficult to identify any of these Āsuris with the Sāṁkhya teacher.

The *Māṭharavṛtti* on SK, 71 states that the following teachers flourished between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa: Bhārgava, Ulūka (Kauśika?), Vālmīki, Hārita, Devala and others, while a late commentary called the *Jayamaṅgalā* mentions Garga and Gautama as Sāṁkhya teachers after Pañcaśikha. The Sanskrit commentary reconstructed from the Chinese version of Paramārtha's work gives the following line of teachers and pupils from Pañcaśikha: Pañcaśikha—Gārgya—Ulūka—Vārṣagaṇa—Īśvarakṛṣṇa. It is apparent, therefore, that at least five or six teachers came between Āsuri and Pañcaśikha, while from a mutilated passage of the newly discovered *Yuktidīpikā* commentary on the SK, it appears that at least ten persons intervened between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

The *terminus ad quem* for the SK is provided by its commentary translated into Chinese by Paramārtha in AD 546. Dr. Belvalkar has shown that Paramārtha originally translated the *Māṭharavṛtti* (to which later accretions were made in Chinese) which cannot be placed later than AD 450, and Īśvarakṛṣṇa cannot be assigned to a date later than AD 250.[2] If we accept six teachers to have come between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa the former must have flourished in the 1st to 2nd century AD, and if ten teachers intervened between them, then Pañcaśikha must have flourished in 1st century BC.

The earliest commentary on the SK is the *Māṭharavṛtti* mentioned above. According to Prof. Belvalkar, Gauḍapāda's commentary, which we shall follow, is a simplified abridgement of the *Māṭharavṛtti*, which cannot be placed later than AD 450.

Another early commentary is the *Yuktidīpikā* mentioned above, by an un-

[1] S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., II, p. 254.
[2] S.K. Belvalkar, *ABORI*, V, pp. 131-61.

named author who flourished after AD 500, for he quotes Diṅnāga's definition of *pratyakṣa*.[1] The *Yuktidīpikā* is not mentioned by Vācaspati, but this negative evidence does not necessarily prove that it was written after Vācaspati's work, which on its part it does not mention. As a matter of fact, the *Yuktidīpikā* is not quoted in any other work. Its antiquity is proved by its citation of the differing opinions of several Sāṁkhya teachers who are not otherwise known. An author frequently quoted is Pañcādhikaraṇa, and another is Vārṣagaṇāḥ (in the plural), Vārṣagaṇa, and Vārṣagaṇavīra, all referring to the view of Vārṣagaṇas. Another authority quoted in the *Yuktidīpikā* is Paurika, who held that there was a separate *pradhāna* for each *puruṣa*. From these and several other characteristics it appears that the work was written before AD 700.

Buddhist sources give the name of an older contemporary of Vasubandhu (*c.* AD 320) named Vārṣagaṇya, who wrote a Sāṁkhya work called the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*. His pupil Vindhyavāsa is said to have corrected his master's views in a set of seventy verses known as the 'Golden Seventy Verses' which Vasubandhu criticized in his *Paramārthasaptati*. Formerly, some scholars were inclined to identify Vindhyavāsa or Vindhyavāsin with Īśvarakṛṣṇa, but this view has been shown to be untenable. The existence of a Sāṁkhya teacher called Vindhyavāsa, however, is undeniable, and his views about the existence of *ativāhika* body after a man's death is mentioned by Kumārila in the *Ślokavārtika*.[2] The concluding verse of the SK mentions the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* which possibly means the lost text which dealt with sixty topics.[3]

About the commentaries on the SK, the *Māṭharavṛtti* has been mentioned above. Gauḍapāda's commentary may have been an abridgement of this work. There is a sub-commentary on Gauḍapāda's work by Nārāyaṇa. Another commentary on the SK was written by Vācaspati Miśra known as the *Sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī*.

Vācaspati was one of the greatest philosophers of ancient India. He wrote standard commentaries on Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, and Vedānta. At the end of his *Bhāmatī* commentary on Śaṃkara's *Śārīrakabhāṣya*, he states that he wrote under the patronage of one king Nṛga. No king of this name is known from any other source, but one is tempted to identify this Nṛga with the Sapādalakṣa Cāhamāna king Nṛpa. But Nṛpa flourished in the later half of the 7th century AD, while Vācaspati came much later. Vācaspati reveals his date at the end of his *Nyāyasūcī-nibandhamālā*, where he states that it was composed in the year *vasv-aṁka-vasu*, that is year 898, which may either be

[1] *Yuktidīpikā*, ed. by Pulinbihari Chakravarti, Calcutta, 1938, p. 39.

[2] Quoted in *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1376.

[3] The verse states: 'The subjects dealt with in seventy stanzas comprise the whole [science] consisting of sixty topics (or "dealt with in the *Saṣṭitantra*") excluding anecdotes as well as controversial matters.' The no. of this verse is 72, though it speaks of seventy verses only. Gauḍapāda ends his commentary with verse no. 69, but Lokamānya Tilak reconstructed another verse from Gauḍapāda's comments on verse no. 69, which would be the 70th verse. *Gītārahasya*, Bengali, p. 169 fn.

in Vikrama Sāmvat or in the Śaka era. However, Abhinanda the author of the *Nyāyamañjarī* has quoted Vācaspati several times, and Abhinanda's son Jayanta declares himself to have been Rājaśekhara's contemporary. Rājaśekhara was the contemporary of the Pratīhāra emperors Mahendrapāla (*c.* AD 892-910) and Mahīpāla (*c.* AD 914-942), hence he must have flourished between AD 875-950. Therefore his contemporary's father Abhinanda must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century. If the year 898 is taken as a Śaka year, its equivalent Christian year would be 976, which is impossible. Hence it must be taken as a Vikrama year, which is equivalent to AD 841.

The other Sāṁkhya text is the *Sāṁkhyasūtra* (SS) attributed to Kapila. It is, however, quite certain that it is not the text written by the traditional founder of the Sāṁkhya system. It is quite a late text, and is noticed neither by Vācaspati, nor by Mādhava in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*. Hence it seems to have been written after AD 1350 but before *c.* AD 1450 when Aniruddha wrote a commentary on it.

More important than Aniruddha's is the commentary by Vijñānabhikṣu (*c.* AD 1590) called the *Sāṁkhyapravacanabhāṣya* in which the commentator seeks to deal with Sāṁkhya not as opposed to Vedānta but as representing an aspect of the truth of the system. Vijñānabhikṣu's important contribution is that he clarifies certain topics on which Vācaspati is silent (such as the *guṇas*) and at some places he contradicts Vācaspati; it is difficult to say who is right.[1]

Another text called the *Tattva-samāsa* of twenty-two *sūtras* is also ascribed to Kapila on which Vijñānabhikṣu wrote a commentary called the *Dīpikā*. Vijñānabhiksu wrote another elementary work on Sāṁkhya called the *Sāṁkhya-sāra*. Neither of these two works is considered to be of any importance.

Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* (YS) has already been mentioned above in Chapter X, where it has been stated that Patañjali of the YS and the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* were most probably identical. The Suṅga Puṣyamitra's accession which took place about 186 BC is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but Patañjali flourished a little later, that is, about *c.* 150 BC.[2]

It has been stated above in Chapter X, that though Patañjali systematized the technique, of *yoga*, it had been practised since centuries before Patañjali. It seems that the case of Sāṁkhya was similar. Beginnings of Sāṁkhya doctrine, as we have seen, can be traced to hoary antiquity. Īśvarakṛṣṇa presupposes an older text on which his *Kārikā* was based. But that text has not been found; nor have we received the teachings of Pañcaśikha, which must have been very celebrated and possibly formed the basis of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's work. In the absence of such pioneer works, it may be said that Īśvarakṛṣṇa performed for Sāṁkhya the service which Patañjali rendered to *yoga*.

[1]For a comparison between Vācaspati and Vijñānabhikṣu see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., at I, pp. 222-26. For Vijñānabhikṣu's philosophy see ibid, III, pp. 445-95.

[2]See above I, pp. 166 and 172.

SĀṀKHYA

We shall now proceed to discuss the Sāṁkhya philosophy mainly on the basis of the SK and the SS and their commentaries. But before proceeding further it is necessary to give a short account of the Sāṁkhya principle of causation which provides the arguments by which this system arrives at the dualism of Prakṛti and *puruṣa*.

Theory of Causality

We have seen that according to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, cause and effect are two distinct concepts bound together by a mysterious tie of relationship. But they maintain that though there is absolute difference (*atyanta-bheda*) between the (material) cause and the effect, the effect inheres in the cause during its existence. Even when the effect does not exist, that is before its production (*prāg-abhāva*) and after its destruction (*dhvaṁs-ābhāva*), its non-existence is predicable to its cause alone. It is asserted that it is the nature of the effect to be thus intimately related to its own material cause, which being an ultimate fact has to be accepted as such.

Sāṁkhya rejects this theory, and holds that the effect, in so far as its essence is concerned, is identical with the (material) cause which produced it. The so-called production and destruction do not really mean that the product comes into existence and passes away into non-existence. Prakṛti is the ultimate material cause, and every product, according to Sāṁkhya, is an aspect of Prakṛti, and creation out of nothing and annihilation are absurdities. Production is differentiation, and dissolution is reintegration, and the process is conceived as transition from an unmanifest to a manifest state, and then back to the unmanifest state. This theory is known as *sat-kārya-vāda*.[1]

Sat-kārya-vāda is formulated in SK, 9, and SS, 1.114-118 and is explained by the commentators of the SK as follows:

1. A non-existent object like the sky-flower cannot be produced, hence *asat* (non-existent) cannot be the object of *kāraka-vyāpāra* (causal operation).

2. Every material (*upādāna*) is not by nature capable of producing every effect: production of oil from sand is impossible. Hence effect subsist in the cause like oil in the oil-seed.

3. If the subsistence of relation between the material and the effect is not admitted, it would imply that any material could produce any cause which is absurd.

4. Causal efficiency belongs to that which has the necessary potency (*śakti*, SS, 1.117). This is stated to answer the Mīmāṁsakas who argue that before origination an effect is non-existent (*asat*), therefore the cause is unrelated to the effect; but the cause possesses a *śakti* favourable to a certain effect, and

[1] *Sat-kārya* has been rendered by Lassen as 'existent effect prior to the exercise of (efficient) cause.'

does produce that effect. The material, however, must have a particular *śakti* to produce a particular effect.

5. The effect is not different from the cause (*karaṇābhāvat*, SS, 1.118). If the cause be *sat* (existent) it cannot be maintained that the effect which is only a mode of the cause is *asat* (non-existent). Causal relation cannot subsist between objects essentially different from one another.

This theory is explained in a slightly different manner in YS, 3.13-15 as the relation between *dharmin* and its *dharma*. Clay is the *dharmin* (cause) the pot is its *dharma* (mode), that is, an aspect of the cause.[1] Clay changes into *dharma*, and becomes the pot; when the pot is broken and pounded, the pot is past *dharma*, and its pieces are present *dharma*. A *dharmin* can have many *dharmas*, but only one is manifest. Thus matter is *dharmin* and its form the *dharma*, and a true causal relation is the relation of the form to the matter. Hence the word 'cause' would mean 'a necessary pre-condition of a subsequent event.' The Buddhists, Naiyāyikas, and the Vaiśeṣikas believe that the product has no existence prior to its origination, which is thus refuted by Sāṁkhya and Yoga.

The ultimate *dharmin*, according to Sāṁkhya and Yoga is the unmanifest Prakṛti whose infinite modes (*vikāra*) are the infinite *dharmas*, of which those that are present to our consciousness are called 'present,' and the rest are characterized as 'past' or 'future.' The *Bhāṣya* on YS, 3.13 says that *pariṇāma* means disappearance of one *dharma* followed by the appearance of another within the same subject or *dharmin*. *Pariṇāma* is conceived as a ceaseless stream in which every thing is carried away from the future through the present into the past. But the future (*anāgata*) and the past (*atīta*) being nothing but unmanifest Prakṛti, every *pariṇāma* is a passage from the unmanifest into manifestation and return into the unmanifest.

It is admitted, however, that though the effect is potentially contained in the cause, this potentiality is not actualized all at once, and something else is necessary to liberate the effect from its causal state. This is explained in the *Bhāṣya* on YS, 4.3 by the following illustration: 'Water naturally flows into a field when the cultivator removes the impediments (like a dyke by breaching it),' similarly the effectuating condition (*nimitta*) acts upon the material causes (*upādāna*).

Since all things are modifications of Prakṛti, any cause should produce any effect if the obstructing barriers of that particular effect are removed. We know, however, that a plant cannot grow on a tree. This is explained as follows in the *Bhāṣya* on YS, 3.14: 'Some concomitant factors are needed to actualize the potentiality. These are *deśa* (*place*), *kāla* (time), and *ākāra*

[1]'In the technical nomenclature of Indian philosophy the term *dharmin* bears the sense of "substrate, subject, that in which something is held, that of which something is predicated" and *dharma* means the "aspect of *dharmin*, predicate, content" and so forth. All predication, and therefore all judgement involves the affirmation (*vidhāna*) or denial (*niṣedha*) of a particular *dharma* with reference to a particular *dharmin*.' G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 94.

(constitution of a thing). Vācaspati explains that saffron is produced only in Kashmir, there are no rains in summer, and deer does not give birth to a human being. The *yogins* can remove these elemental barriers (YS, 44).

Prakṛti

Prakṛti is also known as Avyakta and Pradhāna. It has been stated above that according to Sāṁkhya, there are twenty-five elements of which the basis of the first twenty-four is Prakṛti or Mūlāprakṛti. According to the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* 'it evolves hence it is called Prakṛti or evolvent' (*prakarot =īti Prakṛtiḥ*).[1] The SS, 1.67 says that Prakṛti is the root (*mūla*) of twenty-three categories, but it has no root, that is, it does not evolve from anything (*mūle mūlābhāvād amūlaṁ mūlam*). The SK, 15-16 advances the following arguments to prove the existence of Prakṛti :

1. *Bhedānāṁ parimāṇāt:* 'Since the specific objects are finite,' wherever limitations or finitudes are observed, there must be a cause which is unlimited; finite as cause of the finite cannot be the cause of the universe.

2. *Samanvayāt:* 'Since there is homogeneousness', all individual things possess certain common characteristics which imply a common source of origin.

3. *Śaktitaḥ pravṛtteś=ca:* 'Since effect exists through energy': in life activity is linked with effectiveness; a potter makes a jar, not a piece of cloth.

4. *Kāraṇa kārya vibhāgād:* 'Since there is a difference between effect and a cause': a jar can hold curd, honey, milk etc., not so its cause, the lump of clay. But the lump of clay produces the jar, not the jar the lump of clay. Therefore, it cannot be said that the finite world is its own cause.

5. *Vaiśvarūpasya:* 'Since the world is undivided': the universe which is the abstract total of the manifest cosmic forms is undivided, and at the time of dissolution there is non-existence of the universe consisting of the three worlds. 'It should not be said that Brahmā is the cause, and that Prakṛti should not be postulated. It is, in short, more proper to conceive Prakṛti as a force than to conceive of causality in the form of a thing possessed of force.'[2] (Nārāyaṇa).

The world is the *pariṇāma* or transformation of the Undiscrete (Avyakta) Prakṛti, which by mixture and modification like water (in various receptacles) assumes different and diverse forms.

The differences between Prakṛti and the evolutes bring out Her essential characteristics and are set out in SK, 10 which says :

[1]The term 'evolvent' was used by E.B. Cowell in *SDS* (p. 221), who pointed out that he borrowed it from Dr. Hall.

[2]Commenting of *SK* 16, H.H. Wilson points out that according to Cudworth (Intellect System, III, 426) 'the Italic philosophers maintained that the forms and qualities of bodies were only modifications of primary matter.' *Sāṁkhyakārikā*, tr. by H.T. Coleridge with Gauḍapāda's commentary tr. by H.H. Wilson with a Bengali tr. by Debendra Nath Goswami, Calcutta, 1889, p. 54.

'A discrete principle or the manifested is the result of a cause, non-eternal (*anitya*), non-pervading (*avyāpī*, i.e., not like Prakṛti and *puruṣa* which are all-pervading), mutable (*sakriyam*, subject to the changes the world undergoes), dependent (*āśrita*, on its cause) mergent (*liṁgam* i.e., *layayuktam*, perishable at the time of dissolution), conjunct (*sāvayavam*, made up of parts, such as sound, touch, taste, form and smell), and subordinate (*paratantra*; *buddhi* is governed by Prakṛti, *aham* by *buddhi* and so on). The undiscrete one is the reverse. That is, the properties of Prakṛti or Avyakta are the reverse of those mentioned above. Prakṛti has no cause, and no end. She is omnipresent, immutable, single, and self-sustained. She is the subject and never the predicate. Prakṛti is so subtle (*sūkṣma*) that it cannot be perceived. Secondly, as soon as *puruṣa* knows the real nature of Prakṛti, he is separated from Her, hence perception can never take place.

Guṇas

SS 1.61 says: *sattva-rajas-tamasāṁ sāmyāvasthā Prakṛtiḥ*.....(Prakṛti is the state of equilibrium of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*). SK 16 says that Prakṛti operates by means of three *guṇas*, which are *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. That is, when the state of equilibrium of the three *guṇas* is disturbed (*guṇa-kṣobha*), Prakṛti begins to operate.

Commenting on SS, 1.61, Vijñānabhikṣu says that these *guṇas* are *dravyas*, unlike the Vaiśeṣika *guṇas* which being qualities must have a locus, and unlike them the Sāṁkhya *guṇas* possess the properties of lightness, activity etc. The *guṇas* seemingly associate with *puruṣa*, but they are not the *puruṣa's* qualities, and since they dissociate from *puruṣa* at the time of deliverance they are not in a relation of inherence with *puruṣa*. In the *Yogavārttika* (pp. 260-61) Vijñānabhikṣu shows that the only possible cause of *pravṛtti* in Prakrti is due to the nature of the *guṇas*. This is also stated in the *Bhāṣya* on YS, 3.13 which states: 'It is said that the nature of the *guṇas* is to cause *pravṛtti*', and Bhoja, commenting on the same *sūtra* says that by nature the *guṇas* cannot remain stable even for a moment.

The *guṇas* are infinite in number, but in accordance with their three main characteristics they have been arranged in three classes or types, called *sattva* (intelligence-stuff), *rajas* (energy-stuff), and *tamas* (mass-stuff). The totality of the *guṇas* in the universe remains always constant; it is only the changes or differences in their collocation or aggregation which are responsible for the diversity of phenomenon and objects.

'The *guṇas* are always uniting, separating, uniting again. Everything in the world results from their peculiar arrangement and combination. Varying quantities of Essence [*sattva*], Energy [*rajas*] and Mass [*tamas*], in varied groupings, act on one another, and through their mutual interaction and interdependence evolve from the indefinite or qualitatively indeterminate to the definite or qualitatively determinate. But though co-operating to produce the world of effects, these diverse moments with diverse tendencies never coalesce. In the phenomenal product whatever energy there is, is due to the element of *rajas*, and *rajas* alone; all matter, resistance, stability is due

to *tamas*; and all conscious manifestation to *sattva*.'[1]

The word *guṇa* has several meanings in Sanskrit, but in the present context it means 'a component factor', or 'a constituent of Prakṛti.' Though not mechanically placed together, they cannot be separated, and form a unity in trinity. They not only co-exist, they also cohere. From the standpoint of the experiencing mind, they are described as of the nature of pleasure (*sukha: sattva*), pain (*duḥkha: rajas*) and delusion (*moha: tamas*).

Evolution

We have seen that during the period of dissolution (*pralaya*) the three *guṇas* lie in a state of equilibrium in Prakṛti. Evolution begins when the three *guṇas* are activated to differentiate themselves (SS, 6.42). Even in the state of dissolution, Prakṛti does not cease to be dynamic. But then the *guṇas* constantly reproduce themselves (*sadṛśa-pariṇāma*) instead of acting on each other and giving rise to a heterogeneous transformation (*visadṛśa-pariṇāma*) resulting in the gradual evolution of the universe.

The first evolute is *mahat* (great) also known as *buddhi*. The term *mahat* usually refers to the cosmic consciousness or intellect while *buddhi* refers to the psychological counterpart relative to each individual. SK, 23 and SS, 2.13 say that 'intellect is determination' (*adhyāvasāyo buddhiḥ*). When affected by *sattva* its modes are virtue, knowledge, dispassion, and power, when affected by *tamas* they are the reverse.

The function of intellect is to ascertain or apprehend an object in such a way as to render it fit for experience by the *puruṣa*. Commenting on SK, 23, Gauḍapāda explains virtue as comprising of *yama* and *niyama* and quotes YS 2.30 and 32 where these terms are explained. 'Knowledge' is of two kinds, external and internal, and power is of eight kinds as explained in the YS.

From *mahat*, *ahaṃkāra* is evolved. *Ahaṃkāra* is defined as *abhimāna* ('the act of referring all subjects to self,' SK, 24, SS, 2.16). Just as *kumbhakāra* (potter) means 'one who makes pot (*kumbha*)', so does *ahaṃkāra* mean that internal faculty which induces the feeling of *ahaṃ* (ego).[2] Just as a seed can be differentiated into seedling and tree, so is one *antaḥkaraṇa* differentiated into *mahat* and *ahaṃkāra*.

Ahaṃkāra is of three kinds, depending on the preponderance of the particular *guṇa*. Thus when *tamas* prevails it is *tāmasika ahaṃkara* or *bhūtādi*, when *rajas* prevails it is *rājasika ahaṃkāra*, and when *sattva* prevails it is *sāttvika ahaṃkara*. From *sāttvika ahaṃkāra* arises mind (*manas*), which is included among the *indriyas*. From the *rājasika ahaṃkāra* arises ten *indriyas*,

[1]B.N. Seal, The Psychological Theories of the Ancient Hindus; Appendix, in P.C. Ray, *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 245-46.

[2]H.T. Colebrooke translated it as 'consciousness is egotism', but 'consciousness' is really *buddhi*, egotism being 'the consciousness of "I",' and S.C. Banerji has translated it as 'self-apperception is egoism.' It seems, however, that *abhimāna* should really mean 'conception of all objects with reference to one's self.' *Mahat* may be said to induce the determined consciousness of existence, and *abhimāna* the realization of 'I' and 'that.'

and from the *tāmasika ahaṃkāra* five *tanmātras*.[1]

As stated above, of the ten *indriyas*, the following five are organs of sense: the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin. Of these touch and sight apprehend objects also, the rest perceive only the attributes. The senses are carefully distinguished from the organs in which they are supposed to reside. When an object is touched with the hand, it is not the hand which feels but something else, the hand being nothing more than a medium. Hence the SS, 2.23 says: 'The sense is supersensuous: [it being the notion] of mistaken persons [that sense exists] in [identity with] its abode.'

Manas (mind) partakes of the nature of both the organs of sense and of the organs of action. It synthesizes the experiences derived through the *indriyas* of which it is cognate. Vijñānabhikṣu explains (on SS, 2.27) that the same person in contact with a woman becomes libidinous, while in company of a chaste person becomes dispassionate, so is the mind. The *indriyas* are *the instruments* for registering experience, just as an axe is the instrument for felling a tree. Of the *indriyas*, mind is the chief, just as among the many ministers of a king one is chief (SS, 2.39-40 and 47).

The *tanmātras*, as stated above, are evolved from *tāmasika ahaṃkāra*, but there is an intermediate stage between the two known as *bhūtādi*. Writing on 'The Evolution of Matter (Tanmatric Creation)' Dr. Seal writes :

'The ultimate constitution of Matter is a question of the profoundest interest in the Sāṁkhya-Pātañjala system. Three stages clearly stand out in the genesis of matter:—(1) the original infinitesimal units of Mass or inertia, absolutely homogeneous and ubiquitous, on which Energy does work, when the original equilibrium comes to an end,— (*bhūtādi*); (2) the infra-atomic unit potentials, charged with different kinds of Energy, which result from the action of Energy on the original units of Mass,— (*tanmātra*); and (3) the five different classes of atoms, the minutest divisions, of which gross matter is capable, but which are themselves complex *tanmātric* systems,—(*sthūlabhūta paramāṇu*).

'The first stadium *bhūtādi* is absolutely homogeneous and absolutely inert, being devoid of all physical and chemical characters except quantum or mass (*paricchinnatva*, *parimāna*); and this admits neither of addition nor of substraction, can neither be created nor destroyed. The second stadium *tanmātra* represents subtile matter, vibratory, impingent, radiant etc., instinct with potential energy. These potentials arise from the unequal aggregations of the original mass-units in different proportions and collocations with an unequal distribution of the original Energy (*rajas*). The *tanmātras* possess something more than quantum of Mass and Energy. They possess physical characters, some of them penetrability, others powers of impact or pressure others radiant heat, others again capability of viscous and cohesive attraction. In intimate relation to these physical characters they also possess the potentials of energies represented by sound, touch, colour, taste and smell,

[1]We are following Vijñānabhikṣu's interpretation of SS, 2. 18 in which he quotes SK, 25. The word '*ekadaśaka*' is used in SK, 25 quoted by Bhikṣu, and it seems that he correctly interprets it as 'eleventh.' Vyāsa on YS, 2.19 also describes *manas* as 'eleventh',

but being subtile matter they are devoid of the peculiar forms which these potentials assume in particles of gross matter like the atoms and their aggregates. In other words, the potentials lodged in subtile matter must undergo peculiar transformations by new groupings or collocations to be classed among sensory stimuli,—gross matter being supposed to be matter endowed with properties of the class of sensory stimuli, though in the minutest particles thereof the sensory stimuli may be infra-sensible.'[1]

The *tanmātras*, then, are infra-atomic particles charged with specific potential energies. Besides the quantum of mass and energy, the *tanmātras* possess the potentials of the energies represented by sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell, but being subtle matter, they do not have the peculiar forms which these 'potentials' assume in particles of gross matter like the atoms and their aggregates.

There are five *tanmātras*: *śabda* (sound), *sparśa* (touch), *rūpa* (form), *rasa* (taste), and *gandha* (smell). They in their turn generate the five *mahā-bhūtas* (elements): *ākāśa* (space), *vāyu* (air), *tejas* (fire), *ap* (water), and *kṣiti* (earth). *Ākāśa* possesses penetrability, *vāyu* impact or mechanical pressure, *tejas* radiant heat or light, *ap* viscocity, and *kṣiti* solidity and cohesion. Of these *śabda* or *ākāsa tanmātra* (the sound potential) is first generated from the *bhūtādi*. *Ākāśa* is the link between *bhūtādi* and the *tanmātras*, and from the *tanmātras* to the atomic production. There are two kinds of *ākāśas*, namely, *kāraṇākaśa* and *kāryākāśa*. The *kāraṇākaśa*, which is non-atomic, and all pervasive is the formless *tamas*, and is neither a mere negation nor a vacuum. In association with energy this *kāraṇākāśa* gives rise to the *śabda-tanmātra* or the sound-potential. The integration of the *śabda-tanmātra* with the *kāraṇākaśa* produces the *kāryākaśa*, which is held up in the original *karaṇākaśa* as the medium for the development of *vāyu* atoms. The difference between *tanmātras* or infra-atomic particles and atoms (*paramāṇu*) is that the *tanmātras* have only the potential power of affecting our senses, but in order to affect our senses, they have to be regrouped in a particular form and assume new existence as atoms.

The *śabda-tanmātra* with accretion from *bhūtādi* generates *ākāśa* atoms. The *sparśa-tanmātra* combines with *śabda-tanmātra* to generate the *vāyu*--atom. The *rūpa-tanmātra* combines with *śabda*—and *sparśa-tanmātras* to generate the *tejas* atom. The *rasa-tanmātra* combines with *śabda*—, *sparśa-*,—and *rūpa tanmātras* to produce the *ap* atom, and the *gandha-tanmātra* combines with the other four to produce the earth atom.[2] It will be observed that the grossness of an element depends and varies with the number of its constituent *tanmātra*.

Ahaṃkāra and the five *tanmātras* are called *aviśeṣa* (indeterminate, SK, 38; SS, 3.1) because they are further differentiated, the formation of newer

[1]B.N. Seal, op. cit., pp. 258-59. S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., II, p. 264 fn. 1 doubts the validity of Dr. Seal's interpretation of Sāṁkhya, but S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 251 ff., accepts Dr. Seal's interpretation.

[2]For details see B.N. Seal, op. cit., pp. 263-66. Dr. Seal has given interesting diagrams. The scheme of mixing the *tanmātras* is given in Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya* on YS, 2.19.

categories of existence is possible. The eleven *indriyas* and the five elemnets are called *viśeṣa* (determinate) for they cannot be further differentiated to form new elements. Here Prakṛti reaches Her limit of evolution. Qualitative changes take place in the elements, but such changes cannot form a newer category of existence and do not constitute a process of evolution. The difference between one thing and another is that its collocation of atoms or the groupings or arrangement of atoms of one is different from another.

Time

The YS, 3.52 states: 'By constraint (*saṃyama*) upon moments (*kṣaṇa*) and their sequence (or succession arises) knowledge due to discrimination.' The *Bhāṣya* explains: 'Just as an atom is substance or matter (*dravya*) reaching the limit of minuteness, so a *ksaṇa* (moment) is the time that reaches the highest limit of minuteness, or a *kṣaṇa* is time taken by an atom in leaving the position in space it occupies or the time taken in reaching the next point in space; *krama* (sequence) is the non-cessation of the flow of moments; moments and their succession do not form a collection (or combination) of actual (or perceptible) things. Muhūrta (30th part of a day and night), day and night, and others are combinations made by the mind (or by mental conceptions). This time, though devoid of being a real thing by itself, is indeed only a creation of mental conceptions and results from the knowledge derived from words (alone) and appears as if it were an actual object to ordinary people whose doctrines are divergent (or confused). But *kṣaṇa* (moment) falling among (i.e., being mixed up with) real perceptible things appears (to the human mind) as dependent on or constituting sequence (or succession). *Krama* (sequence) is of the nature of uninterrupted succession. The sequence is called *kāla* by *yogins* who know (the nature of) time. For, two *kṣaṇas* cannot exist together (simultaneously). It is impossible that there should be a sequence of two moments that exist simultaneously. When a later moment comes after an earlier one without interruption, that is called *krama*. In the present there is only one moment, and there are no earlier and later moments in the present. Therefore there can be no combination of two moments (in reality). But those moments that that have passed away and those that are yet to come are to be interpreted or described as connected with the (constant) flux of changes (in world). Therefore the whole world experiences change in each single moment. So all these (external) aspects of the world are dependent on one moment (in the present).'

On this MM. Kane observes: 'This disquisition shows that the Yogasūtra and its *bhāṣya* held that time was not a *dravya* and not a tangible reality, but that it was merely a word, a mental concept inseparable from the perception or experience of physical objects as a characteristic (*viśeṣaṇa* or *upādhi*), that it attaches itself to the changing realities, that we measure it according to the movements of or changes in things and that it was not merely a hare's horn.'[1]

[1] *HDK*, V. i, p. 472. The translation of this passage from the *Bhāṣya* is by MM. Kane,

Puruṣa

The process of evolution begins when the state of equilibrium of the three *guṇas* in Prakṛti is disturbed by the transcendental influence of *puruṣa*. According to the *Bhāṣya* on YS, 1.9 '*puruṣa* is essentially conscious (*caitanyaṁ puruṣasya svarūpam*); it also says: 'Verily, *puruṣa* is consciousness' (*citir=eva puruṣaḥ*); '*puruṣa* is attributeless and inactive' (*pratiṣiddha-vastu-dharmā niṣkriyaḥ puruṣaḥ*).[1]

Sāṁkhya establishes the existence of *puruṣa* through inference. SK, 17 (and SS, 1.139-144) say that 'since collocation serve a purpose other than themselves, since this other must be the reverse of what is constituted by the three *guṇas* etc., since there must be control of the collocations, since there must be an experiencer (*bhoktṛ*), and since there is a striving for release, [therefore] the *puruṣa* exists.[2]

The distinction between *puruṣa* and Prakṛti and Her evolutes is given in SK, 11 which says that the manifold (i.e., material world) and Prakṛti are constituted of three *guṇas*, are indiscriminative (*avivekī*), objective, generic, unconscious (*acetana*), and productive (*prasava-dharmī*); *pumān* (i.e., *puruṣa*) is the reverse in these respects. That is, *puruṣa* is *vivekī*, cannot be an object of experience, is not common to all like Prakṛti (which is compared to a harlot), is conscious, and does not evolve nor produce anything.

There are innumerable *puruṣas*. Had there been only one *puruṣa*, then all persons would have born and died at the same time, or would have had similar defective organs. This is also proved by the fact that their activities are not simultaneous, nor of the same type (SK, 18, SS, 1.150-157). Commenting on SS, 6.63, Vijñānabhikṣu says that *puruṣa* with *ahaṁkāra* is *jīva*, who is distinguished by the conjunction of the senses and is limited by the body. The SK, 19 says that the *puruṣa* is a *sākṣī* (witness), solitary, bystander, spectator, and passive. The three *guṇas* engage in action in the relation of agent and act; not *puruṣa*.

Puruṣa is the seer (*draṣṭā*). The nature and function of *buddhi* is to screen all impressions (which are called *dṛśya*), or objects of perception. Just as a magnet attracts an inert piece of iron, so does the reflecting *buddhi* attract the seer *puruṣa* on to its plane of vision producing an effect of apparent union (*Bhaṣya* on YS, 2.17).

Sāṁkhya recognizes two bodies, the subtle and the gross (SK, 40-41; SS, 3.9-17). The subtle body is made up of eleven *indriyas*, five *tanmātras*, and

ibid, pp. 471-72.

[1] *Caitanya* and *citi* may also be rendered as 'intelligence.' But having rendered *mahat* and *buddhi* as 'intelligence' it seems preferable to use 'consciousness' in respect to *puruṣa*, who alone has the capability or capacity of experiencing.

[2] *Bhoga* is usually rendered as 'enjoyment' and *bhoktṛ* as 'enjoyer', but it seems that 'experience' and 'experiencer' are more appropriate, for *bhoga* also includes 'suffering' which induces a *puruṣa* to seek release from Prakṛti. According to D.D. Vadekar, 'The Sāṁkhya Arguments for the Puruṣa', *Philosophical Quarterly*, January, 1930; SK, 17 fails to prove the existence of *puruṣa*. This view has been refuted by Dr. Anima Sen Gupta, *Essays on Sāṁkhya and other Systems of Indian Philosophy*, Kanpur, 1964, pp. 28-36.

buddhi which includes *ahaṃkāra*. The subtle body is called *liṁga* or 'mark,' because it bears the mark of a *puruṣa*, which distinguishes it from other *puruṣas*. The subtle body is the basis of rebirth as well as of personal identity in *puruṣa's* various existences. So long as this body remains, there will be repeated births and deaths.

The gross body is made up of the five elements, serves the subtle body in the same manner as a frame serves a picture. What supports the subtle body when the gross body is destroyed after death? Vijñānabhikṣu (on SS, 3.11-12) conceives of a third body composed of eleven *indriyas* and *buddhi* which is supported by the five *tanmātras* after the dissolution of the gross body.[1]

Puruṣa and Prakṛti

Puruṣa is not an agent (*kartā*), but he appears as an agent through confusion with the agency of Prakṛti, just as Prakṛti through Her proximity to *puruṣa* appears to be conscious (SK, 20). *Puruṣa* is always free (SS, 1.161-163), but is in apparent bondage due to its association with Prakṛti. The aim of Sāṁkhya and Yoga is to severe the bond between *puruṣa* and Prakṛti.

The union of *puruṣa* and Prakṛti has been compared with the teaming of a lame and a blind man (SK, 21). Commenting on this *Kārikā* Gauḍapāda says: 'As a lame man and a blind man deserted by their fellow travellers, who in making their way with difficulty through a forest had been dispersed by robbers, happening to encounter each other and entering into conversation so as to inspire mutual confidence, agreed to divide between them the duties of walking and of seeing; accordingly the lame man was mounted on the blind man's shoulders, and was thus carried on his journey, whilst the blind man was enabled to pursue his route by the direction of his companion. In the same manner the faculty of seeing is in soul [*puruṣa*], not that of moving; it is like the lame man: the faculty of moving but not of seeing is in nature [Prakṛti] which resembles, therefore, the blind man. Further as a separation takes place between the lame man and the blind man, when their mutual object is accomplished and they have reached their journey's end, so nature [Prakṛti], having effected the liberation of the soul [*puruṣasya mokṣaṁ kṛtvā*] ceases to act; and soul [*puruṣa*], having contemplated nature Prakṛti] obtains abstractedness [*kaivalyaṁ gacchati*]; and consequently, their respective purposes being effected, the connexion between them is dissolved.'[2]

The YS, 2 20-25 says almost the same thing in different words: '*Draṣṭā* (*seer*) *puruṣa* is intelligence only, and though pure, sees through the colouring of the intellect, and the experience is for him; association of *puruṣa* and Prakṛti causes the realization of both, the association being due to *avidyā* (nescience). In the absence of *avidyā*, the association comes to an end, and

[1]Medhātithi on *Manu*, 12.13 quotes *SK*, 40 and states that the term *jīva* used by Manu is understood by some as the *liṁga-śarīra*, but others consider *jīva* to be constituted of *manas*, *buddhi*, and *ahaṃkāra*. For Vedānta view see Br.S. 3.1.1-7; *Śvetāśvatara*, 1.13, *Maitri*, 6.10, 6.19. For the behaviour of *liṁga-śarīra* see *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 6.1.49-51.

[2]Tr. by H.H. Wilson, op. cit.

the *puruṣa* attains *kaivalya* (perfect isolation).' *Avidyā* has been explained by Vyāsa (on YS, 2.24) as *viparyaya-jñāna*, which is explained in YS, 1.8 as 'false knowledge not established in real nature.' *Avidyā* is the first *kleśa* mentioned in YS, 2.3-4, where it is explained that *avidyā* generates the other *kleśās*, namely egoism, attachment, aversion, and clinging to life, whether they are dormant, attenuated, over-powered, or expanded.

According to YS, 4.29-34 and *Bhāṣya*, the stage of *yoga* in which a *yogin* is able to discriminate between his self and non-self is called *prasaṃkhyāna*. When the *yogin* is indifferent even to *prasaṃkhyāna* he attains the *dharma-megha samādhi* in which all his *kleśas* and *karmans* come to an end. The *guṇas* then cease to operate, and the *puruṣa* attains *kaivalya*, that is, perfect detachment of the *puruṣa* from Prakṛti.[1]

SK, 58 says that Prakṛti being led by the desire that She should effect the object of the *puruṣa*, sets about to that end. And then the next *kārikā* (SK, 59) says: 'As a dancer, having exhibited herself to the audience (*raṅga*), desists from the dance, so does Prakṛti desist, having manifested herself to *puruṣa*.' This is repeated in SS, 3.69. Then in SK, 61, Īśvarakṛṣṇa says: 'Nothing in my opinion is more gentle than Prakṛti; once aware of having been seen, She does not again expose Herself to the gaze of the *puruṣa*.' Vijñānabhikṣu quotes this *kārikā* in his commentary on SS, 3.70 which says: 'Upon the detection of her faults, Prakṛti ceases to approach (the *puruṣa*), like a virtuous wife (*kulabadhu-vat*).' 'The *Sāṁkhyatattva-kaumudī* amplifies and explains the illustration: "Prakṛti is like a woman of virtue and family (*kulabadhu*): such a one of retired habits and modest looks, may be, by some inadvertance, surprised in dishabille by a strange man, but she takes good care that another shall not behold her off her guard. Nature (Prakṛti) being once fully seen by discrimination (*viveka*) has too much matronly decorum to allow herself to be looked at a second time.' "[2]

[1]*Kaivalya* is different from *Prakṛti-laya* (SS, 3.54) in which a person by mere asceticism, but without realizing the difference between self and non-self goes beyond this human existence and is merged in Prakṛti; such persons are reborn in the next creation. Vijñānabhikṣu compares them to drowned men, who are revived after being taken out of water. He says that such men are reborn as Īśvaras, but the stage of *Prakṛti-laya* is not desired by the *yogins* and is certainly not their aim, which is made clear in SS, 3.84.

[2]Tr. by H.H. Wilson, p. 145. It may be stated that dancing allusion is not peculiar to Sāṁkhya. In a beautiful line, YV, Upaśama, 91.248 says: *ātm-aiv-ādya-vilasīnyā jagan-nāṭyam pranartati* (impelled by *māyā* the *ātman* plays its role on the world-stage). Here the *ātman* is the player, not *māyā*. Again the YV states: 'In this stage the boy player time, is also seen to play his part of producing or destroying by turns an infinity of worlds in the continued courses of *kalpa* and *mahākalpa*, and in the rotation of the parts of time,' (Nirvāṇa, Uttara, 35. 36-7). 'All these aerial bodies which are countless as the flying atoms, are continually in the act of dancing and playing their parts in the open arena of Brahman, as the players exhibit their various passions and emotions by gestures and gesticulations in a theatre. The seasons are dancing in circles with their towering heads, and the points of compass are turning round with their encircling arms; the lower region is the platform of the stage, and the upper sky is the awning stretched on high,' (Nirvāṇa, Uttara, 141. 6-7). Tr. by V.L. Mitra, Calcutta, 1893.

The release, however, is not of *puruṣa*, who is by nature free and capable of going anywhere. SK, 62 says; 'Verily, not any *puruṣa* is bound, nor is released, nor migrates: but Prakṛti alone, in relation to various beings, is bound, is released, and migrates,' as celestial, human, or brute forms, in the character of *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, *tanmātra*, *indriyas*, and the elements (*bhūtas*). Commenting on this *kārikā*, Nārāyaṇa quotes *Māṇḍukyakārikā*, 2.32: 'There is no cessation, no origination, none is in bondage, nor is there any aspirant (*sādhaka*), nor seeker for liberation, and none is liberated. This is the absolute truth.' Nārāyaṇa possibly does this under the mistaken idea that Gauḍapāda, the author of the *Māṇḍukyakārikā* is identical with Gauḍapāda, the author of the commentary on the SK, for the *Māṇḍukyakārikā's* doctrine can hardly be reconciled with the Sāṁkhya doctrine of *pariṇama*. Again, the *Māṇḍukyakārikā* holds that the individual souls are manifestations of one Supreme Soul, or Brahman, while according to Sāṁkhya, they are real and many.

It is necessary to discuss here the relation between *buddhi* and *puruṣa* to understand the Sāṁkhya theory of release. The question is, how can *puruṣa*, who is pure intelligence, come into contact with the non-intelligent *guṇas*? The Sāṁkhya texts ignore this question. This problem was first tackled by Vācaspati, whose theory was later modified by Vijñānabhikṣu.

According to Vācaspati, *sattva guṇa* resembles the purity and intelligence of *buddhi* to a very high degree. This *buddhi-sattva* is intelligized through reflection of consciousness on it, which is made possible due to *sannidhāna* or propinquity of the *puruṣa*; then the non-intelligent transformations in *buddhi* appear to be intelligent. The *puruṣa* on the other hand has *yogyatā* (ability) to appear as *jñāta* (knower), *bhoktā* (experiencer) etc., though inactive and indifferent. But, Vijñānabhikṣu, points out this *yogyatā* may continue even in the state of emancipation, which will negate emancipation. Hence he postulates that *buddhi* is first intelligized by the reflection of the *puruṣa*, which is then reflected back on the *puruṣa*, and as a result emerges the notion of the experiencing person.[1]

In order to gain emancipation, this *buddhi* or *citta* (as the YS calls it) must be dissociated from the *puruṣa*. This dissociation takes place when *buddhi* realizes the nature of *puruṣa*, that it is different, distinct from, and quite unrelated to *puruṣa*. 'As a result of that, *buddhi* turns its back on *puruṣa* and can no longer bind it to its experiences, which are all irrevocably concerned with sorrow, and thus the *puruṣa* remains in its true form. This according to Sāṁkhya philosophy is alone adequate to bring about the liberation of the *puruṣa*.'[2]

The *puruṣa* also realizes: 'These are not mine; I am not [these].' And 'with this [knowledge], the *puruṣa* unmoved and self-possessed, as a spectator,

[1]For details see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, pp. 259-61; S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., II, pp. 292-93; Anima Sen Gupta, *The Evolution of Sāṁkhya School of Thought*, Patna, 1959, pp. 30-31.

[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 265.

contemplates Prakṛti who has ceased production, and consequently ceased from producing the seven forms namely, *dharma* (virtue), *vairāgya* (dispassion), *aiśvarya* (power), *adharma* (vice), *ajñāna* (ignorance), *avairāgya* (passion), and *anaiśvarya* (weakness). Thereafter, the *puruṣa*, like a spectator at the end of the play realizes, 'I have seen', while Prakṛti like the dancer on the stage realizes, 'I have been seen,' and 'notwithstanding their conjunction, there is no occasion for (further) evolution' (SK, 63-66). Ultimately, 'when owing to gratification of ends (*puruṣa's*) separation from the body takes place, and Prakṛti ceases to act, (then *puruṣa*) attains *kaivalya*' (SK, 68; YS, 4.34).

SS 6.20 says: 'Liberation is nothing other than the removal of impediments.' How to remove these impediments? Vyāsa (on YS, 2.1) explains that since eternity *citta* (i.e., *buddhi*) is overlaid with the effects of *karma*, *kleśa*, and *vāsanā* (desire), and immersed in mundane matters. Only the performance of *tapas* (austerities), reading of sacred texts, and contemplation of Īśvara can remove these impediments. Actually, the entire process of *yoga*, or any type of *sādhanā*, is intended to remove these impediments, which cannot be removed by the mere reading of books.[1]

At the end of the SS, several views are given, according to one of which (6.67), the relation between Prakṛti and *puruṣa* is eternal like the seed and the tree. According to Pañcaśikha (6.68), the relation of experienced and experiencer of Prakṛti and *puruṣa* is due to absence of discrimination (*aviveka*). According to the sage Sanandana (6.69), the relation of experienced and experiencer between Prakṛti and *puruṣa* is due to the *liṁga-śarīra*, which is eternal. At the end (6.70), the SS concludes: 'Whatever it may be, the uprooting of that (relation between Prakṛti and *puruṣa* as the experienced and the experiencer) is the final goal of human life (*yad vā tad vā tad ucchittiḥ puruṣārthaḥ*).'[2] This *sutra* pithily sums up the teachings of Sāṁkhya and Yoga.

One question, however, remains. How and why does the *puruṣa* come into contact with Prakṛti? The example of the blind man and lame man has been given above, but why should the two cripples have ventured out from their habitats? 'There is no definite or convincing answer as to why *puruṣa* becomes entangled in the web of Prakṛti.'[3] In Sāṁkhya-Yoga philosophy one has to accept Prakṛti and *puruṣa* as basic postulates, and their union as an incontrovertible fact perceived by the *yogins*.[4]

[1]Books are hardly of any use to a *yogin*. As Śrī-Rāmakrishṇa Paramahaṁsa used to say: 'The almanac says there will be a flood this year; but try as hard as you may, you will not be able to wring a drop of water from the almanac.'

[2]The SS is a late text, and its incorporation of these opinions show that divergent schools of Sāṁkhya systems persisted for a very long time.

[3]*HDK*, V, ii, p. 1358.

[4]None can see the Mūlāprakṛti, but the *yogins* can feel the *guṇas* and perceive the evolutes like *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra*, and the *tanmātras*. They can also realize the dissociation of the *puruṣa* from Prakṛti.

Sāṁkhya and Īśvara

The word *Īśvara* is usually rendered as 'God', but such is the peculiar connotation of the word in Indian philosophy, that it is better to use the term *Īśvara*, and try to understand the idea which each system of philosophy wanted to convey by this term.

One of the most well-known *sūtras* in the SS is 1.92: *Īśvarāsiddheḥ* (on account of non-proof [there is no] Īśvara). The reason for this conclusion is given in the next four aphorisms (SS, 1.93-96) which state: 'If Īśvara existed, he must be either bound or free. If free, why should he create this world? If bound he would be incapable of creating it. The Īśvara mentioned in the *śrutis* (revealed texts) refers to freed souls (*mukt-ātmānaḥ*), or the *siddhas* (emancipated beings). Īśvara is not a teleological necessity to induce Prakṛti to evolve the phenomenal world, which can be induced in Her by the *puruṣa*, attracting each other like a magnet and a piece of iron.'

The necessity of Īśvara is again denied in SS, 5.2-10: Īśvara is not the controller, effects are due to causal operations. Since Īśvara is always indifferent, he engages himself in action for his own benefit; if he did so, he would be like a king. Or he might be a technical term (*paribhāṣā*). Unless there is desire (like 'Let this happen'), there cannot be any agency, desire, being the cause of all actions. If Īśvara has desire, he is not 'eternally free' (*nitya mukta*). It can neither be said that, he has no desire, but becomes an agent when associated with Prakṛti, because that would contradict the statement 'He is without attachment' (*asaṁgo hy=ayam puruṣa*). Also it cannot be said that he is not attached to Prakṛti, but that his agency is due to the existence of Prakṛti; for ,such a statement would contradict his attribute of all-powerfulness (*sarvaiśvaryam*). The existence of Īśvara cannot be proved because there is no proof (*pramān-ābhāvān=na tat siddhiḥ*, SS, 5.10). Later, SS, 5.126-127, while establishing the non-eternality of *buddhi*, states that, knowledge cannot be eternal, because it cannot be located in an Īśvara whose existence cannot be proved. This is again affirmed in SS, 6.64, which says that all actions are subordinate to the agency of ego, not to Īśvara, because there is no proof of his existence.[1]

It will be observed that the burden of Sāṁkhya thesis is not that 'there is no Īśvara', but that 'there is no proof that there is Īśvara,' and that 'it is not necessary to assume the existence of Īśvara to explain Sāṁkhya physics or metaphysics.' Hence it is preferable to call Sāṁkhya agnostic rather than atheistic. In this connection Prof. Radhakrishnan observes: 'The Sāṁkhya, however, overlooks the fundamental problem of metaphysics by not being sufficiently thorough. It has had a misleading idea that the inquiry was irrelevant for its purpose.'[2]

It is peculiar that Īśvarakṛṣṇa does nowhere specifically refer to the problem of Īśvara, though the commentators deduce this doctrine of non-existence

[1]We have used Aniruddha's commentary. Aniruddha's 5.128 is Bhikṣu's 5.127, because he has taken Aniruddha's 5.121 and 122 as one *sūtra*.

[2]S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., II, p. 319.

of Īśvara, as for example Gauḍapāda on SK, 56. Apparently, in Īśvarakṛṣṇa's time, the Sāṁkhya teachers did not feel the need to face this problem, One may assume that, later under the pressure of rival schools, the SS, which in all other fundamentals agree with the SK, had to incorporate these *sūtras* as a defensive measure to silence the opponents. It may further be suggested, that the distribution of these *sūtras* in two chapters (I and V), indicate that these were incorporated at two different periods, and that 5.2-10 were intended to buttress 1.92-96.

Yoga and Īśvara

As stated above in Chapter X, contemplation of Īśvara is recommended in YS, 1,23 as one of the aids to *samādhi*. The next aphorism (YS, 1.24) defines Īśvara as a special *puruṣa* uncontaminated by *kleśa* (nescience, egoism, attachment, aversion, and clinging to life), actions, results of actions, (which produces) *āsaya*, explained by the Paramāra Emperor Bhoja as *vāsanā saṃskāra* (permanent dormant craving).

This 'special *puruṣa*' who is Īśvara is never touched by these defects wherein he differs from the liberated *puruṣas* who have suffered these afflictions. Hence Īśvara is unique. He has a perfect nature (*prakṛṣṭa sattva*). He is always free, always the Lord, as Vyāsa says on YS, 1.24; 'His power is altogether without anything to equal it or excel it. It cannot be excelled by any other power. Since whatever might seem to excel, it would prove itself to be that very power (of Īśvara), who is pre-eminent. Therefore, that is Īśvara where we reach the uttermost limit of power. Had there been two equally powerful *puruṣas*, one might wish a change in the new *kalpa* (age), while the other might wish to retain the old. Under such circumstances, if the will of one prevailed over the other, the latter would be the 'lesser' (*puruṣa* or *anīśvara*). Again, the conflicting wishes of two equally powerful persons cannot fructify. Hence He, whose power is unequalled and unexcelled is Īśvara, He is the 'special *puruṣa*' (Vyāsa on YS, 1.24). Commenting on this *sūtra*, Bhoja declares that 'without the will of Īśvara, the dissociation between Prakṛti and *puruṣa* is impossible (*prakṛti-puruṣa-saṃyoga-viyogayor īśvar-ecchā-vyatirekeṇ-ānupapatteḥ*).'[1] This Puruṣa is omniscient, or as Patañjali puts it (YS, 1.25): 'In Him becomes infinite that all-knowingness which in other is (only) a germ.'

Vyāsa in his *Bhāṣya* on YS, 1.25 adds: 'It is said that the primal repository of knowledge, the Lord (*bhagavān*) out of pity abided in a created *citta* in the form of the great sage (Kapila, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, Vācaspati) and imparted the science to the inquiring Āsuri. He is the teacher of even the ancient teachers being not limited by time' (YS, 1.26). Commenting on this

[1]Bhoja's commentary is not considered as authoritative as Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya* by the scholars, who practically ignore this statement by Bhoja. But late Kalipada Guha Roy, a famous *yogin* emphatically told us that no progress is possible in *yoga* without Īśvara's grace. We then approached MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, who told us that Bhoja was absolutely right.

sūtra, Swami Vivekananda writes :

'.....It is true, as the modern philosophers say, that there is something in man which evolves out of him; all knowledge is in man, but certain environments are necessary to call it out. We cannot find any knowledge without teachers. If there are men teachers, god teachers, or angel teachers, they are all limited; who was the teacher before them? We are forced to admit, as a last conclusion, one teacher, who is not limited by time; and that one Teacher of infinite knowledge, without beginning or end is called God.'

In the next aphorism, (YS, 1.27), Patañjali declares: 'His manifesting word is Om.' Commenting on this *sūtra*, Swami Vivekananda says: '.....Is there any material sound of which all other sounds must be manifestations, one which is the most natural sound? Om (Aum) is such a sound, the basis of all sounds. The first letter, *A*, is the root sound, the key, pronounced without touching any part of the tongue or palate; *M* represents the last sound in the series, being produced by the closed lips, and the *U* rolls from the very root to the end of the sounding board of the mouth. Thus Om represents the whole phenomenon of sound-producing. As such, it must be the natural symbol, the matrix of all the various sounds. It denotes the whole range and possibility of all the words that can be made . . . .[1]

Vyāsa commenting on YS, 1.28 says: 'Those *yogins* who have realized this relation of signified and signifier (*vācya-vācakatva*) between Īśvara and Praṇava (Om), should repeat (*japa*, the word Om) and meditate on its meaning (i.e., Īśvara).' Here Vyāsa quotes a verse from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (6.6.2) which says: 'From *svādhyāya* (reading of scriptures and repeating Om) *yoga* is established; having performed *yoga*, contemplate the object of *svādhyāya* (Brahman); by *svādhyāya* and *yoga* Pramātman is revealed.'

Īśvara is again invoked in YS, 2.1, which says: '*Tapas* (austerities), *svādhyāya*, and surrendering fruits of all work to Īśvara are called Kriyā-yoga.' Swami Vivekananda explains: ' "Surrendering the fruits of work to God" is to take to ourselves neither credit nor blame, but to give both up to the Lord and be at peace.'

We have given above Emperor Bhoja's dictum on YS, 1.24, where he says in effect that liberation is not possible without Īśvara's will. About two centuries before Bhoja, the great commentator Vācaspati (on YS, 4.3) ascribed to Īśvara's grace the removal of the barriers just as a cultivator removes the dykes so that water may flow in his land.[2]

This acknowledgement of Īśvara in Yoga and its denial by Sāṁkhya constitute the main theoretic difference between the two on the basis of which Yoga and Sāṁkhya are distinguished as *Seśvara Sāṁkhya* (Sāṁkhya with Īśvara) and *Nirīśvara Sāṁkhya* (*Agnostic Sāṁkhya*).

[1]Quotations from Swami Vivekananda are from his translation of the YS under the title *Yoga-aphorisms* given at the end of his *Rāja-yoga*; *Complete Works*.

[2]See above p. 767. For an explanation of YS, 4.3; see Swami Vivekananda, *Complete Works*, V, p. 298.

Epistemology

i. *Yoga:* As stated above, *citta* of YS corresponds to *buddhi* of the Sāṁkhya, This is evident from the use of *citta* and *buddhi* as synonymous terms in YS, 4.21, and of *buddhi* in YS, 4.22, the only two *sūtras* in which the word *buddhi* has been used. Elsewhere the term *citta* is used to mean intellect. The word *vṛtti* means 'modification' or 'activity', so that the compound '*citta-vṛtti*' would mean 'modification or activity of intellect', that is cognition.

YS, 1.6 recognizes five types of cognition: *pramāṇa*, *viparyaya*, *vikalpa*, *nidrā*, and *smṛti*. This classification is peculiar to YS.

The meaning of *pramāṇa* has been given above. According to YS, 1.7, *pramāṇa* is of three kinds: *pratyakṣa* (direct perception), *anumāna* (inference), and *āgama* (scriptures). These terms are not defined in the text, though the commentators explain them at some length.

Viparyaya means 'non-discrimination,' or 'misconception' and has been explained as 'wrong cognition not established in that (in respect of which the misconception is entertained).' The example given in the commentaries is the vision of two moons. The commentary adds that *viparyaya* has five limbs (i.e., sources), which are *avidya* etc., the same as *kleśa* explained above.

Vikalpa is verbal delusion which follows words having no (corresponding) reality. The example given in Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya* is: 'The true nature of *puruṣa* is intelligence.' This proposition verbally conveys the sense that *puruṣa* has the attribute of intelligence, while in fact *puruṣa* is intelligence itself. Thus the notion resulting from the verbal proposition has no truth corresponding to it.

Nidrā or sleep 'is that *vṛtti* which embraces the feeling of voidness.' The commentary points out that sleep is a 'particular (type of) cognition' undoubtedly because the word *vṛtti* has been used in this *sūtra* (YS, 1.10).

Smṛti or 'memory, is not permitting a perceived subject or experience to 'steal away.' The difficulty is about rendering the word *asampramoṣa*. Vācaspati points out that the word means 'non-theft,' that is, 'memory is non-theft of an impression.' Though Vācaspati is etymologically correct, Bhoja's explanation seems to be more cogent, and the *sūtra* may be rendered as: 'Memory is the mental retention of an experience.' Later, (YS, 4.9) it is said that 'memory and impressions are identical' (....*smṛti-saṃskārayor eka-rūpatvāt*). Vyāsa explains that impressions create memory, and memory creates impressions.

An object is cognized or not according as it is reflected or not in the intellect. How is the intellect cognized? The intellect cannot cognize itself, for the following reasons: 1. the intellect (*citta*) is not the principle of knowing but an object of knowledge; 2. its inability to cognize both the object and itself at the same time; 'another cognizing intellect being assumed, there will be no end to such assumptions, and confusion of memory will be the result.' 'Conscious cognition takes place when cognition takes the form of the unchangeable essence of knowledge (the *puruṣa*). The intellect is able to perceive things when it is reflected upon both by the seer and the object

which is to be seen,' (YS, 4.16-22).

Real knowledge is beyond the means mentioned above. YS, 1.49 says: 'The knowledge that is gained from testimony (*śruti*) and inference (*anumāna*) is about common objects. That [knowledge gained] from *samādhi* just mentioned is of a much higher order, being able to penetrate where inference and testimony cannot go.' (tr. by Swami Vivekananda). The reference here is to the *nirvicāra·samādhi* which generates *ṛtambharā-prajñā* (truth-bearing knowledge; YS, 1.47-48).

ii. *Sāṁkhya:* Īśvarakṛṣṇa begins by affirming his preference for rational or scientific inquiry rather than depending on sense-perception and the Veda, a view also expressed in the Mbh, 12.205.30.[1]

From *pramāṇa* [follows] *prameya-siddhi* (SK, 4), that is, 'proof is the establishment of the validity of the theorem.' Proof is of three kinds: perception (*dṛṣṭa*), inference (*anumāna*), and authoritative statements or reliable testimony (*āpta-vacana*). Perception is defined as the mental apprehension of particular objects, while inference, which is of three kinds, is said to be cognition based upon the relation between the mark (*liṁga*) and that to which the mark belongs (*liṁgin*). What is unascertainable by perception and inference (i.e., transcendental reality) is determined by *āpta·vacana* (SK, 4-6).

Knowledge and means of knowledge have been discussed in SS 1.87, which is a long and rather obscure *sūtra*, and has been differently interpreted. According to Aniruddha, *pramā* or cognition is the determination of the undetermined object as the result of both (the sense and the object in the case of perception), and of either of the two (a mark in the case of inference and a word in the case of verbal cognition). The definition of *pramā*, according to Vijñānabhikṣu, is the ascertainment of objects which are not already present in, or known to both (*buddhi* or *puruṣa*), or either of them. Commenting on this explanation, Dr. J. Prasad writes: 'It is evident that according to the Sāṁkhya doctrine, the act of cognition (*vṛtti*) belongs to *buddhi* and this in turn is illuminated by the intelligence of *puruṣa*. Cognition cannot result without the cooperation of both the *buddhi* and the *puruṣa*. Where then is the room for interpreting the *sūtra* so as to mean that cognition belongs to either of them.' Here Dr. Prasad has quoted a sentence from Vijñānabhikṣu's commentary on SS, 1.87 which reminds one of *Pañcadaśī*, 7.91: 'In the perception of a pot, both the intellect and the consciousness reflected therein pervade the pot. In this situation, nescience is negated by the intellect, and the pot is revealed by the *cidābhāsa*.' Vijñānabhikṣu was trying to synthesize Sāṁkhya and Vedānta, hence some of his explanations are somewhat strange. Therefore, in the present case, it is better to follow Aniruddha's explanation.[2]

[1]Both the Mbh and Sāṁkhya were opposed to animal slaughter in Vedic sacrifices. See SS, 1.82.

[2]J. Prasad, *History of Indian Epistemology*, Delhi, 1956, pp. 189-91. For a detailed discussion of this point, see Anima Sen Gupta, *Classical Sāṁkhya: A Critical Study*, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 1-73.

SS, 1.87 says that there are three kinds of *pramāṇas*, 1.88 adds that there cannot be more than three. These are :

i. *Pratyakṣa* (perception) is that knowledge which being connected (or related) portrays the form (of the visualized object). (SS, 1.89).

ii. Knowledge (*dṛśaḥ*) resulting from universal concomitance is *anumāna* (inference, SS, 1.100)

iii. *Āptopadeśa* is *śabda* (1.101). *Āptopadeśa* literally means 'the words of a reliable authority', but here, taken with SS, 5.46 which says that Veda is *apaureṣaya* (uncreated by human agency), the term *śabda* denotes Veda; and in 1.147 it is said that 'what is proved by the *śruti* (Veda) is not to be denied, for it supersedes (the authority) of perception.'

Next it is said (1.103) that both Prakṛti and *puruṣa* are proved by *sāmānya-to-dṛṣṭa-anumāna. Anumāna* or inference is of three kinds, *pūrvavat*, *sāmānyato-dṛṣṭa*, and *śeṣavat*. Fire on the hill is inferred from smoke because of our previous knowledge of kitchen fire, which is called *pūrvavat anumāna*. Just as *pūrvavat* is the inference of the cause from the effect, *śeṣavat* is inference of effect from cause, for example, inference of rain from clouds. In *sāmānyato-dṛṣṭa* the inference is based on same or similar but invisible cause. Every action has to be performed by some instruments, such as an axe for cutting a tree, similarly the acts of cognition needs instruments, which are the *indriyas*. These are unseen instruments, but their existence has to be inferred from the seen (*dṛṣṭa*) instruments like the axe.

CHAPTER XVIII

MĪMĀṀSĀ PHILOSOPHY

Introduction

As stated above, the last pair of the 'six systems of philosophy' are the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā and the Uttara-mīmāṁsā. It is, however, usual to refer the former as the Mīmāṁsā, and the latter is almost invariably called Vedānta. Hence in the present work, the term 'Mimāṁsā' has always been used to indicate Pūrva-mīmāṁsā, and will be so used in the present chapter. In the last two chapters, each pair of philosophies have been treated as a unit because of their preponderating common elements. Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta, however, differ so much from each other that they form two distinct systems of philosophy, and must be treated separately.

The *Mīmāṁsāsūtra* of Jaimini, on which Mīmāṁsā philosophy is based, has twelve chapters, but an inscription issued in AD 999 during the reign of the Coḷa emperor Rājarāja the Great (*c.* AD 985-1014) records the grant to a teacher who had to be versed in several subjects including twenty chapters of Mīmāṁsā.[1] MM. Kane explains that 'these 20 chapters are made up as follows: 12 chapters (each divided into four *pādas*, except chapters III, VI, and X each of which has eight *pādas*, in all sixty *pādas*) ascribed to Jaimini, 4 chapters called Saṅkarṣankāṇḍa, and 4 chapters constituting the Vedānta-sūtra' (*Brahmasūtra*).'[2] In support of his explanation, MM. Kane points out that Śaṃkara refers to Mimamsa as Dvādaśalakṣaṇī (on Br.S. 3.3.26), as Prathamatantra (on. Br.S. 3.3.25; 3.3.53; and 3.4.27) as Prathama-kāṇḍa (on. Br.S. 3.3.1; 3.3.33; 3.3.44; and 3.3.50) and as Pramāṇalakṣaṇa (on Br. S. 3.4.42). On Br.S. 3.3.53 Śaṃkara speaks of the first *pāda* of the PMS as *śāstra-pramukha eva prathame pāde* ('the first *pāda* which stands at the head of this *śāstra*) thereby conveying that the PMS and the Br.S. form one *śāstra*.

On the other hand Mīmāṁsā mentioned by Yājñavalkya (1.3) is probably the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā, for Vijñāneśvara explains the term as *Veda-vākya-vicāra* ('discussion of Vedic terms') and Mādhava (or Sayana, 14th century) in his introduction to his commentary on the RV distinguishes between Pūrva—and Uttara-mīmāṁsā. It is therefore likely that for a long time the traditional tie between the two Mīmāṁsās was theoretically observed, but was later given up, most probably after Śaṃkara had written his commentary on the Br. S. in *c.* 9th century AD trenchantly criticizing the Mīmāṁsa philosophy.

[1] K.A.N. Sastri, *The Coḷas*, Madras, 1975, p. 630.
[2] *HDK*, V, ii, pp. 1159-60.

Meaning and Antiquity of Mīmāṁsā

Pāṇini (3.1.5-6) provides for the formulation of seven roots with *san* affix (Desiderative) one of which is *mīṁāṁsate* from the root *mān*, and the *Kāśikā* adds that it means 'desire to know (*maner jijñāsāyām*)', that is, investigation, and final conclusion. It is usual to use the word *mīmāṁsā* in the sense 'discussion' or 'attempts at rational inquiry.' Sir Ganganath Jha rendered Pūrva-mīmāṃsā as 'Preliminary-mīmāṁsā,' and Uttara-mīmāṁsā as 'Final-mīmāṁsā', that is, Preliminary-inquiry and Final-inquiry. He has also pointed out that 'Pūrvamīmāṁsā, i.e., Mīmāṁsā proper—has never claimed to be a Darshana, a system of Philosophy.'[1]

Sir Ganganath Jha's opinion may be correct so far as the intention of Jaimini, the author of the PMS, is concerned. The Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-śāstra[2] based on Jaimini is, however, the most extensive of all the six *darśanas*. The PMS has about 2700 *sūtras*, and over 900 *adhikaraṇas* called *nyāya* or 'conclusions on topics for discussions.' According to a medieval text, Mīmāṁsā is the most important of the Vidyāsthānas (other than the Vedas) since it removes ignorance, doubts, and mistaken notions about the sense of several (Vedic) passages, and since all Vidyāsthānas require its aid for the determination of the nature of their real meaning.[3]

The use of the word *mīmāṁsā* in the verbal form *mīmāṁsante* has been traced to the *Taittarīya Saṁhitā* (VIII. 5.7.1), which says that 'the expounders of Brahma (Veda) discuss (*mīmāṁsante*) [the question] whether a day should be omitted or not.' Thus the word is used to denote the discussion of a doubtful point and arriving at a decision on it. The word *mīmāṁsante* has been used in the same sense in the *Kaṭhaka Saṁhitā*, VIII. 12; AV, IX. 1.3, and IX. 6. (2). 24 and in some other Vedic texts.[4]

In the Upaniṣads, the word *mīmāṁsā* itself is used several times. *Chāndogya* (5.11.1) says that five learned scholars discussed (*mīmāṁsām cakruḥ*) 'What is our *ātman*?' 'What is Brahman?' Śaṃkara has here explained *mīmāṁsā* as *vicāraṇā* (discussion or investigation). The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 1.5.21 begins with the phrase: *athāto vrata-mīmāṁsā*, which has been explained by Śaṃkara as *upāsanā-karma-vicāraṇā* (consideration of activities pertaining to vow). The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2.8.1 says, *ānandasya mīmāṁsā bhavati* (this is a consideration of bliss). Here Śaṃkara again explains *mīmāṁsā* as *vicāraṇā*. He says: 'What is the point to be discussed (*kiṁ ānandasya mīmāṁsāṁ*)? and gives the answer, 'Whether the bliss is natural, or in the subject-object relation.'

[1]Ganganath Jha, *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā in Its Sources*, Ret. ed. edited by Umesh Misra, Varanasi, 1964, p. 4.

[2]*Śāstra* has been defined by the *Bhāmatī* on Br.S. 1.1.3 as 'that which regulates and promulgates (human) activities and abstentions by means of eternal words (Veda) or by works composed by men.' Quoted in *HDK*, V, ii, 1182.

[3]*Jaiminīyasūtrārthasaṁgraha*, part I, p. 2 (Trivandrum S.S.) quoted in *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1159. MM. Kane takes this passage as the representative opinion of medieval writers. *Vidyāsthāna* means 'source of knowledge', of which according to Yājñavalkya 1.3 there are fourteen: Purāṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Dharmaśāstra, Āṅgas (6), and Vedas (4).

[4]For details see *HDK*, V, ii, pp. 1153.

It is evident, therefore, that since ancient times the word *mīmāṁsā* had come to denote 'investigation into a topic by way of discussion and arriving at a definite conclusion.' How the word came to be attached to a system of philosophy is not known. It may be suggested that with the passage of time it became increasingly necessary to determine authoritatively the doubtful procedures of the Vedic rituals as prescribed in the Vedic texts. Hence the scholars had to discuss these points and arrive at definite conclusions. These conclusions had to be based on a fixed system of interpretation of the Vedic texts which gradually evolved giving rise to the Mīmāṁsā system. Jaimini permanently consolidated the results of such investigations in his famous text called the *Jaimini-sūtra* or the *Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra* (PMS). Similarly, the teachings of the Upaniṣads were unified by Bādarāyaṇa in his *Brahmasūtra* (Br. S.) or *Vedānta-sūtra*, which is also known as *Uttara-mīmāṁsā* or *Brahma-mīmāṁsā.*

Next is the problem as to whether there was one Jaimini or more. This problem is inextricably linked with a similar problem regarding the author of the Br.S., and it will be convenient to discuss the identities of the two authors in the next chapter.

Mīmāṁsā Literature

As stated above Jaimini's *Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra* (PMS) is the basis of Mīmāṁsā philosophy. Its division into twelve chapters and many sections has been mentioned above. The PMS names nine predecessors of Jaimini, namely, Ātreya, Ālekhana, Āśmarathya, Aitiśāyana, Kāmukāyana, Bādarāyaṇa, Bādari, Lāvukayana, and Kārṣṇājini. Two other teachers of Mīmāmsā are known from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya;* they are, Kāśakṛtsna, and Āpiśali.

The earliest extant commentary on the PMS is by Śabara. But even before Śabara there was a commentator whom Śabara refers to as Vṛttikāra, and sometimes very respectfully. Śabara also quotes many verses, of which a few may have been composed by him but the others are probably from some work or commentary on the PMS.

Many commentaries written on Śabara's *Bhāṣya* are now lost. The earliest commentaries on the *Bhāṣya* now available are those by Prabhākara, also know as Prabhākara Miśra and referred to as Guru, and by Kumārila or Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, and often referred to simply as Bhaṭṭa. They became the founders of the two schools of Mīmāṁsā known under their names, or as Guru-mata, and Bhāṭṭa-mata. Much later, a third school of Mīmāṁsā was founded by Murāri Miśra. Kumārila wrote the *Ślokavārtika* on the *Bhāṣya* on PMS 1.1. in about 4000 verses, and the more voluminous *Tantravārtika* on from 1.2 to the end of chapter III of the PMS, and the *Ṭupṭīkā* on the remaining part of the PMS, consisting of stray notes rather than a systematic commentary. Kumārila wrote two more commentaries on the PMS called *Madhyama-ṭikā* and the *Bṛhat-ṭīkā*, which are now lost, but have been referred to in later works by several authors. Several commentaries were written on Kumārila's works. Prabhākara's commentary on the *Bhāṣya* is called the *Bṛhati.* Several com-

mentaries were written on the *Bṛhati* of which one of the most famous is the *Ṛjuvimālā-pañcikā* by Śālikanātha Miśra, believed to be a direct disciple of Prabhākara. Pārthasārathī Miśra, who is said to be the most important writer on Mīmāṁsā after Kumārila and Prabhākara was a follower of Kumārila's school.

A voluminous literature on the two schools of Mīmāmsā are available.[1] The question is who is earlier, Prabhākara or Kumārila? Sir Ganganath Jha, on the basis of internal evidence, arrived at the conclusion that Prabhākara was senior to Kumārila, though the traditional view is that Prabhākara was Kumārila's pupil. This view is accepted by many distinguished scholars. MM. Kane, however, has concluded on the basis of available evidence that Kumārila flourished about half a century before Prabhākara.[2] It is extremely difficult to say as to who among these two great Mīmāṁsā scholars is correct. For the present we may accept MM. Kane's view and the following chronology proposed by him:

PMS of Jaimini	400 BC to 200 BC.
Śabara—	between AD 200-400 nearer the former date.
Kumārila	About AD 650-700.
Prabhākara	Between AD 675-725.

Murāri Miśra, the founder of the third school, came much later, and has been placed by Dr. Umesha Miśra 'between the 11th and the 12th centuries.'[3]

There was a time when in south India Prabhākara's system was considered authoritative. As stated above, Someśvara Bhaṭṭopādhyāya, a minister of Vikramāditya VI, established a school at Lakkundi for teaching Mīmāmsā according to Prabhākara's system. An inscription of the reign of the Coḷa emperor Rājendra I (AD 1014-1044) records that Prabhākara's system of Mīmāṁsā was among the advanced subjects taught in a school, and that it attracted the largest number of students.[4] The popularity of Prabhākara school was later maintained by the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Vedānta, for they shared Prabhākara's view on *pramāṇa*. Vedāntadeśika, the great Viśiṣṭādvaita teacher (born *c.* AD 1269) wrote on Mīmāṁsā supporting Prabhākara, but he introduced the conception of God, hence one of his works on Mīmāṁsā is called *Seśvara-mīmāṁsā*. The Advaita school of Vedānta, on the other hand, favoured the school of Kumārila and the phrase *vyavahāre tu bhaṭṭa-nayaḥ* has been their considered opinion expressed even by Śaṃkara. The Advaitavādins were critical of Prabhākara's unorthodox views and Śrī-Harṣa in his *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa khādya* (4.2) has accused Prabhākara for being a 'crypto-Buddhist' (*Buddha-bandhu Prabhākaraḥ*). Similarly Udayana in his *Nyāya-kusumāñjalī* banteringly states that this is the 'opinion of the *guru* (i.e.,

[1]For a 'Critical Bibliography of Mīmāṁsā' see U. Mishra, in Jha, op. cit., Appendix pp. 5-75.

[2]Jha, op. cit., p. 15; *HDK*, V, ii, pp. 1190-1198. See Appendix.

[3]ibid, pp. 1197-1198; Jha, op. cit., Appendix p. 43.

[4]See above pp. 120-22; K.A.N. Sastri, op. cit., p. 630.

Prabhākara) but not of a [real] *guru* (teacher) (*idam guru-matam na tu guror matam*).

Aims of Mīmāṁsā

Mīmāṁsā is concerned almost exclusively with the Karma-kāṇḍa or the ritualistic part of the Veda, but it is not a Vedic exegesis. The *Ślokavārtika* (*Pratijñā-sūtra*) remarks that 'as long as the purpose of any *śāstra* or of any undertaking is not stated, so long no one will accept it.' And the very first *sūtra* of the PMS puts forward its subject (*viṣaya*) and its purpose, namely, 'Next, therefore (should be undertaken) the investigation and consideration of *dharma*,' (*athāto dharma-jijñāsā*, PMS, 1.1.1); that is, 'this *śāstra* is the means of attaining *dharma*.' Thus the proper subject of Mīmāṁsā is *dharma*, not the meaning of Vedic texts.

Now, what is *dharma*? PMS 1.1.2 says: *codanā lakṣaṇo' rtho dharmaḥ* (That which is indicated by Vedic exhortations as conducive to welfare is dharma). Śabara explains that *codanā* means a sentence that urges or exhorts a person to perform an act, which in the present context means *vidhis*, or exhortative or injunctive passages of the Veda. The word *artha* as opposed to *anartha* is put to exclude acts from being designated *dharma* which may be mentioned in the Veda, but are performed with evil intent: such as 'one performing black magic (to harm a person) may perform the Śyena sacrifice'. In other words, '*dharma* is an *act* conducive to a man's highest good that is characterized by an exhortative Vedic text.' This definition reduces *dharma* to religious acts like *yāga*, *homa* and *dāna* (sacrifice, oblation, and gift) which confer highest good. Śabara in his *Bhāṣya* on PMS 1.1.2 quotes RV, X. 90.16 where *yajña* is spoken as the first *dharma*. As Kumārila says: 'When discussion about the correct knowledge of *dharma* is being carried on, Veda being the means of such knowledge, Mīmāṁsā will supply complete information about the object of the procedure or method.'[1] As has been explained in the *Tantrarahasya*, which quotes this verse, without light a man cannot perceive, similarly without a knowledge of the methods laid down by the PMS, no one can correctly judge as to what *dharma* is.

The principal topic of discussion in the PMS is the proper mode of performance of Vedic sacrifices. To that end it is most important that *pramāṇa* or means of knowledge be properly understood, and this is discussed in the first chapter of the PMS, the rest of the work being given over to the elucidation of various points of Vedic rituals.[2] Metaphysical topics like soul, liberation, God, reality of the external world etc , are introduced by the commentators, namely, Śabara, Kumārila, and Prabhākara.

In order to sustain the supremacy of Vedic rites, it was necessary to uphold

[1] *Bṛhat-tīkā* of Kumārila quoted in *Tantrarahasya* quoted in *HDK*, V, ii, 1185.

[2] For Mīmāṃsā topics see Jha, op. cit., pp. 147-322, and P.V. Kane, A Brief Sketch of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā System, *ABORI*, VI, pp. 6-12. For a short summary see *SDS*, translation, pp. 178-79.

the authority of the Vedas. Hence the basis of Mīmāṁsā is that whatever is said in the Veda particularly in the form of a *vidhi* (exhortation or injunction) are true or valid knowledge. Hence it was necessary for the Mīmāṁsā teachers to discuss the validity of knowledge or cognition.

Knowledge

'Knowledge' should always stand for a 'true cognition' which is uncontradicted or unfalsified. As soon as cognition turns out to be false, it ceases to be knowledge. False knowledge is no knowledge, but the word *jñāna* in Sanskrit means all kinds of knowledge, whether true or false. Hence the word *pramā* is used to indicate true cognition or *yathārtha-jñāna*, and distinguish it from false cognition or *mithyā-jñāna*. The special source of a particular *pramā* or cognition is *pramāṇa*, which is defined as the *kāraṇa* of a *pramā*, a *kāraṇa* (instrument) being the unique or special cause which brings about a special effect. Thus *pramāṇa* is the means and the movement by which knowledge is acquired. Other cognative words often used are *pramātā*, the subject of knowledge, the knower who cognizes; *prameya*, the object of knowledge; and *prāmāṇya*, the validity of knowledge acquired.

'Validity of knowledge' may mean concurrence of knowledge and its object, or the sense of validity in the mind of the knower which moves him to act. Hence 'validity of knowledge' or *prāmāṇya* assumes 1. a theory of knowledge based on psychological experience; and 2. a metaphysical situation consistent with the theory of knowledge.

Knowledge which illuminates all things is regarded by Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika as only a quality belonging to self, just as there are other qualities of material objects. Sāṁkhya conceived knowledge as a form of subtle illuminating matter-stuff. Mīmāṁsā was inclined to regard true metaphysical knowledge as the direct immediate convictions of self-conscious thought.

The doctrine of 'self validity of knowledge' forms the basis of Mīmāṁsā philosophy. By 'validity', the Mīmāṁsakas mean 'the certitude of truth'. This doctrine was necessary, for otherwise cognition derived from the Veda could be either reliable or unreliable, as the reliability of all verbal cognition is dependent upon the person making the statement. As the Mīmāṁsakas do not admit that there was an author or speaker of the Veda, Veda's reliability would be doubtful. Such a position would strike at the very root of Mīmāṁsā doctrine.

Now, suppose there is a wrong cognition, such as cognition of silver in a shell, which cannot be considered as valid. In such a cognition three factors are involved: 1. memory of silver, and according to Prabhākara memory (*smṛti*) is not a valid cognition; 2. the judgment that 'this is silver is wrong' is predicated upon a subsequent cognition which is valid; 3. the validity of the cognition of 'this' in 'this is silver' is never contradicted.

Prabhākara divides cognition into two categories, namely *anubhūti* or apprehension, and *smṛti* or memory, and he and his school accepts only *anubhūti* as valid knowledge (*pramāṇam anubhūti*). Recognition, however, can be

a valid cognition when it appears in the form: 'This is the same as that.' Here the object represented by 'this' is directly perceived, while memory bears upon its object entirely indirectly, through the agency of impressions left by previous cognitions.

According to Prabhākara, cognition can never be perceptible, and what forms the objective of sense-perception is the object and not the cognition. Are cognitions of objects themselves cognized by some other cognition? No, says Prabhākara, this is not possible. Firstly, because we do not experience any such double cognition, and secondly because it would lead to a *regressus ad infinitum*. If a second cognition is necessary to interpret the first, then that would require a third, and so on, and a cognition which is the object of another cognition cannot be self-valid.

Cognition is known to us, because it is self-cognized and reveals itself to us the moment it reveals its objects. The presence of this self-recognizing knowledge can be inferred from the illumination of objects. However, inference can only indicate its presence and not the form which can be apprehended by perception. Here Prabhākara draws a subtle distinction between *prameya* (cognizable) and *saṃvedya* (objects of cognition). In *saṃvedana*, the form of the object is apprehended, while *prameya* is formless consciousness. Cognition not being perceptible is not *saṃvedya*, but its existence is apprehended by means of inference, which is one of the *pramāṇas*; hence cognition is *prameya*.

Kumārila's view is different from Prabhākara's. In the *Ślokavārtika* (*Codanā-sūtra*, 33) Kumārila says:

sarva-vijñāna-viṣayaṁ idam tāvat parīkṣyatām
pramāṇatv-āpramāṇtve svataḥ kiṁ parato' tha vā

(In regard to all cognitions it has to be considered whether validity or invalidity are inherent in them or are extraneous.) Kumārila's conclusion is that 'the validity of all means (or forms) of cognition is inherent in them.' He then adds that 'every cognition must be valid, and this validity may be set aside if subsequently it is found that it has had its source in some defect in the cognitive process as evidenced by the object cognized being in reality other than that apprehended by the cognition in question.'

The real difference between Prabhākara and Kumārila is that the former upheld the doctrine of *tripuṭi-pratyakṣa*, according to which the knower, the known, and the knowledge are simultaneously illuminated (or, according to Advaita-vedānta the distinction between the three is obliterated and the three are fused in conscience-stuff). According to Kumārila, the act of knowledge has four elements: 1. the knower (*jñātā*); 2. the object of knowledge (*jñeya*); 3. the instrument of knowledge (*jñāna-karaṇa*); 4. the result of knowledge, or the cognizedness of the object (*jñātatā*). A cognition, according to Kumārila, is not directly perceived but is inferred from the cognizedness of the object produced by cognition. Hence every act of cognition involves a relation between the cognizer and the object of cognition, where the cognizer acts as the agent whose activity in apprehending the object is known as

'cognition.'

Pramāṇa

Śabara and Kumārila recognizes six kinds of *pramāṇas*, while Prabhākara recognizes the first five of the following: 1. *pratyakṣa* (perception); 2. *anumāna* (inference); 3. *śabda* (verbal cognition); 4. *upamāna* (analogy); 5. *arthāpatti* (presumption or implication); and 6. *anupalabdhi* (non-perception).

i. *Pratyakṣa: Pratyakṣa* results from the immediate contact between the sense and its object (PMS, 1.1.4). Śabara explains that when the object perceived is different from that with which the sense-organ is in contact (as when a shell is perceived as silver) it is not real cognition.

According to Prabhākara, perception or direct apprehension (*sākṣāt-pratītiḥ*) envisages the apprehended object, the apprehending person, and the apprehension itself. This view is known as *tripuṭi-pratyakṣa* mentioned above. In case of every perception, four contacts are necessary: 1. contact of the object with one of the sense-organs (ear, nose, eye, tongue, or, skin); 2. contact of the distinctive qualities of the object with the sense-organ; 3. contact of the sense-organ with the mind (which is considered to be an internal organ); and 4. contact of the mind with the self. In the perception of pleasure and pain and similar mental and subjective states only two contacts are required, that of pleasure (or pain) with the mind, and of the mind with the self.

Apprehension is divided into two categories; 1. *savikalpa* (determinate, or conceptual); and 2. *nirvikalpa* (non-determine, or non-conceptual).

According to the Mīmāṁsakas, any perception short of perceptual judgment attended with linguistic symbols may be called *nirvikalpa-pratyakṣa*. This view is opposed mainly by the grammarians who hold that since language is the basis of cognition, every knowledge must be determinate. Kumārila answers this objection by pointing to the existence of knowledge in the child and in dumb persons. They and the animals have nothing but *nirvikalpa-pratyakṣa*, yet they act on the knowledge they possess.

The *savikalpa-pratyakṣa* follows the *nirvikalpa*, and apprehends the same object as an individual possessed of some well-defined specific features peculiar to itself and also certain class characteristics which the object possesses in common with other objects of its class.

According to Kumārila, in *nirvikalpa-perception* neither the class character (*jāti*) nor the specific individuality is presented to consciousness; all that is presented is the object by itself, pure and simple in which these two subsist. According to Prabhākara, in *nirvikalpa* perception both the class character and specific individuality are apprehended, but the object as an individual belonging to a definite class is not apprehended till the object can be compared to or related to other things. In the *savikalpa* stage, the self by its past impressions brings the present perception in relation to the past ones and realizes its character as an individual belonging to a class. Though there is an element of memory in *savikalpa* perception, that appertains to the other

things to which the perceived object is related and not to the perceived object itself. Hence the element of memory does not vitiate the validity of perception of the perceived object.

ii. *Anumāna* : Śabara defines *anumāna* as: 'When perception of one factor of a well-recognized relationship (of invariable concomitance) leads to the cognition of the other factor of that relationship—which latter is not in contact with the person's sense-organs—this second cognition is called *anumāna* (inferential cognition).' Inference and other forms of cognition also presuppose, and are based upon sense-perception. Inferential cognition is of two kinds: 1. that based upon the directly perceived relationship, and, 2. that based upon a generalized relationship. As an instance of the former, we have the inferential cognition of fire following from the cognition of smoke (which is based upon the invariable concomitance of smoke and fire, which have been directly perceived in the kitchen). As an example of the second kind of inferential cognition, we have the case where, finding that the sun changes its position, we infer that the 'sun is moving,' on the basis of our experience that, in the person of Devadatta, we have found that it is only after he moves that he changes his position, which experience has led to the generalized proposition that 'whenever an object changes its position, it moves,' and it is on this generalized premise that the inference of sun's movement is based.[1]

According to Prabhākara, the relationship upon which inference is based must be that which is unfailing, ever true, and permanent, as for example between cause and effect (fire cause and smoke effect), between whole and part, between substance and quality etc. This relationship is cognized by means of perception through the senses qualified by time and place. Fire with smoke is not constant but qualified by variations of time and place, but smoke is never found apart from fire: hence smoke is always and invariably concomitant with fire. Therefore, once smoke is apprehended, presence of fire follows naturally from the pre-conceived notion of the relation between fire and smoke. Hence the apprehension of inferential cognition is based upon sense perception (of smoke), and inferential cognition must always pertain to things already known.

The object of inferential cognition is of two kinds: 1. *dṛṣta-svalakṣaṇa*, that of which the specific individuality or feature is perceived, like fire and smoke; and 2. *adṛṣṭa-svalakṣaṇa*, that of which such features are not perceived. The example of *adṛṣṭa-svalaksaṇa* is the 'capacity of things,' like a red hot iron: its burning capacity cannot be perceived but its effect can be inferred from observing its effect upon objects.

There are two kinds of inference: i. *svārtha* (for one's own benefit), and 2. *parartha* (for the benefit of others). In *svārtha* one often deduces a conclusion from a single premise recalled to the mind and all the processes need not be stated. But in *parārtha* all the premises have to be stated, which according to Prabhākara and Kumārila are three: 1. *pratijñā*, or statement in the case (the

[1]*Śabara's Bhāṣya* translated by Sir Ganganath Jha, *GOS*, p. 15, quoted in Jha, op.cit., p. 89.

mountain is on fire); 2. major premise, which gives the general rule with the corroborative example (wherever there is smoke there is fire, as in the kitchen); and 3. the minor premise (since there is smoke in the mountain, it is on fire).

According to Kumārila, the general proposition, the universal co-existence of *gamaka* or *vyāpya* (smoke) with the *gamya* or *vyāpaka* (fire, that is, the example, 'wherever there is smoke there is fire') cannot be the cause of inference, for it is itself a case of inference. Inference, according to him, involves the memory of a permanent relation subsisting between two things (e.g,. smoke and fire) in a third thing (the kitchen). Perception of a mountain with smoke brings to one's mind the association of fire and smoke in the kitchen, and one concludes that the mountain is on fire. Thus every case of inference proceeds from a perception and not from any universal general proposition.

According to Kumārila, inference gives us a new knowledge, for though the relation between smoke and fire was known, the inference of a fiery mountain is a new knowledge. Thus memory is involved in inference, but that does not render inference invalid knowledge. For here the memory is of the relation between smoke and fire, and not of the 'fiery mountain,' which is a new knowledge independent of memory.

iii. *Śabda*: *Śabda-pramā* means verbal knowledge derived from authority, and *śabda-pramāṇa* means 'words as the source of knowledge.' Thus *śabda-pramā* is the knowledge we get about things beyond the purview of our perception from relevant sentences by understanding the meaning of words of which they are made up. Such sentences may be Vedic or uttered by persons.[1] Vedic sentences are always valid, while sentences uttered by persons are valid only if such persons are reliable.

It is held (PMS, 1.1.5) that all words have natural denotative powers by which they themselves out of their own nature refer to certain objects irrespective of their comprehension or non-comprehension by the listener. It is further held that (1) *śabda* is the only means of knowing *dharma* which is not cognizable by any other *pramāṇa* (PMS, 1.1.4); (2) it is the word in the form of exhortation (or injunction, *vidhi*) that provides this knowledge; (3) this means of knowing *dharma* is infallible; and (4) it is a valid means of knowledge because it is independent.

In this connection Mīmāṁsā faces the problem of meaning of words. What does the word *gauḥ* (cow) mean? Does it mean the universal (*jāti*) that is, cow as a class, or an individual cow?[2] The Mīmāṁsā view is: *ākṛtis tu kriyārthatvāt* (PMS, 1.3.33), that is, 'it is the universal that is denoted; as it is that which serves the purpose of action.' Śabara explains that a word cannot denote an individual. For example, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (V. 4.11) says, 'one should erect the altar like the *śyena*.' Had it denoted

[1]It should be remembered that the Veda was never written but always recited.

[2]That factor which is common to several particular things is *jāti* (universal or class). That factor which possesses certain specific uncommon characteristics is *vyakti* (individual). In Mīmāṁsā, *ākṛti* means *jāti*.

an individual *śyena* bird, it would have been impossible for the performer to reproduce such an individual *śyena* bird, hence this *vidhi* would have been inoperative, meaningless, and futile. Hence the word *śyena* here must denote the universal *śyena* bird. Moreover, if a word denotes an individual, then it cannot be used for any other individual. As the word 'cow' is used as a universal, it is possible to use such expressions as 'this is a cow, that is a cow.'

The relation between the word and its denotation is that, on the word being cognized, what is denoted by it becomes cognized. That is, the relation is like that of 'name' and the 'named.' All these three, namely, the word, its denotation (i.e., the universal), and the relation between them are eternal.

In a sentence there is only a mention of words with definite denotations along with a word denoting action, and the meaning of the sentence is based upon that (PMS, 1.1.25). Comprehension of the meaning of the sentences is derived from the meaning of words and no separate power of expression need be postulated for the sentence as a whole. However, the direct denotation of each word becomes somewhat restricted in its scope when the word appears in a sentence, hence the meaning of a sentence is regarded as consisting of qualified denotation of the component words. It may be held that sentences are composed by human beings, and hence cannot be eternal like the words. Śabara points out that this may be true in regard to sentences composed by human beings, but not regarding the Vedic sentences. Since Mīmāṁsā is concerned only with the (ritualistic part of) the Veda, this distinction is of utmost importance.

Prabhākara agrees that words denote the universal, but says: 'What is eternal is the relation which the sentence bears to what it expresses.' The word alone by itself does not express any meaning, it is only the sentence that does it. Hence Prabhākara in his *Bṛhati* (p. 188) says, *vākyārthena vyavahāraḥ*, that is, all usages is through the sentence and its meaning. This is known as the *anvitāvidhāna* theory of verbal expression. Prabhākara agrees with Śabara, that 'while cognition pertains to the universal, the action enjoined pertains to the individual.'

Kumārila also holds that a word denotes the universal, but he differs from Śabara's arguments, and builds up his own thesis in the *Tantravārtika*.[1] The word as composed of letters is eternal, so also its denotation and the relation between the word and its denotation. Kumārila proves these propositions by means of positive and negative concomitances in course of which he says that, there is no such thing 'as beginning of the world', and secondly there is no 'God or creator of the world.'[2]

The author of a work is that person who of his own free choice brings together words in the form of sentences. Hence the Veda must be the work of a person, because it consists of sentences like the *Mahābhārata*. The Mīmāṁsā answer is tersely put by Pārthasārathi Miśra in his *Śāstradīpikā* (pp. 131-32): Had the Veda had an author he would certainly have been re-

[1] *Tantravārtika*, tr. by J. Jha, *BI*, pp. 363-65; summary in Jha, op. cit., pp. 129-30.
[2] *Ślokavartika*, quoted in Jha, op. cit., p. 132.

membered like Buddha. Since the religious performance would be based upon his authority, the author of the Veda could not have been forgotten. People, however, have no idea of any author of the Veda, hence the non-remembrance of one who should have been remembered had he existed leads to the conclusion that no such author existed. Even those who believe the Veda to be the work of an author differ among themselves as to the name of the author, and ascribe the authorship variously to God, to Hiraṇyagarbha, or to Prajāpati. This discrepancy shows that they have no idea as to the author of the Veda, as they have with regard to the *Mahābhārata* or the *Manusmṛti*. Names such as *Kaṭhaka* etc., were applied to the Vedas, because men of that name was the most efficient expounder of that part of the Veda. Hence it is concluded that Veda is not the work of a person as author, and, being free from any defects due to such authorship, must be regarded as the only source of knowledge (relating to *dharma*), which is infallible in its self-sufficient validity.

Upamāna: The knowing of a hitherto unknown thing by virtue of its similarity to a known thing is called *upamāna*. Thus the sight of the *gavaya* brings about the analogical cognition that 'the animal seen is *gavaya*' to the man who knows the cow. Kumārila holds that while it is true that the similarity is perceived while the cow is remembered, yet the two together (i.e., the cow and the similarity to the seen animal) are not cognized either by perception or by memory. Therefore, for the cognition of the two together, a distinct means of cognition is needed, which is *upamāna*. According to Prabhākara, 'when one perceives the similarity, and this perception of similarity brings about the cognition of similarity in regard to the unseen (correlative)', cognition by *upamāna* takes place.

Arthāpatti: When the non-perception of a thing cannot be explained without the assumption of another thing, that assumption is called *arthāpatti* (presumption or implication). For example, if it is known that Devadatta, who is alive, is not found in his house, then the two facts are correlated by assuming that he is somewhere outside the house. The assumption that 'Devadatta is outside the house' is known as *arthāpatti*.

Abhāva or Anupalabdhi: Abhāva is cognition in the form, 'It does not exist,' in regard to things not in contact with the senses. When we say, 'There is no jar here,' we cognize the absence of the jar. Prabhākara denies that *abhāva* is a *pramāṇa*. He points out that in the case of the conception 'the jar is not here,' all that is meant is, 'even though the jar would have been perceived if it had been here, what we actually perceive is the empty place,' which is an ordinary cognition. Hence there is nothing that can be cognized through *abhāva*, which cannot be regarded as a means of cognition.

According to Kumārila (*Ślokavārtika*), when the first five means of cognition do not bring about the cognition of the existence, of a certain object, then there comes to function that means of cognition which is known as *abhāva*. In the case of cognition that 'the jar is not here,' the observer perceives the positive entity in the shape of the place, and then remembers the

counter-entity which would have been seen (had the jar been there), and there follows the cognition of its being non-existent. This is a purely mental cognition independent of the functioning of the sense-organs. Śabara and Prabhākara do not mention any other means of cognition. Kumārila, however, refers to two more, namely, *sambhava* (probability), and *aitihya* (rumour or tradition). Example of the first is the cognition of the presence of 100 in 1000, but Kumārila admits that it is a case of inference, there being a relation of invariable concomitance between 100 and 1000. As for *aitihya*, in most cases it is not true, and when true comes under the category of *śabda*.

Almost all schools of Indian philosophy except Mīmāṁsā accept *pratibhā* (intuitive knowledge and omniscience) as a distinct means of cognition. Mīmāṁsakas deny the possibility of even yogic intuition or of omniscience on the part of anyone. Kumārila not only denies the power of a sense-organ to apprehend an object which is not relevant to it, but even the possibility of there being a central faculty capable of cognizing all objects, thereby denying the possibility of mystic consciousness.[1]

Analysis of Veda

Mīmāṁsā divides the contents of the Veda into five parts: i. *vidhi*; ii. *arthavāda*; iii. *mantra*; iv. *nāmadheya*; and v. *pratiṣedha*.

i. *Vidhi*: Mīmāṁsā texts explain *vidhi* at great length. In short, *vidhi* is an exhortation (or injunction) enjoying a purposeful action for which there is no other authority. The central element in a *vidhi* is the verb or rather the verbal form. As Kṛṣṇa Yajvan puts it: 'Let us take the sentence, "One who desires heaven should perform a sacrifice (*svarga-kāmo yajeta*)." Here the suffix *ta* (i.e., optative suffix, called *vidhiling*) after the root *yaji* has two properties, its character as a verb, and its character as being in the optative mood,' and it is the latter 'which denotes an objective urge (*ārthī bhāvanā*) consisting in a person's inclination.'

The 'objective urge' consists of three components: what, through what, and how (*kim, kena, katham*). The answers to these three interrogatives are respectively. 'One should realize heaven,' 'by means of a sacrifice,' and 'by the performance of a sacrifice in a proper manner.'[2]

Vidhis are of three types. *Svarga-kāmo yajeta* is an example of *apūrva-vidhi*, which means 'an exhortation of something quite new and not otherwise established.' The second type is *niyama-vidhi*, or restrictive exhortation. For example, the *vidhi* that 'one should perform a sacrifice on level ground' (*same dese yajeta*), restricts the performance of sacrifice on level grounds only, and excludes the use of uneven lands for the purpose; this is a *niyama-*

[1]For *pratibhā*, see Gopinath Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, pp. 1-44.

[2]*Mīmāṁsā-paribhāṣā* of Kṛṣṇa Yajvan ed. and translated by Swami Madhavananda, Calcutta, 1948, pp. 46-8. Kṛṣṇa Yajvan's date is not known, but he is a late author. According to Dr. U. Mishra in Jha, op. cit., Appendix, p. 62, the *Mīmāṁsā-paribhāṣā* is 'an elementary primer which gives in short the entire contents of Mīmāṁsā.' *Mīmāṁsā-paribhāṣā* means a 'lucid exposition of Mīmāṁsā', and the work fulfils the claim.

vidhi. The third type of vidhi is *parisaṃkhyā-vidhi*. For example, the *vidhi*: *pañca pañca-nakhā bhakṣhyaḥ* (five nailed animals are to be eaten). It is a prohibition of eating the flesh of animals other than the five-nailed ones. Thus a *vidhi* which restricts the choice when two or more alternatives are available is a *parisaṃkhyā-vidhi*.

ii. *Arthavādas*, as Kṛṣṇa Yajvan (p. 69) says, are 'corroborative statements' necessary for the purpose of imparting knowledge of useful things; hence they are authoritative only as forming a unitary passage with sentences inculcating a *vidhi*, demonstrating the praiseworthiness of what is enjoined.' *Arthavādas* are of four kinds, being divided into *nindā* (condemnation), *praśaṃsā* (praise), *parakṛti* (heroic performance), and *pūrvakalpa* (past incidents).

The *arthavādas* include the largest part of Veda, particularly of the Brāhmaṇa texts. According to Kumārila, Upaniṣad passages about the knowledge of *ātman* are only *arthavādas*, as they convey to the performer that he has a soul, and that the soul has certain characteristics. Hence Śaṃkara points out (on Br.S. 1.1.1) that the subject of investigation in the two Mīmāṁsās are different.

iii. *Mantra:* The division of Veda into Mantra and Brāhmaṇa has been mentioned above. But *mantra* has another significance or connotation. Medhātithi (on Manu 3.121) defines *mantra* as 'an invocation to a god ending with the word *svāhā*,[1] like *Agnaye svaha*.' In *Mīmāṁsā*, *mantras* are of secondary importance compared to the *vidhis*. Kṛṣṇa Yajvan (p. 73) says, the *mantras* 'are solely for imparting a knowledge of useful things, and not for any invisible purpose.'

iv. *Nāmadheya;* The proper names of sacrifices are included within the term '*nāmadheya*.' For example, *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* XIX. 7.2-3 says: 'One should sacrifice with *udbhid*.' Again, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (II. 4.6.1) says: 'One desirous of possessing, cattle should sacrifice with *citrā*.' Now, when one is asked to perform a sacrifice with curd (*dadhnā juhoti*), the substance, that is curd, is well known, but not *udbhid*, while *citrā* means 'a female animal with variegated colour.' If it means that such an animal is to be sacrificed, it suffers from the fault of *vākyabheda* (one sentence broken up as laying down two injunctions), because then it would mean that a female and not a male animal is to be sacrificed, and that its colour is to be variegated. Therefore, Udbhid, Citrā, Abhijit, Viśvajit, Vājapeya etc., are names of rites and not sacrifices. Dharmaśāstra writers apply this maxim called *Udbhid-nyāya* to explain as to why Upanayana should mean a particular ceremony or *saṃskāra*, when it literally means 'taking (a boy) near an *ācārya*.'

v. *Pratiṣedha:* The fifth and the remaining part of the Vedic texts are called '*pratiṣedha*' (*niṣedha*, prohibition). Just as a *vidhi* urges a man to perform an act, a *pratiṣedha* enjoins on him not to do something such as, 'one should not eat *kalañja* (red garlic).'

[1]The sentence can also end with the word *vaṣaṭ* when a *homa* is performed.

Soul

According to Veda, a person performs a sacrifice in order to go to heaven. Hence the existence of a soul which remains after death has to be accepted, otherwise no one would perform a Vedic sacrifice.

The soul (*ātman*), according to Śabara, is the cognizer, the agent of the act of cognition. It is the soul which desires and feels, and in this sense the soul is *sva-samvedya* (self-cognized). When one realizes his own soul, he infers the presence of similar souls in others. The soul is everlasting, and in the words of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIV. 7.3.15), it is 'indestructible, not liable to disruption; but it comes into contact with perishable things like sense-organs, merit, demerit, etc.'

Prabhākara agrees that the soul is eternal, omnipresent and many, and its existence is proved by 'I' consciousness, which is universal and self-luminous (*sayaṁ-jyotiṣṭva*), in the sense that it is realizable by every individual. However, if the soul were the only source of cognition, then as the soul is everlasting, cognition also would have to be everlasting, which is absurd. Hence it is concluded that while the soul is the basic cause of cognition, cognition itself is the result of contact of the soul with mind. Soul, is, however, always an experiencer of cognition and never the object of cognition.

Kumārila more or less agrees with Prabhākara.

Mokṣa: Liberation

Śabara's silence regarding *mokṣa* (liberation) is explained by Prabhākara as being due to his limiting the subjects of his discussion to *karma* (action or sacrifices); hence, it is said, Śabara does not deal with the topic of renunciation or of liberation.

Prabhākara too confines his discussions to *karma*. The view of his school was formulated by Śālikanātha Miśra in his *Prakaraṇapañcikā*, which agree more with Vedānta than with Mīmāṁsā. Actually, according to Śabara and Prabhākara, there can be no freedom for the soul from *karma*, non from experiencing the results of *karma*.

Kumārila's view is summed up in the *Ślokavārtika* (*Sambandhākṣepa-parihāra*, 101-110): 'If liberation is regarded as consisting in the experience of pleasure, then it is only a form of "heaven," but heaven being something transient, such liberation cannot be lasting. An effect that is brought about by a cause must be evanescent. Hence we conclude that when all karmic residua have become exhausted, and there is no further body for the soul, such a soul becomes liberated through the mere fact of there being no cause left which could bring about a body for such a soul. There can be no justification for liberation being regarded as ever-lasting (and) permanent except the fact that it is purely negative in character.

'For those who have understood the real nature of the soul, all their past *karma* having become exhausted through experience, and there comes no further body; as it is only for the experiencing of the reactions of the past *karma* that soul is burdened with the body; therefore the seeker for liberation

should not do any such act as has been forbidden and even what has been enjoined for certain purposes; (as both these would bring about karmic reaction which would have to be expiated by experience); but he should continue to perform the compulsory acts, as the omission of these would involve sin, which have to be expiated by painful experience through a physical body.'[1]

God

The problem of God is indirectly introduced in Mīmāṁsā when Śabara affirms that Veda was not created by God nor was the connection between a word and sense created by Him. The reason for this attitude is the basic Mīmāṁsā doctrine that Veda and the relation between word and sense are eternal. Once it is admitted that these were created, even by God, they would be rendered ephemeral, for whatever is created has a beginning, and therefore an end. To maintain the eternality of Veda and *śabda* the notion of God has to be discarded.

Vedas enjoin the performance of certain actions and promise certain results. These results are the unknowable *apūrva* (invisible subtle potency) which is produced by the performance of actions (*karma*). If God, the Supreme Creator, were admitted, He would be also omniscient and possessed of the knowledge of all things including that of *apūrva*, and would be in a position to lay down conditions for production of *apūrva*. That is, God would become the dispenser of the results of *karma*. Such a conclusion militates against the self-sufficiency of Veda, hence the Mīmāṁsakas do not admit the existence of God.

Both Prabhākara and Kumārila deny that world was created by God. They also deny the idea of world dissolution, Kumārila further points out that it is improper to attribute to God the creation of this world full of human misery. What could the human suffering be due to, since at the beginning there was neither merit nor demerit. At the beginning there was no human being, hence it cannot be said that God created out of compassion; for, who could be the object of compassion? And, if the world was created due to a compassionate impulse, everybody would be happy specially as the Creator was all-powerful nothing could hamper his compassionate activity. If God's intentions were thwarted by some external agency, He could not be omnipotent. What too could have been God's purpose in creating this world? No sane person undertakes any activity without some purpose. If God's action is purposeless, then how can He be an intelligent person? If the activity of God be attributed to His desire for sport (*līlā*), then He cannot

[1]*Ślokavārtika* translation quoted in Jha, op. cit., pp. 32-3. The order of the verses has been changed. *Karma* is of three types: 1. *kāmya-karma* performed with a desire to obtain certain things, like riches, son etc.; 2. *naimittika-karma* have to be performed on certain occasions, such as the birth of a child, eclipse etc.; and 3. *nitya-karma* which have to be performed daily, such as *agnihotra*, recitation of *gāyatrī* etc. Performance of *nitya-karma* does not produce any merit, but their non-performance produces demerit.

be regarded as one who has all his desires fulfilled .... If the theist insists that there must be some cause, or some agency that controls the world-process, that agency is by common agreement *karma*. The argument that 'human bodies must have been created by God, because they are bodies,' would apply with equal force to the body of God Himself. If God has no body, then who controls and supervises, for such activities are not possible for a disembodied person.

Kumārila advances more arguments to prove the non-existence of God, but these should be sufficient to indicate the trend of Mīmāṁsā thought. However, though Kumārila denies God as a world-creator, it is doubtful whether his denial extends to Paramātman or the Super-soul. Sir Ganganath Jha points out that on the authority of a recent work called the *Sarva-siddhāntasaṃgraha*, it seems that Kumārila was a believer in multiplicity of souls, and in their identity with the Super-soul, who is one, eternal, and present in every individual soul. This would bring Kumārila's position in line with Vedānta, which is very doubtful.

Kumārila's objections are refuted by Śaṃkara on Br.S. 2.1.33: *Lokavat tu līlā-kaivalyam* (But as in ordinary life, creation is mere sport [to Brahman]). In explaining this *sūtra* Śaṁkara writes:

'The word "but" discards the objection raised.[1] We see in everyday life that certain doings of princes or other men of high position, who have no unfulfilled desires left, have no reference to any extraneous purpose, but proceed from mere sportfulness, as for instance, their recreations in palaces of amusement. We further see that the process of inhalation and exhalation is going on without reference to any extraneous purpose, merely following the law of its own nature. Analogously, the activity of the Lord (Īśvara) also may be supposed to be mere sport, proceeding from his own nature, without reference to any purpose. For on the ground neither of reason nor of scripture can we construe any other purpose of the Lord. Nor can his nature be questioned. Although the creation of this world appears to us a weighty and difficult undertaking, it is mere play to the Lord, whose power is unlimited. And if in ordinary life we might possibly, by close scrutiny, detect some subtle motive, even for sportful action, we cannot do so with regard to the actions of the Lord, all whose wishes are fulfilled, as scripture (*śruti*) says. Nor can it be said that he either does not act or acts like a senseless person; for scripture affirms the fact of creation on the one hand, and the Lord's omniscience on the other hand. And, finally, we must remember that the scriptural doctrine of creation does not refer to the highest reality ....'

Their atheistic attitude had serious repercussion on the fortunes of Mīmāṁsā. Within a few centuries after Kumārila and Prabhākara, religions based on devotion and surrender to God swept across India, and Kumārila's

[1]The objection is raised in 2.1.32 which presents the prima facie view, namely, that (1) Brahman cannot be the creator of the world 'on account of actions having a purpose,' and (2) 'doctrine of creation proceeding from an intelligent Being is untenable.'

atheism became an object of derision. The study of Mīmāṁsā continued for the purpose of interpreting Dharmaśāstra texts.

Influence of Mīmāṁsā

The doctrines of the early and principal writers on Pūrvamīmāṁsā, MM. Kane has said, 'are rather quaint and startling. Their arguments about the eternality and self-existence of the Veda are fallacious and were not accepted even by other Indian systems. Both Prabhākara and Kumārila have in their scheme no place for God as the dispenser of rewards or as the ruler of man's destiny, as being pleased with men's prayers. They do not expressly deny the existence of God, but they assign to God or the deities mentioned in the Vedic texts a secondary role or rather practically no role at all. They raise *yajña* to the position of God and their dogmas about *yajña* seem to be based upon a sort of commercial or business-like system, viz., one should do so many acts, dispense gifts to priests, offer certain offerings, observe certain ethical rules and other rules of conduct (such as not eating fish, subsisting on milk) and then the reward would follow without the intervention of God. There is hardly any appeal to religious emotions, there is no omniscient Being, no Creator and no creation of the world. The Pūrvamīmāṁsā no doubt lays emphasis on (rights and) duties of man in life. The other *darśanas* are far more concerned with the question of escaping permanently, from the world and with man's destiny after death. The PMS, Śabara and Kumārila, however, make substantial contributions to the exegesis of Vedic texts . . .'[1]

Another reason for Mīmāṁsā's unpopularity was the sharp difference between Mīmāṁsā teachers themselves. We have already noticed the difference between Prabhākara and Kumārila. Kumārila shows scant respect even for Jaimini, whom he mentions four times without the honorific title *bhagavān* or *ācārya*. He also criticizes Jaimini for composing *sūtras* without much substance. Kumārila's criticism of Śabara is even more blatant. Many a times Kumārila says that Śabara's *Bhāṣya* is improper (*ayukta*), or deserves to be descarded, is meaningless and absurd (*asambaddha*), and full of many mistakes (*bahavo doṣāḥ*).[2]

Kumārila himself was not very consistent. His *Ślokavārtika* which, as mentioned above, seeks to prove the non-existence of God, begins with a *maṅgala* verse addressed to Śiva. Even so, his impious attitude, like that of other Mīmāṁsakas, was so pronounced that the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas declared that a Mimāṁsā scholar could never attain *bhakti* (devotion). And the *Padmapūrāṇa* (6.263. 74-6) states that Jaimini composed a vast but useless *śāstra* by expounding the view that there is no God. In this regard the position of Mimāṁsā was so unsatisfactory, that as Prof. Radhakrishnan has remarked 'the later writers [of Mīmāṁsā] slowly smuggled in God.'[3] In his Introduction to the *Ślokavārtika*, Kumārila laments: 'Among people Mīmāṁsā has

[1] *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1217.
[2] For references, see ibid, p. 1335.
[3] S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, p. 427.

been made almost heretical. I have made this effort to bring it to the path of orthodoxy.' Kumārila here evidently means by 'orthodoxy' his attempt to establish the supremacy of the Vedic sacrifices. For, it appears from the following remarks of the *Nyāya-ratnākara*, that some of the Mīmāṁsā teachers, whose works are now lost, were greater heretics than Kumārila: 'Mīmāṁsā, without being really unorthodox, has been made so by Bhartṛmitra and other writers, who have held out wrong doctrines, such as that no desirable results follow from the performance of the acts that are laid down as compulsory, nor any undesirable results from the acts that have been forbidden.'[1]

It has been stated above that the medieval writers considered the aid of Mīmāṁsā to be extremely important for the elucidation of the true purport of the Vedic passages. Mīmāṁsā had indeed developed a considerable armoury of analytical tools for interpreting Vedic passages, and in course of time these rules of interpretation were used by the commentators on Smṛti texts, as we have pointed out above. Medhātithi has divested many dicta of Manu of any operative force by declaring them as *arthavādas*.[2]

H. T. Colebrooke (1765-1837) wrote nearly 150 years ago: 'The disquisitions on the mīmāṁsā bear therefore a certain resemblance to juridical questions; and in fact, the Hindu law being blended with the religion of the people, the same modes of reasoning are applicable and are applied to the one as to the other. The logic of Mīmāṁsā is the logic of the law: the rule of interpretation of civil and religious ordinances. Each case is examined and determined upon and from the cases decided the principles may be collected. A well-ordered arrangement of them would constitute the philosophy of law, and this is in truth what has been attempted in the Mīmāṁsā.'[3]

There is, however, a great deal of difference between the interpretation of statutes and Mīmāṁsā rules of interpretation. The statutes are man-made, and can be amended or repealed, and are to be expounded according to the intent of those who made them. But Mīmāṁsā is concerned with the eternal and self-existent Veda, which can neither be amended nor repealed, and must be interpreted according to the intent of the Vedic words. Actually, the main purpose of Mīmāṁsā was to regulate the procedure (*iti-kartavyatā*) of the various principal and auxiliary matters in Vedic sacrifices. Still there are certain resemblances, and at times identity of Mīmāṁsā rules of interpretation and modern works on the interpretation of statutes. However, such resemblances should not, as MM. Kane points out, lead one to conclude that Mīmāṁsā rules of interpretation are as good as say Maxwell's 'interpretation of statutes.'[4]

[1]Quoted in Jha, op. cit., p. 22.

[2]Above, II, p. 11.

[3]H.T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Madras, pp. 316-17, quoted in *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1220. MM. Kane remarks that 'Colebrooke [was] one of the most accurate and level-headed of Western scholars in Sanskrit. . . . .'

[4]Ibid, p. 1284, MM. Kane has criticized K.L. Sircar's *Mīmāṁsā Rules of Interpretation*,

The principal subject matter of Mīmāṁsā are *yāga*, *homa*, and *dāna*.[1] Of these the first two were Vedic rites, and lost their importance by about 6th century AD. Thereafter Mīmāṁsā was studied for its rules of interpretation, which held sway during the medieval ages, and were also con sidered as authoritative by the Privy Council and High Courts in settling disputed points of Hindu law.

Calcutta, 1909.

[1]The common element in all these is 'the setting aside of one's ownership over the thing offered, and the bringing about of the ownership of another person.' The offering becomes a *yāga* (sacrifice) when 'it brings about the connection between a substance and a deity.' *Homa* is practically the same as *yāga*, but in a *homa* the substance offered is thrown into a receptacle containing fire or water. In *dāna*, the transferred object is taken away by the donee, while in *yāga* and *homa* the transference is merely verbal. Another difference between a *yāga* and a *homa* is that the *mantra* in *yāga* ends with the word *svāhā*, and in *homa* with the word *vaṣat*. See *Mīmaṁsā-paribhāṣā*, pp.36-7, and p. 83. For Śabara's definition of these terms, see Jha, op. cit., pp. 316-17.

APPENDIX

A famous anecdote relates how Prabhākara, the pupil, came to be designated as *guru*. The relation between the teacher Kumārila and the student Prabhakara was strained because the latter differed from the teacher and expressed his opinions frankly. One day Kumārila, while reading a manuscript, came across the following sentence: *atrāpi noktam tatra tu noktam iti dviruktam* (It has also not been said here, but it has not been said there, hence it has been said twice). For a long time Kumārila pondered over this rigmarole, but could find no sense in it. At last, being several times reminded that it was getting late for bath and lunch, he left after marking the folio. Prabhākara, who had been closely watching the teacher for some time, immediately opened the manuscript, saw the sentence, grasped its meaning, and wrote in the margin: *atra apinā uktam, tatra tunā uktam iti dviruktam* (Here it has been said by the word *api* [also], there it has been said with the *tu* [but], therefore it has been said twice). When Kumarila saw this explanation, he was furious with himself and said to Prabhākara partly in derision: 'From today I am not your *guru* (teacher), you are the *guru*.' Thus Prabhakara came to be known as 'the *guru*.'

CHAPTER XIX

ESSENTIALS OF VEDĀNTA

Introduction

SINCE the early years of the 9th century when Ācārya Śaṃkara wrote his commentaries, Vedānta became the dominant philosophy of India, and it has retained its position till now. Rammohan Roy, often called 'the father of modern India,' was a protagonist of Advaita Vedānta, and he developed Bengali prose while attempting to translate the Br.S. and the Upaniṣads into Bengali. Then came Sri Ramakrishna Pramahaṃsa and Swami Vivekananda who carried the message of Vedānta to the west.

The word '*vedānta*' is a compound of two words Veda and *anta* (end), literally meaning 'the end of the Veda,' denoting the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣads narrate the vision (*darśana*) or the mystic experience of the seers, which are beyond the realm of words. The Upaniṣads speak but mystically of the highest truth as experienced by different seers. Hence their apparent contradictions from which follow the difficulty in reconciling the teachings of the Upaniṣads, resulting in various interpretations from Advaita (non-dualism) to Dvaita (dualism) which will be explained below. All these interpretations were the works of great teachers, who were seers in their own right. Which interpretation then is correct?

Swami Vivekananda was once asked: 'Is the Advaita antagonistic to dualism?' He replied: 'The Upaniṣads not being in a systematised form, it was easy for philosophers to take up texts when they liked to form a system. The Upaniṣads had always to be taken, else there would be no basis. Yet we find all the different schools of thought in the Upaniṣads. Our solution is that the Advaita is not antagonistic to Dvaita (dualism). We say the latter is only one of the three steps. Religion always takes three steps. The first is dualism. Then man gets to a higher state, partial non-dualism. And at last he finds he is one with the universe. Therefore the three do not contradict but fulfil.'[1]

Prasthāna Traya

The Upaniṣads form the bed-rock of Vedānta philosophy. But since Śaṃkara commented on two other texts, namely the *Brahmasūtra* (Br.S.) and the *Bhagavadgītā* (*Gītā*), the three taken together known as the Prasthānatraya (Three Prasthānas) have formed the basis of Vedānta. Of these, the Br.S., is actually the epitome of the Upaniṣads, and is therefore also known

[1] *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, birth centenary ed., Calcutta, 1963, V, p. 299.

as the *Vedāntasūtra*. The *Gītā* is traditionally held to be a part of the Mbh. Few teachers, with the exception of Śaṃkara, commented on the Upaniṣads, but all of them commented on the Br. S., and most of them on the *Gītā* also.

Śaṃkara also commented upon Gauḍapāda's *Māṇḍukyakārikā*. Gauḍapāda was Śaṃkara's spiritual ancestor, hence the Ācārya accepted the *Māṇḍukyakārikā* as authoritative. But the *Kārikā* being a pure Advaita text, the other commentators, who were mostly Vaiṣṇavas or Śaivas, did not accept its authority and saw no reason to comment upon it.

Another well known text is the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (*Bhāgavata*). The *Bhāgavata* elaborates many of the ideas found in the *Gītā* in a germinal form. However, neither Śaṃkara nor Rāmānuja commented upon it. Its first notable commentator was Madhva who accepted its authority. Later, Vallabha and Caitanya gave utmost prominence to the *Bhāgavata* hailing it as 'the fifth Veda.'

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (YV) is another important Advaita text. But neither Śaṃkara nor any of his disciples commented upon it. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* quite often quotes from the *Māṇḍukyakārikā*, hence it must be later than the *Kārikā*. The YV also frequently quotes from the *Gītā*, and in about 314 verses (Nirvana, Purva, 52.33 to 58.13) presents a bowdlerized version of the *Gītā* in which some of the verses of the *Gītā* are scattered among other verses, the whole being presented as the dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. This strange lapse in a work otherwise so well-written indicates that the YV is a pre-Śaṃkara text, for since the great Ācārya fixed the text of the *Gītā*, it was scrupulously followed even by his detractors. For reasons given below, it appears that the YV could not have been written before the middle of the 7th century AD. But apparently, the YV was neither approved by Śaṃkara nor by his spiritual predecessors. Possibly the YV belonged to another school of Advaita, which became extinct after Śaṃkara's appearance.

The present work, due to its limited scope, can discuss only the salient features of the *Prasthānatraya*. Of these, the nature of the Upaniṣads has been already discussed in previous chapters, where an outline of their philosophy has also been traced. Hence brief accounts of the Br.S. and the *Gītā* will be given now.

BRAHMASŪTRA

Author

It is generally held that the Br.S. was written by Bādarāyaṇa, but his identification is beset with difficulties. Actually, there are two problems: 1. Who was Bādarāyaṇa? and, 2. how many Bādarāyanas were there? It will be convenient to take up the second question first.

The Br.S. names Jaimini eleven times and Bādarāyaṇa nine times, while the PMS mentions Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini five times each. Were the two authors contemporaries? If not, how were they related?

MM. Kane has noted in the *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* a tradition of some 'antiquity according to which Jaimini was a pupil of Pārāśarya Vyāsa' (Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara).[1] The Mbh. (2.4.8-9; 12.314.23-24, 29 and 337.11-12) state that Jaimini, along with Sumantu, Vaiśampāyana, Paila, and Śuka (son of Vyāsa) were Vyāsa's pupils. This traditional association of Jaimini with Sumantu, Vaiśampāyana, and Paila is also found in the *tarpaṇa* provided in the *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* (3.4.4). Regarding Pārāśarya Vyāsya, mentioned above, the Purāṇas state that he, also known as Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, arranged one Veda into four, and imparted the RV, YV, SV, and AV respectively to Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini and Sumantu.

Śaṃkara (on Br.S. 3.4.40 and introduction to 4.4.22, the last *sūtra*) makes it clear that he considers Bādarāyaṇa to have written the entire Br.S. Confusion is introduced by Vācaspati, the celebrated author of the *Bhāmatī*, the almost indispensable sub-commentary on Śaṃkara's commentary on the Br.S., known as the *Śārīrakabhāṣya*. In his fifth introductory verse of the *Bhāmatī*, Vācaspati refers to Vedavyāsa as the author of the Br.S. Similarly, in the second verse of his introduction to his commentary on the Br.S., Rāmānuja calls upon all good men to drink the nectar-like words of Pārāśarya (i.e., Vyāsa), and on Br.S. 2.2.42, he refers to Bādarāyaṇa as the author of the Br.S. and the Mbh., which includes the Pañcarātra doctrine. Whether Vācaspati started it or not, there is a tradition that Vyāsa not only arranged the Veda into four parts, and wrote the Mbh., and also wrote the Br.S., hence it is also known as the *Vyāsasūtra*.

MM. Kane has gone through the problem of the authorship of the Br.S. and the PMS with his usual thoroughness, and has arrived at the following conclusions:

1. '. . . . if Jaimini is the author of the extant PMS and mentions the views of Jaimini five times only, there was a predecessor and namesake of his called Jaimini who had expressed his views in a different work.

2. 'Therefore, these illustrations show that, though the final conclusion of Bādarāyaṇa and the author of the VS [*Vedantasūtra*, i.e., *Brahmasūtra*] is the same, the language and the reasons are different, and that Bādarāyaṇa named in the VS was a predecessor of the author of the extant VS that had composed a work on Vedānta, whom the author of the VS strengthens with reasons of his own.'[2] That is, there were two Bādarāyaṇas.

Regarding the identification of Vyāsa with Bādarāyaṇa, it may be noted that Pāṇini (4.3.110-111) mentions *bhikṣus* (mendicant ascetics) who studied the *Bhikṣusūtra* of Pārāśarya, or the *Bhikṣusūtra* of Karmanda, and were designated Pārāśarinaḥ and Karmandinaḥ. MM. Kane has identified this *Bhikṣu-*

[1] *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1161.

[2] ibid, pp. 1167 and 1168. On p. 1167, MM. Kane writes, 'Therefore it appears that Jaimini who expresses views on apparently Vedāntic topics and whose views are not found in PMS composed a work on Vedānta.' On p. 1161, ibid, MM. Kane has rejected the theory that there were three Jaiminis. Hence, it has to be concluded that there was one Jaimini whose works are now lost who wrote on both Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta.

sūtra of *Pārāśarya* with a 'work somewhat like the extant Brahmasūtra or one of its predecessors.'[1] MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, after adducing reasons for dating the Br.S. much earlier than is usually believed, concluded: 'Therefore, though it is difficult to say definitely that the extant Brahmasūtra is a later edition of the very old *Bhikṣusūtra* mentioned by Pāṇini, it is certain that the extant *Brahmasūtra* is not as late as the western scholars think it to be.' In another article written a few years later he stated in a footnote: 'It is not possible to admit that the *Śārīrakasūtra* [i.e., Br.S.] and the *Mahābhārata* were written by the same man. Also, there is no incontrovertible evidence that Vyāsa, son of Parāśara, is Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the *Brahmasūtra*, though it is true that Pāṇini has mentioned the *Bhikṣusūtra* of Pārāśarya.'[2]

MM. Kane's conclusion is that 'it is possible to say that the *Bhikṣusūtra* propounded by Pārāśarya must have been somewhat like the extant Br.S., or one of its predecessors .... It appears that from the 9th century AD Bādarāyaṇa came to be confounded with Vyāsa Pārāśarya.'[3] This opinion practically agrees with that of MM. Gopinath Kaviraj and we may accept it till such evidence is available which would make it necessary to change MM. Kane's conclusion.

Date of the Brahmasūtra

Both Prof. S. Radhakrishnan and Prof. S.N. Dasgupta have assigned the Br.S., to the 2nd century BC on the ground that it refutes all other systems of Indian philosophy, and, as Prof. Dasgupta adds, 'even of the Śūnyavāda Buddhism (of course according to Śaṃkara's interpretation).'[4] The reservation made by Prof. Dasgupta within parenthesis is important.

Criticizing the views of modern scholars, MM. Gopinath Kaviraj writes: 'The opinions of modern scholars do not appear to be cogent, because the Br.S., mentions very ancient seers and does not refer to any founder of "modern" sect or to any teacher who established a new philosophical school. If the Br.S., refutes Sāṁkhya, it must be taken as the very ancient Sāṁkhya doctrine. Also, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika doctrine refuted in the Br.S., is not the current doctrines based on the *sūtras* of Gautama and Kaṇāda. The Br.S., contains the refutation of Sarvāstivāda, Vijñānavāda, and Śūnyavāda, but there is no reason to believe that these were the Buddhist doctrines of the historical period. The conclusions of the Sarvāstivāda of the Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas are found in a germinal form in ancient texts like the *Kathāvatthu* etc. Vijñānavāda existed even before it was established by Bodhisattva Maitreyanātha, the founder of the Yogācāra sect, and Yogācārya Asaṁga.

[1]ibid, p. 1169.

[2]G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 114 and p. 19 fn. The first article was written in Hindi as a forward to a Hindi translation of Br.S., and later published in the *Acyut*, III, no. 4 (1915). The second article was published in the Bengali journal *Uttarā* sometime after 1925.

[3]*HDK*, V, ii, p. 1169.

[4]S. Radhakrishnan, *The Brahma-sūtra, The Philosophy of Spiritual Life*, London, 1960, introduction, p. 22. S.N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 418.

This is clearly stated in texts like the *Laṁkāvatāra* etc., besides which there is definite indication in the Pali texts. It is true that the Mādhyamika doctrine is found only in the works of Nāgārjuna, and in those of Āryadeva, Dharmatrāta etc., but in the pre-Nāgārjuna age Śūnyavada is found not only in Aśvaghoṣa's works, but also in very old Pali texts. These conclusions are embedded in a very subtle manner in the ancient Upaniṣads.' Hence, MM. Gopinath Kaviraj arrives at the conclusion stated above, that the Br.S., is not as late as the western scholars believe it to be.[1] If we accept this conclusion, the Br.S., must be much earlier than the 2nd century BC.

Another related problems is whether the Br.S , is referred to in the *Gītā* or not. *Gītā*, 13.4 states: "This real nature of *kṣetra* and *kṣetrajña* has been separately sung (i.e., propounded) in many ways by the sages in different Vedic hymns (or meters) and by the words of the Brahmasūtra that are full of reasoning and that arrive at definite conclusion.' Now, the Br.S., does not mention the *Gītā*, but in several *sūtras* where *smṛti* is mentioned, the commentators are agreed that the *Gītā* is meant. Thus *Smṛteś=ca* (And on account of *smṛti* Br.S. 1.2.6) is explained by Śaṃkara as referring to *Gītā*, 18.61, and 13.2, and by Rāmānuja to *Gītā*, 15.19, and 18.61 and by Nimbārka to *Gītā*, 18.61. On *Api ca smaryate* (The same is declared by *smṛti* also, Br.S., 1.3.23), Śaṃkara cites *Gītā*, 15.6 and 12, Rāmānuja 14.2, and Nimbārka 4.10 and 14.2. Again on *Api ca smaryate* (Br.S. 2.3.45) the only *smṛti* passage quoted by Śaṃkara, Rāmānuja, and Nimbārka is *Gītā*, 15.7. On *Smaranti ca* (And *smṛti* texts say the same, Br.S. 4.1.10) Śaṃkara quotes *Gītā* 6.11, Rāmānuja 6.11-12, and Nimbārka 6.11. On *Yoginaḥ prati ca smaryate smārte caite* (And those two [paths] are, with a view to the yogins, mentioned as to be remembered, Br.S. 4.2.21) Śaṃkara refers to *Gītā* 8.24-25, Rāmānuja to 8.27, and Nimbārka to 8.23 etc. Thus though the *Gītā* is not mentioned in the Br.S., there is a consensus among the Ācāryas that the *Gītā* is relied upon and forms the basis of the *sūtras* mentioned above. Hence the incongruous position is reached that, as the *Gītā* mentions the Br.S., the *Gītā* must have been written later, and also that as the Br.S., refers to the *Gītā*, it must have been written earlier than the Br.S. One way out of this vicious circle would be to identify the author of the extant Br.S. with Vyāsa, the author of the Mbh., but we have seen that such identification is not probable. It is therefore most likely that the Br.S., mentioned in the *Gītā* is not the extant Br.S., but as Śaṃkara explained *Brahma-sūtra padaiḥ* (*Gītā*, 13.4) as 'passages that suggest doctrines about Brahman,' that is Upaniṣadic passages; he explains *sūtra* as *sūcaka* (indicative). Many commentators agree with Śaṃkara on this point.[2]

[1]G. Kaviraj, op. cit., p. 114.

[2]See A.K. Majumdar, *Caitanya, His Life and Doctrine*, Bombay, 1969, p. 6. MM. Kane thinks it highly probable that the *Gītā* had before it several works called Brahmasūtras and in 13.4 refers to them and not to the extant Brahmasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa, *HDK*, V, ii, p. 1173. The translation of Bhagavadgitā 13.4 given above is by MM. Kane, ibid, p. 1172; for the analysis of Bhagavadgitā 13.4 see ibid, p. 1171 fn. See also S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., II, p. 549.

Thus it cannot be said that the Br.S., was written after the *Gītā*. The probability is that it was written before the *Gītā*. The date of the *Gītā* will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Predecessors of Bādarāyaṇa

The names of several authors are mentioned in the *sūtras*. They are:

i. Bādari is mentioned four times in the Br.S. (1.2.30; 3.1.11; 4.3.7; and 4.4.10), and also an equal number of time in the PMS (3.1.3; 6.1.27; 8.3.6; and 9.2.33). Bādari was a liberal thinker, for in PMS 6.1.27 he is said to have allowed the *śūdras* the right to perform Vedic sacrifices, which view was refuted by Jaimini. Br. S. 3.1.11 refers to *caraṇa* (cf. *Chāndogya*, 5.10.7) which is explained by Bādari as good and bad deeds. He also explains in Br. S. 4.3.7 Brahma of *Chāndogya* 4.15.5 (*sa enān Brahma gamayati*='he leads them to Brahma'). Here the problem is whether Brahma indicates Kāryabrahma or Parabrahma. According to Jaimini, it is Parabrahma, while Bādari holds that it is Kāryabrahma (effected Brahman): 'For, Kāryabrahma, who occupies a definite place can be the goal of a journey. With the highest Brahman on the other hand, we cannot collect the idea of one who goes, or object of going, or act of going; for that Brahman is present everywhere and is the inner self of all. 'In Br.S. 4.4.10, the problem is raised as to whether a released person after having reached lordly powers (*aiśvarya*) possesses a body and senses or not. Here Bādari is of opinion that the glorified possessor of knowledge is without body and sense-organs on the basis of *Chāndogya* 8.2.5. Here he was opposed by Jaimini (Br. S. 4.4.11), and for this reason Bādarāyaṇa (Br.S. 4.4.11) admits both the opinions as both are based on Śruti texts.

ii. Āśmarathya is mentioned in Br.S. 1.2.29, and 1.4.20, and in PMS 6.5.16. According to him (Br. S. 1.2.29) 'the highest Lord (Parameśvara) manifests himself for the benefit of the worshipper in some special place like the heart where he can be perceived.' On Br.S. 1.4.20, Āśmarathya's opinion is that 'if the individual soul were different from the highest Self, the knowledge of the latter would not imply the knowledge of the former, and thus the promise that through the knowledge of one thing everything is to be known would not be fulfilled. Hence the initial statement. (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 4.5.4) aims at representing the individual self and the highest Self as non-different for the purpose of fulfilling the promise made.' This was the Bhedābheda doctrine in a germinal form later developed by Yādavaprakāśa. Āśmarathya's position is made clear in the *Bhāmatī* on 1.4.20. Śaṃkara criticizes Āśmarathya (on Br.S. 1.4.22).

iii. Ātreya is mentioned only once in the Br.S. (3.4.44) and twice in the PMS (4.3.18 and 6.1.26). The problem was as to who was to receive the merit from a subordinate sacrifice (*aṁga upāsanā*), the sacrificer or the priest. Ātreya's opinion was that the sacrificer would receive the merit not the priest.

iv. Kārṣṇājini is mentioned only once in the Br.S. (3.1.9) and twice in the PMS (4.3.17 and 6.7.35). He interpreted *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 4.4.5 and *Taittarīya*

Upaniṣad 1.11.2 to deny that birth does not depend on conduct etc.

v. Kāśakṛtsna is mentioned only once in the Br.S. (1.4.22) and not mentioned in the PMS. According to him, the initial statement which aims at intimating the non-difference of the highest Self and the individual self is possible. He further holds that the non-modified highest Lord (*avikṛtaḥ Parameśvarah*) himself is the individual soul (*jīva*), not anything else.

vi. Jaimini is the most quoted authority in the Br. S. As stated above, he has been quoted eleven times: 1.2.28; 1.2.31; 1.3.31; 1.4.18; 3.2.40; 3.4.2; 3.4.18; 3.4.40; 4.3.12; 4.4.5 and 4.4.11. It is not possible to give here even the outlines of Jaimini's views.

vii. Auḍulomi is mentioned in Br.S. 1.4.21, 3.4.45 and 4.4.6. His position is clarified by Vācaspati in *Bhāmatī* on Br. S. 1.4.21: 'The individual soul is absolutely different from the highest Self; it is inquinated by the contact with its different limiting adjuncts. But it is spoken of, in the Upaniṣad, as non-different from the highest Self because after having purified itself by means of knowledge and meditation it may pass out of the body and become one with the highest Self. The text of the Upaniṣad thus transfers a future state of non-difference to that time when difference actually exists. Compare the saying of the Pañcarātrikas: "Up to the moment of emancipation being reached the soul and the highest Self are different. But the emancipated soul is no longer different from the highest Self, since there is no further cause of difference." '[1] The technical name of the doctrine advocated by Auḍulomi is *Satya-bhedavāda.*

There was probably another *sūtra* text written by one Kāśyapa, as appears from the following three *sūtras* of Sāṇḍilya's *Bhaktisūtra* (29-31):

i. *Tām aiśvaryaparāṁ Kāśyapaḥ paratvāt* (29)

ii. *Atm-āikaparāṁ Bādarāyaṇaḥ* (30)

iii. *Ubhaya-parāṁ Śāṇḍilyaḥ sabd-opapattibhyām* (31)

That is: Kāśyapa is of the opinion that when the intellect takes refuge in Parameśvara alone, then it leads to liberation, for Parameśvara is beyond all the *jīvas.* Kāśyapa is of the view that there is always a difference between the individual self and Parameśvara.

Bādarāyana thinks that liberation is attained when the intellect is identified with the Supreme Self as pure intelligence. Here the ultimate reality is pure intelligence or consciousness, and the difference between the Supreme Self and the individual self is unreal (cf. Br.S. 4.1.3: 'But as the Self [scriptural texts] acknowledge and make us comprehend [the Supreme]).'

Śāṇḍilya admits both identity and difference. The date of Śāṇḍilya is not known, but he must have flourished during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Pre-Śaṃkara Vedānta Teachers

i. Bhartṛprapañca: It is almost certain that he commented on the *Bṛhadā-*

[1]Translations from the *Bhāmatī* are by G. Thibaut, *The Vedānta-Sūtras, with the commentary of Śaṃkarācārya*, I, SBE, XXXIV, Delhi, 1962, pp. 277-78.

raṇyaka and the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, and that his conclusion was *jñāna-karma-samuccaya* (synthesis of knowledge and action). Śaṃkara sharply criticized and refuted this doctrine, and in his commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* has jibed at him by referring to him as 'the *aupaniṣadammanya*' (the so-called expert on the Upaniṣads). However, Śaṃkara's direct disciple, Sureśvarācārya, in his *Vārttika* has referred to Bhartṛprapañca respectfully as 'the Sampradāyavit,' and 'Brahmavādin.'[1]

ii. Bhartṛmitra: He is mentioned in Jayanta's *Nyāyamañjarī* (pp. 213 and 226) and in Yāmunācārya's *Siddhitraya* (pp. 4-5), from which it appears that he was a Vedānta teacher. He seems to have written on Mīmāṁsā also, for Kumārila has mentioned him in the *Ślokavartika* (1.1.1.10; 1.1.6-130-131) where he is criticized for his heresy as mentioned above. It is difficult to say whether Bhartṛmitra the Vedānta teacher is identical with Bhartṛmitra the Mīmāṁsā writer criticized by Kumārila. For all we know, they may have been different persons.

iii. Bhartṛhari: He is also mentioned by Yāmuna in his *Siddhitraya*. There is no argument against his identification with Bhartṛhari, the author of the *Vākyapadīya*, but no Vedānta text by Bhartṛhari has yet been found. The *Vākyapadīya* is a work on grammar, but as MM. Gopinath Kaviraj says, there is no doubt that its primary interest is Advaita philosophy. Some ancient authorities were of the opinion that Śaṃkara's disciple, Maṇḍana Miśra wrote his celebrated work, the *Brahmasiddhi*, on the basis of Bhartṛhari's *Śabda-Brahmavāda*.

iv. Upavarṣa: Śaṃkara respectfully refers to him on Br.S. 1.3.28 and 3.3.53 and from both the reference it appears that Upavarṣa was a Mīmāṁsā teacher. However, on 3.3.53, Śaṃkara states: '.... the reverend Upavarṣa remarks in the first *tantra* (i.e. Mīmāṁsā)—where an opportunity presents itself for the discussion of the existence of the Self—"We will discuss this in the Śārīraka (i.e., Vedānta)," and allows the matter to rest there.' It is apparent therefore that Upavarṣa was a teacher of both Vedānta and Mīmāṁsā.

v. Bodhāyana: At the beginning of his commentary on the Br.S., Rāmānuja states: 'The gloss (*vṛtti*) on the Brahma-sūtras which was composed by reverend Bodhāyana has been abridged by former teachers; according to their views, the words of the *sūtras* will be explained in the present work.' Short quotations from Bodhāyana's *vṛtti* has been given several times by Rāmānuja. More than once Śaṃkara refers to the opinion of 'another' (commentator of the *sūtras*), and in several places Śaṃkara's commentator says that the 'another' means 'the Vṛttikāra,' who may have been Bodhāyana.

Some other Vedānta teachers are mentioned by Rāmānuja in his *Vedārtha-saṃgraha* (130), where along with Bodhāyana he mentions the following Vedānta teachers: Ṭaṁka, Dramiḍa, Guhadeva, Kapardi, and Bhāruci. Of

[1]For details of Bhartṛprapañca and the following teachers see G. Kaviraj, op. cit., pp. 118-26, and S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., II, p. 43.

these, nothing more than the names of Ṭaṁka, Guhadeva, and Bhāruci are known.

vi. Dramiḍa or Draviḍa was an ancient Vedānta teacher respectfully referred to by Śaṃkara (on *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad*, 2.20 and 2.32), and also in his commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, and he has nowhere contradicted this teacher. Hence many scholars are of the opinion that Draviḍācārya is different from Dramiḍa mentioned by Rāmānuja. Some scholars have identified Rāmānuja's Dramiḍa with the Alvar saint Śaṭhkopa, but that does not seem to be very probable. Rāmānuja quotes Dramiḍa three times (on Br.S. 1.1.1, 2.1.14, and 2.2.3).

vii. Bhāruci: The name of Bhāruci is available from the *Mitākṣarā* (on Yājñavalkya 1.18, and, 2.124), Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-saṃhitā* (2/3, p. 510), and in the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* (Anuccheda, 133). It has been held by MM. Kane that, 'it may be provisionally held that Bhāruci the writer on *dharmaśāstra* and Bhāruci, the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher are identical.'[1]

viii. Sundarapāṇḍya: At the end of his comments upon Br.S. 1.1.4, Śaṃkara says, 'they have made the following declaration,' and quotes three verses. Vācaspati refers to these verses as 'songs by the knowers of Brahman,' but in the *Prabodha-pariśodhinī* commentary on Padmapāda's *Pañcapādika* by Ātmasvarūpa it is learnt that the verses were composed by Sundarapāṇḍya. Sundarapāṇḍya was a Śaiva-vedāntin, but it is doubtful as to whether he was identical with Neḍumāraṇ Nāyanar as has been suggested by some scholars.[2]

Contents of Brahmasūtra

The Br.S., is divided into four *adhyāyas*, each *adhyāya* being divided into four *pādas*. Each *pāda* contains a number of *sūtras* grouped into *adhikaraṇas* or topics. Sometimes a single *sūtra* constitute an *adhikaraṇa*. A *sūtra* is based on *viṣayavākyas*, which are usually passages from the Upaniṣads, and it is in the selection of *viṣayavākyas* that the commentators differ and give different interpretation to the *sūtra*. The total number of *sūtras* is about 555, but they vary from one commentary to another, for sometimes a commentator condenses into one *sūtra* which other commentators expand into two or even three *sūtras*. Our references, unless stated otherwise, are to Śaṃkara's commentary.

Adhyāya One: The Samanvaya Adhyāya: The first four *sūtras* of the Br.S. (1.1.1 to 1.1.4) are popularly known as the *Catuḥ-ślokī*. These four *sūtras* may be called the most important *sūtras*, and their interpretations raise the most acute controversy. We are giving below the summaries of the commentaries some of which are extremely long.

Br.S. 1.1.1 is *Athāto Brahma jijñāsā*, 'Then, therefore, an inquiry into Brahman (is to be made).' On this Śaṃkara writes:

[1] *HDK*, I, 2nd ed., p. 567.

[2] MM. Kuppuswami Sastri, Some Problems of Identity in the Cultural History of Ancient India, *Journal of Oriental Research Madras*, I, pp. 1-15.

The word '*atha*' (then) denotes immediate sequence and not the beginning of a new topic. It presupposes something antecedent, which is the 'fourfold discipline': (1) Discrimination between the eternal and the non-eternal, the real and the unreal; (2) renunciation of all desires to enjoy the fruits of one's action both here and hereafter; (3) the following acquirements, namely, (i) *śama*, tranquillity or control of thought, withdrawing the mind from worldly affairs; (ii) *dama*, self-restraint or control of conduct; (iii) *uparati*, discontinuance of religious ceremonies, (iv) *titikṣā*, patience in suffering; (v) *samādhāna*, attention and concentration of the mind; (vi) *śraddhā*, faith and (4) desire for liberation. A person who has passed through this discipline is entitled to inquire into Brahman which is indicated by the word '*atha*' (then), and not the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā.

The compound word *Brahma-jijñāsā* means '*jijñāsā* of Brahman,' and *jijñāsā* means 'desire to know.' The compound word therefore means 'the desire to know Brahman.' In other words, Brahman is the object of inquiry.

According to Rāmānuja (on Br.S. 1.1.1), the fruit of the works taught in the PMS is limited and transitory, while the fruit of the knowledge of Brahman taught in the Br.S. is unlimited and eternal. For this reason, Brahman is to be known after acquiring the knowledge of *karma* (rituals). For, the PMS and the Br.S. constitute one body of doctrine and must be studied successively.

According to Nimbārka (on 1.1.1) before inquiring into Brahman, a person must read the Veda with its six auxiliary sciences. Then his mind is assailed by doubts as to the transitoriness of the results of action, which may be removed by studying the PMS. When he apprehends that results of all actions are transitory, while the knowledge of Brahman leads to everlasting bliss, he yearns for such knowledge, and desires liberation. Therefore, he must inquire about Brahman who is the highest Person (Puruṣottama), who is the Lord of Ramā (Ramākānta, i.e., Viṣṇu). He is called Brahman, because He possesses infinite, inconceivable, essential, and innate high attributes and powers.

According to Madhva (on 1.1.1) the term *atha* (then) is used to express auspiciousness. Its expressed sense is immediate sequence to eligibility. An *adhikārin* (eligible person) must have studied the Veda, and cultivated tranquillity, self-control, contentment, concentration etc., and must have realized the impermanence of everything except God, and the world's absolute dependence on Him. An eligible person must be free from all attachments and must surrender himself to God. The word *ataḥ* points to the bondage of souls in the chain of births and deaths which can be removed only by the grace of God, which is vouchsafed to those who attain His direct vision and realize His glory. His glory can be realized through *jijñāsā* which consists of *śravaṇa* (study), *manana* (reflection), *nididhyāsana* (meditation), *bhakti* (devotion), and *niskāma-karma* (performance of action without desire and surrendering the results of such action to God). The word Brahman means Viṣṇu, and not any other deity.

According to Vallabha (on 1.1.1), the word *atha* denotes the commence-

ment of a new topic, and the word *jijñāsā* means *vicāra* or inquiry. Hence the sense of the *sūtra* is: 'Whereas the knowledge of Brahman is the means of attainment of the highest end of man, therefore, let us enter into an inquiry about Brahman so that we may know Him.' The *karmas* or religious observances must precede such inquiry, nor does the knowledge of Brahman result in the cessation of activities. Even the *jivan-muktas* (embodied liberated souls) perform all *karmas*.

According to Baladeva (on 1.1.1), the word *atha* means immediate sequence. He agrees that a knowledge of Mīmāṁsā is a pre-requisite, but contends that the mere knowledge of *karma-mīmāṁsā* or the attainment of qualifications laid down by Śaṃkara does not give us the desire to inquire into the nature of Brahman. One needs, in addition to all these, *bhakti* produced by association with saintly persons.

According to Śrīkaṇṭha (on 1.1.1) *atha* denotes immediate succession indicating that the pre-requisite is a knowledge of the *karma-kāṇḍa* (PMS). After studying the Veda, one should study *dharma* as taught in the PMS, and then inquire into Brahman. *Karma* and *jñāna* conjointly lead to release, hence first *karma* should be learned and then Vedānta.

Thus all the commentators except Śaṃkara are agreed that a previous study of Mīmāṁsā is necessary before Vedānta is taken up, and that the two form a whole.

Br.S. 1.1.2 is *Janmādyasya yataḥ* (From whom are the origin, preservation, and destruction of this [world]).

This *sūtra* defines Brahman. The unanimous opinion of all the commentators is that the Sāṁkhya doctrine of transformation of Prakṛti, and the doctrine that Hiraṇyagarbha is the efficient cause of this universe are not the purport of Vedānta. However, Madhva holds that this *sūtra* differentiates God from souls and material objects.

According to Śaṃkara, the sense of this *sūtra* (1.1.2) is: '.... The origin etc , of a world possessing the attributes stated above cannot possibly proceed from anything else but a Lord possessing the stated qualities; not either from non-intelligent Pradhāna (Prakṛti), or from atoms, or from non-being, or from a being subject to transmigration; nor, again can it proceed from its own nature (i.e., spontaneously, without a cause), since we observe that (for the production of effects) special places, times, and causes have invariably to be employed.

'(Some of) those who maintain a Lord to be the cause of the world (i.e., the Vaiśeṣikas). think that the existence of a Lord different from mere transmigrating being can be inferred by means of the argument stated just now (without recourse being had to Scripture at all). But, it might be said, you yourself in the Sūtra under discussion have merely brought forward the same argument! By no means, we reply. The Sūtras (lit. 'the strings') have merely the purpose of stringing together the flowers of the Vedānta-passages. In reality the Vedānta-passages referred to by the Sūtras are discussed here. For the comprehension of Brahman is effected by the ascertainment, conse-

quent on discussion, of the sense of the Vedānta texts, not either by inference or by other means of right knowledge. While, however, the Vedānta-passages primarily declare the cause of the origin etc., of the world, inference also, being an instrument of right knowledge in so far as it does not contradict the Vedic texts, is not to be excluded as a means of confirming the meaning ascertained . . . .'

According to Rāmānuja, the word Brahman is derived from the root *briṁh* (to grow), and means 'that which possesses supreme greatness (*bṛhattva*) and power of growth (*bṛṁhaṇa*). Though the *sūtra* mentions three attributes, namely, origination, subsistence, and reabsorption, it does not mean that there are three different beings, each possessing one of these attributes, but that Brahman is one without a second, the creator, upholder, and destroyer of the world. The attributes given in the *sūtra* are merely collateral marks of Brahman. The real definition (if indeed such a term can be applied to Brahman) is given by the text: 'The True, Knowledge, (and) Infinite is Brahman'. Brahman is True or absolutely unconditioned existence, thus different from non-intelligent matter, the abode of change, and the souls implicated in matter. 'The term knowledge (*jñāna*) expresses the characteristic of permanently non-contracted intelligence, and thus distinguishes Brahman from the released souls whose intelligence is sometimes a contracted state. And the term "Infinite" denotes that, whose nature; is free from all limitation of place, time, and particular substantial nature; and as Brahman's essential nature possesses attributes, infinity belongs both to the essential nature and to the attributes . . . .'

According to Nimbārka, 'this universe has various inconceivable localities and attributes, and possesses diverse names and forms, and its structure is inconceivable and the nature of its arrangement cannot even be conceived by the mind. Brahman is omniscient, omnipotent, and the store-house of all excellent qualities. That Lord is the controller of Brahmā, Śiva, and Time also. This is a defining *sūtra* (*laksaṇa vākya*).'

According to Madhva, this *sūtra* (1.1.2) defines Brahman as the author of creation, sustenance, dissolution etc., of the world of matter and souls, distinguishing Brahman from all *jīvas* and all material principles. Brahman is the highest reality, transcending everything yet being the immanent principle underlying all changes in the life of *jīvas* and matter. Creation is dependent acquisition of new characters, names and forms. Everything in the life of souls and matter flow from the infinitely perfect Brahman.

According to Vallabha, this *sūtra* (1.1.2) shows that Brahman has *kartṛtva* (agency). Worldly agents must possess physical bodies to manifest their activities, but not so God who is the transcendental agent. By the mere force of His will He creates all. Not only is He *kartā* (agent), He is *bhoktā* (enjoyer) also.

Vallabha gives an alternative explanation of this sutra: *janma* (origination) *ādyasya* (of the first-born) *yataḥ* (from whom). (From whom the first-born originates). The first-born is the sky, as the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2.1.1. says.

According to Śrīkaṇṭha, this *sūtra* (1.1.2) shows that Brahman is He from whom proceeds the origination, subsistence, dissolution, bondage (*tirobhāva*), and release (*anugraha*), of the universe. Brahman has omniscience (*sarvajñatā*), ever-contentedness (*nitya-tṛptatā*), eternal wisdom (*anādibodhatā*), independence (*svatantratā*), perpetual potency (*nitya-alupta-śaktitā*), and infinite power (*ananta-śaktitā*). He is called Bhava as He exists (*bhu*) everywhere. He is the Sarva, the all-destroyer; Īśāṇa, the ruler; Paśupati, the ruler of spirits and matter; Rudra, the expeller of the malady of the world-wheel; Ugra, or fierce; Bhīma, the terrible; and Mahādeva, the 'great shining one.' He is the material as well as the efficient cause of the world.

Br.S. 1.1.3 is *Śāstra-yonitvāt* (From its being the source of scripture).

Śaṃkara gives two interpretations of this *sūtra* (1.1.3): i. Brahman is the source, that is, the cause of the great body of scriptures, consisting of the RV and other branches, as well as of other disciplines, such as grammar, logic, *purāṇas* etc. ii. Or the *sūtra* may be interpreted to mean that the scripture consisting of the RV etc., is the source or cause, that is, the means of right knowledge through which we can understand the nature of Brahman.

According to Rāmānuja, this *sūtra* (1.1.3) shows that Brahman is not an object of perception or knowable by other means of proof. He is to be known through scriptures only.

According to Nimbārka, this *sūtra* (1.1.3) declares that the scripture alone is the proof of Brahman's existence, that is, it is the scripture that gives us the knowledge of the existence of Brahman.

According to Madhva, the existence of Brahman can be proved only by scripture. But by 'scripture' Madhva means Veda, Upaniṣads, Purāṇas, *Rāmāyaṇa*, Mbh., Pañcarātra texts, and whatever else is in conformity with these texts. Madhva accepts the Pañcarātra texts as a *śāstra* on the authority of the Mbh.

Vallabha combines the second and the third *sūtra* (1.1.2 and 1.1.3) into one *sūtra*, and takes the word *śāstra* to mean Veda. He concludes that we can know only on the authority of Veda that Brahman is the cause of this world. There are, however, Vedic passages which declare that Prajāpati by his austerities created this universe. Vallabha resolves this apparent contradiction by pointing out that creators like Brahmā, Prajapati etc., are secondary creators.

According to Śrīkaṇṭha, this *sūtra* (1.1.3) means that Brahman can be known only through scriptures. Or the *sūtra* may mean that Brahman must be omniscient because he is the cause of all scriptures. The second *sūtra* established the omnipotence of Brahman as being the creator etc. of the world, while this *sūtra* establishes His moral grandeur as being the source of all scriptures. But the *śruti* (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, II. 6 11) says that the Vedas are eternal. How can then Brahman be their source? To this objection it is pointed out that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2.4.10) says: 'The RV etc., have been breathed forth from that great Being.'

Br.S. 1.1.4 is, a *Tat tu samanvayāt* (But that [authoritativeness of scriptures

with regard to Brahman] is the result of harmony [of the different Vedānta texts]).

According to Śaṃkara, in this *sūtra* (1.1.4) the word *tu* (but) excludes the prima facie view (PMS, 1.2.1) that the purport of a scripture is to teach action. The present *sūtra* affirms that 'Brahman is to be known from scripture, because it is connected with the Vedānta texts as their purport.'

While commenting on Br.S. 1.1.1, Śaṃkara has stated that 'the result as well as the object of *Dharma-jijñāsā* (Mīmāṁsā) and Brahma-jijñāsā (Vedānta) are different,' and that 'the knowledge of active religious duty (*dharma-jñāsā*) has for its fruit trasitory felicity, and that again depends on the performance of religious acts. The inquiry into Brahman, on the other hand, has for its fruit eternal bliss, and does not depend on the performance of acts (*anuṣṭhāna*).'

Śaṃkara begins his comments upon 1.1.4 by critically examining PMS 1.1.5, 1.1.25, and 1.2.1, and then he quotes many Upaniṣadic passages indicative of the purpose of Vedānta. He concludes: 'As therefore the application of the conception of the ego to the body on the part of those who affirm the existence of a self different from the body is simply false, not figurative, it follows, that the embodiedness of the self is (not real but) caused by wrong conception (*mithyā-pratyaya*), and hence that the person who has reached true knowledge is free from his body even when still alive . . . .Therefore, the man who has once comprehended Brahman to be the self, does not belong to this transmigratory world as he did before . . . . If Brahman, after having been comprehended (*avagataṁ Brahma*), stood in a subordinate relation to some injunctions, it might be said to be merely supplementary. But that is not the case, since consideration and reflection no less than hearing are subservient to comprehension. It follows that the Śāstra cannot be the means of knowing Brahman only in so far as it is connected with injunctions, and the doctrine that on account of the uniform meaning of the Vedānta-texts an independent Brahman is to be admitted, is thereby fully established . . . .'

Rāmānuja's comments upon 1.1.4 are very lengthy. He says that acts of religious merit must cause results giving rise to a body capable of experiencing those results, thus binding the self to the *saṃsāra*. 'Release, therefore, is not something to be brought about by acts of religious merit,' and he quotes *Chāndogya* 8.12.1 in his support.

Jivanmukti, Rāmānuja says, is not 'release in this life.' It means 'the cessation of embodiedness in the sense that a person, while the appearance of embodiedness persists, is conscious of the unreality of that appearance . . . . Bondage is to be terminated only by means of the injunctions of meditation, the result of which is the direct knowledge of Brahman . . . . What is effected is not release itself, but only the cessation of what impedes it.' 'Rāmānuja then refutes the doctrine of *bhedābheda*, which means that 'there is no contradiction in difference and non-difference,' and he concludes: '. . . . the individual soul (*jīva*) is not absolutely different from Brahman, but stands to it in the *bhedābheda* relation in so far as it is a part (*aṁśa*) of Brahman.

Its (*jīva's*) non-difference from Brahman is essential (*svābhāvika*); its difference is due to the limiting adjuncts (*aupādhika*) .... The *upādhis* are produced in accordance with the actions of individual souls, as essentially non-different and different from Brahman.' Rāmānuja concludes: 'The conclusion therefore is that texts such as "That from whence these beings are born" etc., do convey valid instruction as to the existence of Brahman, that is, That Being which is the sole cause of the world, is free from all shadow of imperfection, comprises within itself all auspicious qualities, such as omniscience and so on, and is of the nature of supreme bliss.'

Nimbārka commenting upon this *sūtra* (1.1.4) refutes the Mīmāṁsā view, and declares: '.... We cannot say that the Vedic texts have their complete *samanvaya* (harmony) by teaching merely action, that is, their full purport is satisfied when they have taught the performance of certain sacrifices and prayers. The performance of *karma* creates a desire for knowledge, which can only satisfied by (inquiry into Brahman).' All *karmas* are under the control of Brahman who is 'independent and the ordainer of the fruits of action .... their (the Vedas') primary object is to impart a knowledge of Brahman, and to teach that the knowledge of *karma* is secondary to Brahma-jñāna ... Thus proper *samanvaya* or construction of the Vedas is that *karma* as taught in the Vedas helps one to the acquisition of Brahma-knowledge ... How do you reconcile these texts which teach the non-performance of certain actions? How is prohibition applicable to Brahman? This doubt arises through a misapprehension of the nature of Brahman. This prohibition is a declaration that no limit can be put to the attributes and qualities of Brahman.

'Moreover the question will be asked: "Is Brahman describable by words or not?" If He is describable by words, what will become of those passages (of the Upaniṣads) which declare that Brahman is not describable by words? If he is not describable by words what will happen to those passages which say that He is describable? (To remove these objections we take our stand on the Bhedābheda doctrine). Therefore, the omniscient, the cause of the origin, sustenance, and destruction of the universe, Brahman, possessed of inconceivable energies, is apprehended through the authority of scripture alone, and is separate from everything and also inseparate from everything. He is the Lord Vāsudeva. He is the Self of this universe. He is the object of our inquiry in this *śāstra* and in Him alone all diverse scriptures of the world find their complete reconciliation. This is the settled conclusion of all the Upaniṣads.'

According to Madhva, this *sūtra* (1.1.4) means that Viṣṇu alone is the source of and taught by all scriptures. The ignorant may ascribe the revelation of scriptures to other deities, by misinterpreting some passages of the Upaniṣads and may say that others are taught therein. The *sūtra* (1.1.4) therefore declares: 'But (Viṣṇu alone is revealed by and is the revealer of all scriptures) because of the proper interpretation of the texts according to maxims.' *Samanvaya* or proper exegesis (*samyag-anvaya*) of *śāstra* has to be done with the principles of interpretation laid down in the Mīmāṁsā *śāstra*,

which are known as the *tātparyaya-liṅgas* or marks which determine the purport of texts. These are: *upakrama* (commencement of the text), *upasaṃhāra* (conclusion), *abhyāsa* (repetition), *apūrvatā* (novelty), *phalam* (the result or fruitfulness), *arthavāda*, (eulogistic or deprecatory references), and *upapatti* (logical justification).

Madhva then quotes various Upanisadic passages to show that Brahman cannot come within the scope of speech, and adds that the texts which declare that Brahman is indescribable by speech means that He cannot be completely expressed by words, and not that It is not at all an object of speech etc; for example, a man may see the sun and yet not know all about the sun. Brahman can become an object of perception though not of complete comprehension.

According to Vallabha, Brahman is admitted to be the creator of the universe, but the problem is whether He is merely the efficient cause, or the material cause as well? This doubt is removed by the present *sūtra* (1.1.4) which declares that Brahman is the *samavāyī* (material) cause also. He is not only the creator of the universe, He is the universe itself.

Śrīkaṇṭha takes *tat* (Him) to refer to Brahman, and *tu* as 'verify', and concludes that all Vedānta texts are referred to collectively, the *sūtra* (1 1.4) meaning: 'Him verily the Vedānta teaches with one accord.' *Samanvaya* means the application of the tests of interpretation by which apparent conflicts are harmonized. A proper reconciliation of all Vedānta texts will prove the existence of Brahman, and enjoin His worship. Thus the Vedānta texts have twofold purpose, giving information about an existing fact, and enjoining devout meditation.

All the commentators are agreed that the rest of the first chapter, which is known as the Samanvayādhyāya, deals with inquiry into Brahman as that which is to be meditated upon, and also with the repudiation of the Sāṁkhya doctrine of Prakṛti and the theory of *jīva* being the cause. All the commentators, except Śaṃkara, hold that all the topics of the first chapter deal with Brahman with attributes. According to Śaṃkara, only four *sūtras* (1.2.1, 1.2.24, 1.2.25, and 1.6.6) discuss Brahman with attributes, while the rest are concerned with Brahman without attributes.

The second chapter is known as '*avirodha*' (uncontradicted). The first chapter proves that all Vedānta texts unanimously teach that there is only one cause of the world, namely, Brahman. His real nature is intelligence, and that there is no scriptural passage which can be used to establish systems opposed to Vedānta. The first two *pādas* (sections) of the second chapter, known respectively as the Smṛti-pāda and the Tarka-pāda, rebut any and all objections which can be raised against Vedānta doctrine on purely speculative grounds, apart from scriptural authority, and to demonstrate, on purely speculative grounds, that none of the systems irreconciliable with Vedānta can be satisfactorily established. In the Smṛti-pāda, Śaṃkara refutes the views of Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Vaiśeṣika, while in the Tarka-pāda, he refutes again the Sāṁkhya and Yoga doctrines along with the following doctrines.

Buddhist (Sarvāstivāda, and Vijñānavāda), Jaina, Pāśupata, Pañcarātra, and Bhāgavata Śaṃkara accepts those parts of Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata, and Pañcarātra which do not conflict with Vedānta, and rejects the rest of those doctrines. He totally rejects Buddhist and Jaina doctrines.

All the commentators more or less agree with Śaṃkara regarding his refutation of non-Vedānta doctrines, but they differ from his interpretation of the concluding section (2.2.42-45). Rāmānuja, who in a sense is the founder of modern Vaiṣṇavism, holds that 2.2.40[1] and 2.2.41, which denounce Bhāgavatism, express the prima facie view which is refuted in 2.2.42, and the concluding *sūtra* (2.2.43).

Commenting on 2.2.43, Rāmānuja says that 'the Bhāgavata doctrine is meant to facilitate the understanding of the sense of the Veda, which by itself is difficult of comprehension.' He then quotes from the *Parama-saṃhitā*: 'The wise Lord Hari, animated by kindness for those devoted to him, extracted the essential meaning of all the Vedānta texts, and condensed it in an easy form.' He then adds: 'The incontrovertible fact then is as follows. The Lord who is known from the Vedānta-texts, i.e., Vāsudeva, called the highest Brahman—who is antagonistic to all evil, whose nature is of uniform excellence, who is an ocean, as it were, of unlimited exalted qualities, such as infinite intelligence, bliss, and so on, all whose purposes come true—perceiving that those devoted to Him, according as they are differently placed in the four castes and the four stages of life, are intent on the different ends of life, viz., religious observances, wealth, pleasure, and final release; and recognising that the Vedas—which teach the truth about His own nature, His glorious manifestations, the means of rendering Him propitious and the fruits of such endeavour—are difficult to fathom by all beings other than Himself, whether gods or men, since those Vedas are divided into Rk, Yajus, Sāman, and Atharvan; and being animated by infinite pity, tenderness, and magnanimity; with a view to enable His devotees to grasp the true meaning of the Vedas, Himself composed the Pañcarātra-śāstra.' Rāmānuja then quotes the Mbh., as his authority which mentions the Sātvatas and the Pañcarātras, and describes the Pañcarātra doctrine.

It may be noted here that Rāmānuja does not call himself a Sātvata or Pañcarātra though he upholds the validity of these doctrines; nor did he comment on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. For, as stated above, he was the founder of Vaiṣṇavism, which incorporated the dogmas and tenets of these doctrines but was identical with none, a sort of *bhedābheda* relation.

Nimbārka agrees with Śaṃkara on all the other *sūtras* of this section, but differs from Śaṃkara on the interpretation of 2.2.45, which according to Nimbārka refutes the doctrine of Śakti as the Creatress of the world.

Madhva agrees with Nimbārka that 2.2.42-45 refutes the doctrine of Śakti. However, he mentions three Śākta schools:
Mahāvāma, Madhyavāma, and Anuvāma. The first school regarded Śakti as

[1]Rāmānuja's numbering of the *sūtras* is different from Śaṃkara's. Rāmānuja's 2.2.40-43 are Śaṃkara's 2.2.42-45.

the only principle of creation (*kevala-śakti-kāraṇa-vāda*); the second school associated Śiva in a minor role with Śakti (*Śivopasarjana Śaktivāda*), while the third school gave practically equal significance to both (*Śiva-Śakti-samāna-kārana-vāda*). Madhva refutes all the three doctrines on the ground that by hypothesis Śakti presupposes a Śaktimān to direct it. Secondly, Madhva says, 'creation by a female without the favour of a male is never seen (*na hi puruṣ-ānānugṛhita-strībhya utpatti dṛsyate*).'

The third *pāda* of the second chapter discusses the question whether the different forms of existence which, in their totality, constitute the world have an origin or not; in other words, whether they are co-eternal with Brahman or issue from It and are rendered into It at intervals. It is shown that the elements beginning with space (*ākāśa*) originate from Brahman and are absorbed into Brahman in the inverse order of their origin. From the tenth topic (*adhikaraṇa*) begins the discussion of the nature of *jīva* (individual soul). *Sūtra* 2.3.17 states: 'The soul (*ātman*) is not (originated) as there is no statement of the *śruti*, and as it is eternal according to them (*śruti* passages).' The problem here is, as Śaṃkara points out, that whether the self 'is produced from Brahman like space and the other elements, or, is it like Brahman itself unoriginated.' Śaṃkara first states the prima facie view, and then refutes it with the help of Upaniṣadic passages. According to him, this *sūtra* (2.3.17) means that the *jīva* is in reality identical—and as such co-eternal—with Brahman; what originates is merely the soul's links with its limiting adjuncts, but that connection is illusory.

Instead of reading '*na ātmā aśruter*' (=nātmāśruter . . . .) as Śaṃkara had done, Rāmānuja reads the *sūtra* (which he numbers 2.3.18) as '*na ātmā śruter*' so that it means: 'Not the self on account of scriptural statements, and on account of the eternity (which results) from them.'[1] While explaining this *sūtra*, Rāmānuja gives the basic tenets of his doctrine: The *jīva* is indeed an effect of Brahman, but has existed in Brahman from eternity as an individual being, and as a mode (*prakāra*) of Brahman. The material elements also subsist in Brahman, but there is cardinal difference. Prior to creation, the material elements exist in a subtle condition in which they possess none of the qualities that later on render them the objects of ordinary experience. Therefore, they may be said to originate at the time of creation. The souls, on the other hand, possess at all times the same essential qualities, that is, they are cognizing agents. Only when a new creation takes place, they associate themselves with bodies, and their intelligence therewith undergoes a certain expansion or development (*vikāra*), contrasting with the unevolved or contracted state (*saṃkoca*) which characterized it during the preceding *pralaya* (cosmic dissolution). But this change is not a change of essential nature, so the souls have to be distinguished as permanent entities from the material elements which at the time of each creation and absorption change their essential characteristics.

[1]Rāmānuja's reading is followed by Śrīkaṇṭha, who usually follows Rāmānuja, and also by Baladeva.

Nimbārka's comments on this *sūtra*, which he construes like Śaṃkara, is extremely brief. He merely states: '*Jīvātman* has no origination. Why?' In answer he quotes the first lines of three Upaniṣadic passages (*Kaṭha*, 1.2.8 and 2.2.13; and *Śvetāśvatara* 6.13).

Madhva takes this *sūtra* (which he numbers 2.3.18) as the prima facie view, and the next *sūtra* as the conclusion. The next *sutra* is *jño'ta eva* (For this very reason [the individual soul] is intelligent), which Madhva construes as, *jīvo'pi ata eva Parameśvarād utpadyate śabdād eva* (the *jīva* too originates from the Lord because there is *śruti* to that effect). In his support, Madhva quotes a verse from the *Vyoma-saṃhitā*.

Later, this chapter (2.3.43-53) discusses the relation of the individual soul to Brahman. 2.3.43 declares that the individual soul is a part of Brahman, and the following *sūtras* show how that relation does not involve either that Brahman is affected by imperfections, sufferings etc. of the souls, or that one soul has to participate in the experience of other souls. According to Śaṃkara, the word *aṁśa* of this *sūtra* (2.3.43: *aṁśo nānā-vyapadesād anyathā* c=āpi. . . .) must be understood as imaginary, and he says: 'By "part" we mean "a part as it were" (*aṁśa iva aṁśa*) since a Being not composed of parts cannot have parts in the literal sense'. That is, the one universal, indivisible Brahman of the Upaniṣads having no parts, appear to be divided owing to its limiting adjuncts. Here Śaṃkara propounds the *avacchedavāda*, that is, the doctrine according to which the soul is the highest self but veiled or limited by its adjuncts. This view is somewhat contradicted by the *sūtra* 2.3.50: *ābhāsa eva ca* (And [the individual soul is] an appearance [reflection] only.) This *sūtra* is the basis of the doctrine of *pratibimba-vāda*, according to which the so-called, individual soul is nothing but the reflection of the Self in the *buddhi*. It is not clear as to which of these two views was accepted by Śaṃkara, and later his two principal disciples, namely, Padmapāda and Sureśvara, differed on this issue.

According to Rāmānuja, the word *ābhāsa* of this *sūtra* (2.3.49 according to him) has to be taken as *hetvābhāsa* (fallacious argument) and he explains the *sūtra* as being directed against the arguments of those according to whom the soul is Brahman in so far as limited by adjuncts.

Nimbārka takes 2.3.42 (Śaṃkara's 2.3.43) literally, and establishes his doctrine of Dvaitādvaita with the help of certain Upaniṣadic passages which were also quoted by Śaṃkara. The difference between them is that while Śamkara takes the *sūtra* as figuratively true, Nimbārka takes it as literally true. As for the *sūtra ābhāsa eva ca* (Śaṃkara's 2.3.50) Nimbārka (2.3.49) reads it as *ābhāsā eva ca* and merely states that it refutes the Sāṁkhya view.

Madhva's interpretation of *aṁśa* is extremely complicated, and he quotes from various kinds of texts to support his view. He sums up his conclusion by stating '*bhedābhedau na mukhyataḥ*,' that is, 'difference and identity cannot be held true in their primary senses.' Only one of them should be taken in the primary sense and the other in a secondary or figurative sense. The difference between Brahman and *jīva* should be taken in a primary sense, their

identity being only a figure of speech. By *ābhāsa* Madhva understands *prati-bimba-aṁśa* (reflected part). He supports his view on the basis of RV, VI, 47.8, which according to him means: 'Every member of the community of souls stands as a reflection in relation to a particular Form (of the Supreme). That Form (of the Lord called Bimba-form) is to be visualized by this one (*jīva*). By His powers, the Supreme Lord (Indra) is known to have assumed countless forms—in groups of ten, hundred, and thousand, known as Haris.[1]

The last *pāda* of chapter 2 discusses the *prāṇas*, *mukhya-prāṇa* (vital air produced from Brahman), and the special divinities that guide their actions. The last three *sūtras* (2.4.20-22) declare that the evolution of name and form (*nāma-rūpe vyākaravāṇi*, *Chāndogya*, 6.3.2) is not the work of *jīva*, but of the Lord.

The first *pāda* of *adhyāya* 3 discusses the passage of the soul after death. The second *pāda* treats of soul in the dream state. *Sūtra* 3.2.3 states that 'the dream world is *māyā*.' Śaṃkara takes *māyā* literally as illusion. Rāmānuja understands *māyā* as 'wonderful things' and adds, 'that it is the Supreme Person only that creates the things seen in a dream'. Nimbārka practically follows Rāmānuja. Madhva explains *māyā-mātram* of this *sūtra* as 'what is brought about by the will' of the Supreme Being after a tortuous grammatical construction.

The fifth *adhikaraṇa* of this *pāda* (3.2.11-21) takes up the question as to the nature of the highest Brahman in which the *jīva* is merged in deep sleep. As Śaṃkara interprets this *adhikaraṇa*. Brahman is devoid of all forms, which is the pre-eminent (3.2.14) meaning of all the Vedānta-texts setting forth Brahman's nature. That Brahman is represented as having different forms, as it were, is due to its connection with Its (unreal) limiting adjuncts; just as the light of the sun appears straight or crooked, as it were, according to the nature of the things it illuminates (3.2.15). The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* expressly declares that Brahman is one uniform mass of intelligence (3.2.16); and the same is taught in other scriptural passages and in Smṛti (3 2.17). Those scriptural passages in which the Self is compared to the sun aim at the unreality of the apparent manifoldness of the Self caused by the limiting adjuncts, while the Self remains one although His reflections on the surface of the water are many (3.2.18). Nor must the objection be raised that the comparison is unsuitable, because the Self is not material like the sun and there are no *upādhis* (limiting adjuncts) separate from it as the water is from the sun; for the comparison merely means to indicate that, as the reflected image of the sun participates in the changes, increase, decrease, etc., which the water undergoes while the sun himself remains unaffected thereby, so the true Self is not affected by the attributes of the *upādhis*, while in so far as it is limited by the latter, it is affected by them as it were (3.2. 19-20). The scripture declares that the Self is within the *upādhis*.

According to Rāmānuja, this *adhikaraṇa* raises the question as to whether

[1]B.N.K. Sharma, *The Brahmasūtras and their Principal Commentaries*, II, Bombay, 1974, p. 279.

the imperfections clinging to the individual soul also affect the highest Lord, who, according to scripture, abides within the soul as *antaryāmin* (indweller). He answers in the negative, because He has twofold characteristics (*ubhaya-liṅgatva*). Nimbārka and Madhva practically agree with Rāmānuja. But how can the *ubhaya-liṅgatva* of Brahman be maintained in view of *n'eti n'eti* (not this, not this, *Bṛhadarāṇyaka*, 3.9.26)? According to Rāmānuja and others, *n'eti n'eti* does not deny Brahman the distinctive qualities and modes declared in other passages, but merely denies the previously stated limited nature of Brahman.

Sūtra 3.2.23 declares Brahman to be *avyakta* (non-manifest) while the next *sūtra* says: 'And also in the state of perfect meditation (*saṃrādhanam*) [Brahman is apprehended] according to perception (*śruti*) and inference (*smṛti*).' On this Śaṃkara says: 'At the time of perfect meditation, the yogins see the unevolved self free from all plurality. By "perfect meditation" we understand the presentation before the mind (of the highest self) which is effected through meditation and devotion (*saṃrādhanam bhakti-dhyāna praṇidhānādy=anusṭhānam*).' Here Śaṃkara definitely admits *bhakti* as a means of spiritual advancement or liberation, which is sometimes overlooked.

According to Rāmānuja, this *sūtra* (3.2.23) means that Brahman is intuited only in meditation bearing the characteristic of devotion, and in no other state. Nimbārka agrees with Rāmānuja, and so does Madhva only more emphatically. '*Bhakti*', Madhva declares, 'is the channel through which the *jīva* establishes contact with Brahman, and receives Its grace upon himself. Brahman can never be visualized without Its grace, because It is non-manifest. Brahman's grace is available to *bhakti* only, and not to any other form of propitiation that is devoid of *bhakti*.'

The last *adhikaraṇa* (3.2. 38-41) teaches that the reward of works is not, as Jaimini says, the independent result of the works acting through the so-called *apūrva* (invisible potency), but is allotted by the Lord.

The third *pāda* of *adhyāya* 3 describes how the individual soul is enabled by meditation on Brahman to obtain final release. What constitutes meditation on Brahman? What relation those parts of the Upaniṣads stand to each other which enjoin identical or partly identical meditations? The different forms of meditations found in different Upaniṣads have to be reconciled. All texts which aim at throwing light on the nature of Brahman and the relation to it of human soul must be reconciled to produce consistent systematic whole. Thus it has to be shown that all the Upaniṣads teach the same matter, and therefore their teachings must be combined in one meditation which is shown in this *pāda*.

The last *pada* of *adhyaya* 3 (3.4. 1-17) refutes Jaimini, and proves that the knowledge of Brahman is not *kratvārtha*, that is, subordinate to action, but independent. This conclusion is confirmed (3.4. 18-20) by showing that the state of the *pravrājin* (life of a religious mendicant) is enjoined by sacred law. Quoting *Muṇḍaka* 3.2 and 6, and *Gītā*, 5.17, Śaṁkara concludes (on 3.4.20): "All these passages teach that for him who is founded on Brahman there are

no works.'

Rāmānuja holds (on 3.4.19) that 'Bādarāyaṇa is of opinion that, in the same way as the condition of householdership, these other conditions also are obligatory.' Nimbārka (on 3.4.20) practically agrees with Śaṃkara, and Madhva after a long discussion agrees basically with Rāmānuja.

Adhikaraṇa 7 (3.4. 28-31) permits the eating of all types of food when life was in danger, but according to 3.4.31, a *brāhmaṇa* must not drink *surā* (spirits).

Adhikaraṇa 10, which consists of only one *sūtra* (3.4.40), is very important. It lays down that there is no reversion to a former stage of life of one who has taken to *sannyāsa*. That is, once a man has taken the vow of *sannyāsa*, he cannot recant and return to householder's life and marry. This rule has governed the life of Indian monks since the time of Śaṃkara, but since it is found in the Br.S., it is apparent that it is a very ancient rule. This rule is also approved by Jaimini.

The first *pāda* of *adhyāya* 4 is devoted to instructions on meditations. Śaṃkara (on 4.1.3) disposes 'the objection, urged by some, that a system of non-duality cannot be established because the self is affected with duality by nescience,' and concludes: 'Therefore we must fix our minds on the Lord (*Īśvara*) as being the Self.' The next two *sūtras* (4.1.4-5) state that where symbols (*pratīka*) are used for contemplation, the meditator is not to consider the symbol as identical with the Self. The symbol is to be viewed as one with Brahman, and not Brahman as one with the symbol.

According to Rāmānuja, 4.1.3 means that Brahman is to be meditated upon as constituting the self of the meditating devotee. As the meditating individual soul is the self of its own body, so the highest Brahman is the Self of the individual Soul—this is the proper form of meditation.' On 4.1.4-5, Rāmānuja practically agrees with Śaṃkara.

Nimbārka agrees with Śaṁkara on 4.1.3, and teaches that Brahman is to be meditated upon as the devotee's self. Śrīkaṇṭha who generally adopts the *sarīra-sarīrī-bhāva* ('the relation of God to the soul on the analogy of the soul to the body,' like Rāmānuja) here gives it up and supports Śaṁkara's view that the Lord is to be meditated upon as identical with the self. This view is one of the grounds on which Appaya Dikṣita maintains that Śrīkaṇṭha was at heart a non-dualist.

According to Madhva (on 4.1.4), Brahman is to be always meditated upon as one's and everybody else's Supreme Lord (*svāmī*). Madhva also refutes Śaṃkara's conclusion (on 4.1.4-5) that symbols should be identified with Brahman in meditation.

Commenting on 4.1.13-14 Śaṃkara says that 'on the obtainment of Brahman (*tad-adhigame*) there takes place the detachment of the consequences of all past or future evil deeds.' His good deeds also become barren. Rāmānuja holds that the *sūtra* discusses the fruits of knowledge in terms of the destruction of the past sins and the non-clinging (*aśleṣa*) of the future ones. Nimbārka agrees with Rāmānuja. Madhva says that when the direct vision of Brahman arises, all the accumulated sinful deeds of the past is burnt out.

Exhaustion of the effects of the good deeds take very long time.

The next three *pādas* of *adhyāya* 4 describe the fate of the *vidvān* (possessor of knowledge) after death.

According to Śaṃkara, 4.2.15-16 mean that he who knows the highest Brahman is merged in Brahman in absolute identity. Rāmānuja (4.2.14-15) admits that there is a union with the highest Self, but denies that it is a case of merger. According to him, this union is analogous to the return of the effected thing (*kārya*) into the condition of the cause (*kāraṇa*), such as when the jar is reduced to the condition of clay. Nimbārka agrees with Rāmānuja. Madhva takes an intermediate position.

Difficulty arises on the interpretation of 4.4.4. According to Śaṃkara, this *sūtra* considers whether the released soul exists as separate from Brahman, or in a state of non-division from it. Because of the *Chāndogya* passage (8.12.3), namely, 'having entered the highest light,' and 'he moves about there,' one might think that a distinction has been made between 'an agent and an object,' and 'the abode and the resident' indicating that the soul remains distinct from the highest Self. However, Śaṃkara interprets the *sūtra* to mean that 'the released soul is non-separate from the highest Self' finding support for his conclusion on other Upaniṣadic passages, like 'Thou are That' (*Chāndogya*, 6.8.7) and 'I am Brahman' (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 1.4.10).

According to Rāmānuja, when the soul has reached the highest light, and freed itself from bondages, it is conscious of itself as separate from the highest self.

According to Nimbārka, just as an *aṁśa* (part) is non-separate from the *aṁśin* (whole), though only a part, similarly, the freed soul realizes its non-separateness from the highest self; because at that time he has (His) immediate vision, and the scriptures also say so.

According to Madhva, this *sūtra* and 4.4.5-7 deal mainly with *bhoga* (enjoyment) of the *sāyujya-muktas*, and incidentally with others also. He concludes that *sāyujya-muktas* enjoy only those *bhogas* which are enjoyed by Brahman. ('*Sāyujya-mukti* is liberation of intimate union' but not merger with Brahman).

The seventh *adhikaraṇa* (4.4.17-22) discusses the question of the limits of freedom and power of *jīvas* (individual souls) to enjoy the *bhogas* at will. To Śaṃkara the question is: 'Do those who through meditations on the qualified (*saguṇa*) Brahman enter, together with their *manas* into a condition of equality with the Lord (*Īśvara-sāyujya*) possess unlimited lordly power, or power limited to some extent?' Śaṃkara's conclusion is that such released souls enjoy powers except 'origination and so on,' which belong to the everlastingly perfect Lord (*nitya-siddha-Īśvara*).'

According to Rāmānuja, 'the released soul, freed from all that hides its true nature, possesses the power of intuitively beholding the pure Brahman, but does not possess the power of ruling and guiding the different forms of motion and rest belonging to animate (*cit*) and inanimate nature (*acit*).'

According to Nimbārka, the freed souls (irrespective of meditations on

Saguṇa or Nirguṇa Brahman) enjoy all the powers except the power of creation etc., (i.e., destruction) of the world.

According to Śrīkaṇṭha (on 4.4.17-22), when all the impurities (*mala*) are removed, and a person is liberated, he enjoys all blissful experiences, and all kinds of powers, except the power of creating the universe. He is free from the operation of the law of *karma*, and remains in tune with Lord Śiva, with whom he may participate in all kinds of happy experiences. He thus retains his personality and power of enjoying pleasures.

Madhva, on the basis of 4.4.19, gives a complete account of the different regions in which the different orders of liberated souls will stay after attaining different types of liberation in accordance with their capacity.

Since the powers of the released souls are limited, will they have to return (from the world of Brahman)? 'To this objection,' Śaṃkara says, 'Bhagavān Bādarāyaṇa replies in the following *sūtra* (4.4.22): *Anāvṛttiḥ śabdād anāvṛttiḥ śabdāt:* (For the released souls) there is non-return, according to scripture; non-return according to scripture[1]'). Śaṃkara's conclusion on this, the last, *sūtra* (4.4.22) is: 'It is a settled matter that those who through perfect knowledge have dispelled all mental darkness (*samyag-darśana-vidhvasta-tamasāṁ*) and are devoted to the eternally perfect *nirvāṇa* do not return.' He adds that those who rely on the knowledge of qualified (*saguṇa*) Brahman also do not return.

According to Rāmānuja, the Lord, pleased with the faithful worship of the devotee, frees him from the influence of nescience and accumulated *karmas*, and permits him to enjoy supreme bliss of direct intuition of His own true nature. The Lord does not send such devotees back into the world.

According to Nimbārka, those *jīvas* who have entered the highest light and freed themselves from the *saṃsāra* (transmigratory cycle) do not return. This is said in *Chāndogya*, 4.15, and *Gītā*, 8.15.

According to Madhva, those who follow the path of the gods reach the world of Brahman as described in *Chāndogya*, 8.15.1, 4.5.6; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 6.2.5. *Praśna*, 4.9; and *Gītā*, 8.16.

Śrīkaṇṭha says that the bodies assumed by the released souls are the products of pure *mahā-māyā*.

Thus the *Brahmasūtra* which began with an inquiry into the nature of the Supreme Reality, ends with the destiny of the released souls, those who have realized Brahman through meditation or have received Divine Grace through devotional worship.

ŚRĪMAD-BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ

The *Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā*, or the *Gītā* in short, is the most celebrated Hindu scripture. It has been translated in most languages of the civilized world, thousands of 'studies' on the *Gītā* have been published, and more are coming

[1]Repetition of the *sūtra* indicates that the text ends here.

out every year, and there are innumerable editions or the *Gītā*. The *Gītā* is the only religious text which orthodox Hindus in general profess to read even now, and some of them actually read it.

The Hindus hold that the *Gītā* is an integral part of the Mbh., and was delivered by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra. Western scholars and many Indian scholars hold a different view. They do not believe the traditional story and think that the *Gītā* is not the work of one author. According to Garbe, a celebrated authority, the *Gītā* was originally a Sāṁkhya-Yoga text with which the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult got mixed up, and in the 3rd century BC, it was affiliated to the Vedic tradition by the identification of Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu. There are several other theories, of which the common element is that an original nucleus was later expanded to its present form.

The present work deals with the history of the ancient Indians, and it has been our endeavour to delineate their faith. Hence it is not necessary to discuss the modern theories on the *Gītā*. Secondly, it has to be pointed out with some reluctance that all the Western scholars were Christians. Their attitude towards religion was conditioned and patterned by centuries of savage religious warfare, and horrible persecution in the name of religion. To them, harmony of different religious beliefs is incredible, if not irrational, because it is beyond their historical experience. A text which unifies apparently conflicting faiths must therefore be spurious. With this approach it is not difficult to discover interpolations and other signs of tampering with the 'original text.' It will be presumptuous on our part to say that the great western scholars were wrong. It must be pointed out, however, that from Śaṃkara to Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, covering a period of one thousand years, the *Gītā* has been most carefully studied by some of the greatest intellects that India has ever produced. When can we again expect to see intellectual giants like Śaṁkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha, Ānandagiri, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, or Jayatīrtha to mention only a few of the famous commentators of the *Gītā*. They did not entertain any doubt as to the genuineness of the text. It is hard to blame the ancient Indians for putting their faith in their favourite commentators whom the western scholars dismiss as of no importance. But a history of Indian culture must take into account these commentators, and ignore the modern scholars.

History of the Gītā

Lokamānya Tilak refers to an article which points out that the *Baudhāyana-gṛhya-śeṣa-sūtra* 2.22.9 quotes *Gītā* (Bh. G.) 9.26, and the *Baudhāyana-pitṛ-medha-sūtra* (*praśna*) quotes a verse which appears to be an adaptation of BhG. 2.17&27.[1] The dates of these two texts are, however, very doubtful. Few verses from the Bh.G. are quoted in the *Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra* but the present inflated text cannot be dated earlier than AD 400.[2] As stated above, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*

[1] T.G. Kale in *Vedic Magazine* VII, pp. 528-532, quoted by B.G. Tilak in the *Gītā-rahasya*, Bengali translation, p. 574.

[2] *HDK*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 117 and 125.

quotes many verses from the Bh.G., but it also mentions the Tājikas, which in Sanskrit invariably meant the Arabs. Hence it is reasonable to assume that it was written after the commencement of the Arab raids, that is after the middle of the 7th century.[1] That the Bh.G., was popular in the 8th century is known from the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana-sūri, who completed the work in AD 779. Uddyotana writes that the Bh.G., was recited.[2]

The earliest extant commentary on the Bh.G., is by Śaṃkara. In his introduction to the commentary, Śaṃkara writes that it consists of 700 verses. Probably he meant it as a round figure, for his 'edition' consists of 699 verses. Sometimes, however, a verse is added in the form of a question by Arjuna at the beginning of Chapter 13 to make up 700 verses, though it is ignored by all the great commentators including Śaṃkara and Rāmānuja.

There were other commentators before Śaṁkara wrote his. For, in his introduction mentioned above, he writes: 'In order to discover its meaning, many persons have analysed its verses, determined the meaning of the words, and by the application of other methods have found out many meanings which are extremely inconsistent (*atyanta-viruddha*), which have been accepted by common men. Having seen this, I shall give a short account consciously to determine its meaning (*ahaṁ vivekatah artha-nirdhāraṇārtham saṃkṣepato vivaraṇam kariṣyāmi*).' This he has done, and up to now his commentary on the *Gītā* has not been surpassed, nor even equalled.

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, as noted above, has incorporated some Bh.G , verses in a confused manner. The present arrangement of the verses in the Bh.G., and their division into chapters may have been Śaṃkara's work. It should be noted, however, that all the MSS. of the Mbh., including the Kashmir recension. discovered so far, conform to Śaṃkara's 'edition,' but they were all copied after Śaṃkara.

It has been stated above, that according to Śaṃkara, the Bh.G. has 700 verses. But according to Mbh. 6.41, the Bh.G., contains 745 verses of which 620 are spoken by Kṛṣṇa, 57 by Arjuna, 67 by Sañjaya, and 1 by Dhṛtarāṣṭra. These verses are, however, late interpolations and are not found in many MSS.[3] But about fifty years ago, the Kashmir recension of the Bh.G. was discovered and soon published. Dr. Belvalkar, after critically examining the Kashmir recension in all aspects, concluded that 'except for a dozen minor variants, the form of the Bhagavadgītā as preserved in the Bhāṣya of Śaṃkarācārya is still the earliest and the most authentic form of the poem that we can reach on the basis of the available manuscript evidence.'[4] Hence

[1]The Arabs conquered Sind in AD 708. But they had been making unsuccessful raids against Indian ports since AD 634-644. For details see above, I, p. 266.

[2]*Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanasūri, edited by A.N. Upadhye, II, Bombay, 1970, introduction, p. 76.

[3]In Śaṃkara's approved text 574 verses are spoken by Kṛṣṇa, 82 by Arjuna, 42 by Sañjaya and 1 by Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

[4]S.K. Belvalkar, The So-called Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgita, *New Indian Antiquary*, II, pp. 230-31 quoted in P.C. Divanji, *Critical word Index to the Bhagavadgītā*, Bombay, 1946, introduction, p. viii.

we shall deal with the text on which Śaṃkara (and other famous commentators) wrote his commentary.

The Nature of the Text

'The style of the *Gītā*,' Prof. S. N. Dasgupta has said, 'is very archaic.'[1] But its language in general being simple and easy, the Bh.G., does not present the difficulties which one faces when dealing with the Br.S. But the Bh G. does not define its terms, and one word (like *karma*) is used with various shades of meaning. Some words like *sāṁkhya* and *yoga* are not used in the sense to which we are accustomed. Hence, though commentaries are not essential to understand the Bh.G., they are helpful. Secondly, the Bh.G., is not a systematic philosophical work like a *kārikā*, but a practical course of introduction to life and conduct conducive to spiritual advancement, and ultimately to final liberation. The Bh.G , calls us to solve the meaning of life through world-negating meditation, it also calls to find the deed demanded of us and to work, and so, by action to reach a stage where all actions cease. The dialogue, which is Bh.G., arose out of the personal relation between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, between God and man, but not a God of abstract philosophy or of theology, but an *avatāra*, God descended into human world, in human form, capable of entering into all personal relations. Herein lies the Bh.G's great departure from the Upaniṣads. It would be helpful to understand the nature of the Bh.G. if its background is remembered.

The Mbh describes the battle of Kurukṣetra in four *parvans* beginning with the sixth, the *Bhīṣma-parva*. It is related at the beginning of the *Bhīṣma-parva* (6.2) that Dhṛtarāṣṭra said to Vyāsa (the author of the Mbh) that though he had no desire to see the fighting, he would like to hear the battle described. Thereupon Vyāsa conferred a boon on Sañjaya, which enabled him to see and hear everything on the battlefield. Sañjaya then went to Kurukṣetra, and returned to Dhṛtarāṣṭra at Hastināpura after Bhīṣma had retired from the battle due to his wounds. Sañjaya then narrated to Dhṛtarāṣṭra that Bhīṣma was laid low by Śikhaṇḍin (6.14). How could such a thing happen, asked Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and commanded Sañjaya to describe the war chronologically (6.15). In the next seven chapters, Sañjaya describes the two rival armies and their assembly and formation on the field the day the battle started. Chapter 23 (25 Vulgate edition) begins with Dhṛtarāṣṭra's famous question: 'In the righteous field of Kurukṣetra, what did my people and the Pāṇḍavas do, after they had gathered together eager for the fray, O Sanjaya'? This verse is also the first verse of the Bh.G. In eighteen chapters Sañjaya describes the dialogue that ensued between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, when the latter refused to fight.

Kṛṣṇa had come as Arjuna's charioteer. After the troops had been arrayed, Arjuna asked Kṛṣṇa to place the chariot between the two armies so that he could observe them properly. This was done, and Arjuna saw on the

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., II, p. 551. The language of the *Mbh.*, also is archaic. The Bhīṣma-parva consists of 117 chapters (122 in Vulgate editions).

enemy side his venerable grandfather, preceptor, and a host of relatives and friends. Then begins Arjuna's lamentation, and after describing the consequences of the horrible war, he laid down his weapons preferring death to killing his kith and kin (1.28-45). In reply, Kṛṣṇa reminded Arjuna of his duties in two sharply worded verses (2.2-3). Arjuna now began to argue, then faltered, and lastly requested Kṛṣṇa to instruct him as to which was better: to fight or not to fight, since he was unable to decide upon his duty. Saying that he was determined not to fight, Arjuna became silent (2.4-8). Then Sañjaya adds: 'To him (Arjuna) who thus grieved between the two armies Hṛṣīkeśa (a name of Kṛṣṇa, lit. 'ruler of the hearts') spoke smiling.' From the next verse (2.11) begins the teachings of the Bh.G.

Kṛṣṇa begins to speak on the indestructibility and the true nature of the self (2.12-30), and then reverts to remind Arjuna of the duty of a warrior (2.31-38). Then Kṛṣṇa begins to speak on Karma-yoga (2.40-41, 45-53). At this point Arjuna asks to be informed about the nature etc., of a *sthita-prajña* (one who is firmly established in Brahman, 2.54), and in rest of the chapter Kṛṣṇa practically answers this question.

The long lecture perplexes Arjuna. He demands to know that if Jñana-yoga was better than Karma-yoga, why was then Kṛṣṇa asking him to fight? 'By your conflicting statements', Arjuna accuses Kṛṣṇa, 'you are bewildering my intelligence. Tell me the one definite (way) by which I can reach the highest goal.' In reply, Kṛṣṇa begins to elaborate Karma-yoga (3.3-35) till Arjuna interferes to ask as to why people committed sinful acts (3.36). Kṛṣṇa's reply covers the rest of the chapter (3.37-43).

Chapter 4 begins with Kṛṣṇa's statement that he had said this 'imperishable *yoga*' to Vivasvān, who handed it down, but later it perished. It was this *yoga* that he was describing. Arjuna sceptically points out that Kṛṣṇa was born much later than Vivasvān, how then could he describe it to the latter? Then Kṛṣṇa describes in four of the most-quoted verses of the Bh.G., that He is the Lord Himself, born of His own volition to rescue the pious and destroy the impious (4.5-8). In the rest of the chapter Kṛṣṇa describes Jñāna-yoga (4. 9-42).

Arjuna is puzzled and asks somewhat testily: 'You speak so highly of renunciation of action (cp. 4-21-22 and 41), and yet praise their performance (cp. 4-42). Now tell me definitely, which of these is better?' (5.1). Kṛṣṇa then begins to explain in an attempt to remove Arjuna's doubt (5.2-29; 6.1-32). Then Arjuna submits that it was difficult for a fickle mind to engage in *yoga* (6.33-34). Kṛṣṇa advises the practise of meditation and renunciation, and continues to describe *yoga* (6. 35-36), when Arjuna intervenes to ask respectfully as to the fate of the *yogins* who fail to reach their goal (6.37-39). Kṛṣṇa assures him on this point and concludes by saying that of all the *yogins* 'he who worships Me in faith and love' is the best (6.40-47).

From the next chapter begins the topic of Reality, which Kṛṣṇa calls 'My nature' (7.4), and says, 'there is nothing higher than Me' (7.7), and ends the chapter by declaring that He, Kṛṣṇa, is the object of all knowledge (7.30).

Then Arjuna asks for the meaning of certain terms (8.1-2), and while explaining them Kṛṣṇa explains the way of the eternal and imperishable Brahman. In the ninth chapter, Kṛṣṇa explains His own nature and ends: 'Fix thy mind on Me; to Me be devoted; worship Me; revere Me; thus yoking your mind and soul with Me, to Me shall you come, '(9.34). Kṛṣṇa begins Chapter 10 by describing His majesty and divine glory (10.1-11). It is then that Arjuna admits Kṛṣṇa's divinity and declares: 'You are the Supreme Brahman, the Highest Abode, the Utterly Holy, the eternal Puruṣa, Divine, Unborn, the All-pervading. Thus say all the sages: Nārada, Aśita, Devala, and Vyāsa, and You Yourself confirm it' (10.12-13). 'How then, by what manifestation can we realize Your glory. In what forms must I learn to behold you? Relate them all, Your heavenly powers and their manifestations. I am not satiated with hearing. Pray proceed with your nectar-like speech' (10.14-18). In reply Kṛṣṇa describes in detail as to how He is immanent in every object (10.19-42).

Arjuna then begs for the vision of His epiphanic form, if indeed He were capable of revealing it (11. 1-4). Kṛṣṇa agrees and bestows on Arjuna special visual power (11. 5-8), and then Sañjaya describes the epiphanic form.[1] Overcome by the sight of this Awful Being, which in Itself combined all the creatures in heaven and earth, Arjuna prostrated himself and burst into a hymn in His praise in some of the most beautiful passages of the Bh.G. Overcome by the formidable sight Arjuna asked in trepidation: 'Who are You with form so terrible? Salutation. O Great God, have mercy. I wish to know who are You, the Primal One, for I know not your designs,' (11.9-31). 'I am Time' replied the Epiphanic Form, now intent on destroying the hosts;[2] none of the warriors will survive even if you stay your hands! Therefore, arise and fight. Conquer your foes, enjoy a prosperous kingdom. I have already slain them, be merely the instrument', (11. 32-34). Arjuna then addressed a prayer of thanks to Kṛṣṇa, and requested him to assume his normal form (11.36-46). Kṛṣṇa did so, and after reassuring Arjuna declared at the end of the chapter: 'Whoever works for Me alone, makes Me his only goal, is devoted to Me, is free from (other) attachments, and is without hatred towards any creature, that man shall enter into Me', (11.54). Introducing this verse, Śaṃkara says: 'Now is being said the quintessence (*sārabhūtaḥ artho*) of the entire *Gītā-śāstra* in a practical form for gaining the highest good (*niḥśreyasārtha*).

Thus was completed Arjuna's progressive realization of self and Super Self. However, he asked as to who was superior: Kṛṣṇa's devotee or one who worshipped the non-manifested imperishable Brahman (12.1). Kṛṣṇa explains the difference between the two approaches to final liberation (12.2-20). In the next chapter, Kṛṣṇa discusses the relation between the *kṣetra* (lit. the field,

[1]When the first atom bomb was exploded at Los Alamos on 16 July, 1945, Robert Oppenheimer recalled two verses from this chapter. The first verse was 11.12, in which Sañjaya compares the radiance of the Cosmic form with 'thousand suns blazing all at once.' See R. Jungk, *Brighter Than 1000 Suns*, Penguin ed., p. 183.

[2]This was the second verse recited by Oppenheimer.

i.e., the body), and the *kṣetrajña* (the knower of the field), the nature of knowledge, *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* (13.1-32). In Chapter 14, Kṛṣṇa describes 'the highest knowledge', and the next chapter is devoted to 'the cosmic tree.' In Chapters 16 and 17 Kṛṣṇa describes the nature of 'demoniac' men, and certain miscellaneous matters, and in the last chapter (18) summarizes the teachings of the Bh.G., because Arjuna again wanted to know the true nature of renunciation (*sannyāsa*) and relinquishment (*tyāga*). At the end an assurance given by God to man which is the perennial message of the *Gītā*.

At the end Kṛṣṇa declares the reward for following His doctrine (18.67-72), and then Arjuna exclaims: 'By your grace, O Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa), my delusions are dispelled, My mind stands firm. My doubts are resolved I will do your bidding', (18.73). In five more verses Sañjaya describes his exultation as he heard the 'celestial song' (18. 74-78), and then reverts to the main story of the Mbh, after declaring in the last verse of the Bh. G. (18.78): 'Where there is Kṛṣṇa, the lord of *yoga*, (and) Pārtha (Arjuna), the great archer, there will surely be fortune, victory, prosperity, and fixed principles.[1]

Scattered among the seventeen chapters (2-18) are the teachings of the Bh.G., which may appear to be loosely arranged. A closer reading, however, will show that the arrangement is deliberate, and suitable to Arjuna's level of understanding. While reading the Bh.G., it has to be borne in mind that Kṛṣṇa is discoursing for the benefit primarily of Arjuna, hence some of its teachings like caste division and caste duties, particularly of the *kṣatriyas*, have only temporary value. Along with such mundane matters, which are very few, we proceed gradually into the mystery of human soul, its nature, ways of liberation, God, the relation between God and man. Various other topics are also discussed. Those are not digressions, but incidental, and many of them, such as the classification of food (17.8-10) have practical utility for the aspirants. It is not possible to describe here even in outline all the topics discussed in the Bh.G., hence we shall select a few.

The Bh.G. has been called 'a practical manual for *sādhanā*' for it shows the way to salvation. There are three ways which lead a man to his ultimate goal, namely, *karma* (action), *jñana* (knowledge), and *bhakti* (devotion), known respectively as Karma-yoga, Jñāna-yoga, and Bhakti-yoga.[2] As Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the last great Advaita teacher, has said in one of his introductory verses to his commentary on the Bh.G.:

[1]After the war was over, Arjuna one day confessed to Kṛṣṇa that he had forgotten the teachings of the *Gītā*, and requested Kṛṣṇa to repeat it. Kṛṣṇa replied that he found Arjuna's carelessness very annoying (*me sumahad apriyam*). He was unable to repeat the *Gītā*, since at the time he described the Supreme Brahman, he was *yoga-yukta* (*Mbh.*, 14. 16.9-12). However, Kṛṣṇa delivered another sermon whichis called '*Anu-gītā*,' *Mbh.*, 14.16 to 50. The word '*gītā*' is used in the Mbh. in the sense of 'sacred ballad.' There are other *gītās* in the *Mbh.*, such as the *Parāśara-gītā*, the *Haṃsa-gītā* etc.

[2]The word '*yoga*' has been used in the *Gītā* rather loosely, and in more than one sense, but never in the sense in which Patañjali uses it. Here *yoga* means roughly 'by which one is yoked.'

karm-opāstis tathā jñānam iti kāṇḍa-trayaṁ kramāt
tad-rūp-āṣṭādaśādhyāyī Gītā kāṇḍa-trayātmikā

We shall follow this maxim only changing the relative position of Jñāna-Yoga and Bhakti-yoga and take Karma-yoga first:

i. *Karma-yoga: Karma* means 'action.' Any act performed is 'an action,' such as 'seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, tasting, walking, sleeping, breathing, speaking, excreting, grasping and opening and closing the eyes' (5.8-9). Another type of action is performed to fulfil our daily needs, to earn our livelihood (3.8). The third type of *karma* is enjoined on a person by his station in life, his caste duties. Arjuna should fight because it is the duty of a *kṣatriya* not to run away from a battlefield (18.43). Similarly, the *brāhmaṇas*, *vaiśyas*, and the *śūdras* have their particular caste duties or *karmas*.

Another type of *karma* consists of the Vedic rites. The Bh.G. denounces the performance of such rites when performed to produce desirable results such as going to heaven after death (2.42-44), but it praises such *karmas* if performed with the intention of securing general benefit like bringing down rain, which would raise crops (3.14-16).

All actions, except the first type of Vedic rites, are not only permitted, but are compulsory (18.45-48), but mere performance of actions does not lead to liberation. All acts, even eating, sleeping etc., have to be performed without attachment, and without desiring results (2.47; 3.8, 19. 24-25; 18.5-12). The acts, however, must be performed. But every act produces a result. If the performer does not experience the results, what happens to them? Dedicate the results to the Lord (5.10-12; 9.27-28; 18.46). He promises to accept everything, however trifling the offering may be (9.26).

Are actions enjoined upon all persons throughout their lives? The answer, as we shall presently see, is in the negative, but 'freedom from activity cannot be achieved by abstaining from work' (3.4). Only 'he, whose understanding is not attached anywhere, who has subdued his self, is without desire, attains through renunciation that supreme state which transcends action (*naiṣkarmya siddhi*)' (18.49). At this stage, the commentators explain, one realizes Brahman.

There is another way of transcending action. *Akarman* (non-action) is reprobated (2.47), and one is asked to distinguish between *karma*, *akarma*, and *vikarma* (wrong action 4.17). Then the Blessed Lord, or Śrī Bhagavān as Sañjaya calls Him, declares (4.18): 'He who in action sees inaction, and in inaction sees action is indeed wise among men; he is united (with the Supreme Self) and has completed all action.' That is, as soon as a person sees that the nature of action is really inaction, because in the Supreme Self there is no action, hence the nature of inaction is verily action, he transcends the world of action. For, the person who thinks that he is performing the action is wrong: 'It is the *guṇas* of Prakṛti which perform all kinds of actions; one whose self is deluded by ego-sense thinks "I am the *kartā* (agent)," but those who possess true knowledge does not get attached to

karma, that is, they give up the notion that they are the *kartā* (3.27-28). It is again said: 'When the seer perceives no *kartā* other than the *guṇas*, and knows what is beyond the *guṇas* (i.e., *sākṣī-caitanya* 'witnessing intelligence') he attains oneness with Me. The seer then transcends the realm of Prakṛti, is freed from birth, death, old age and pain, and attains immortality' (14.19-20). 'The Lord does neither create *kartṛtva* (agency), nor *karmas*, nor their results; it is nature (*svabhāva* i.e., Prakṛti) which works these out' (5.14). One performs action so long as one is within Prakṛti's realm, as soon as one perceives this, one is free from Prakṛti's bondage which imposes action (13.20-24).

Action is thus inevitable and compulsory for ordinary persons. But the seer transcends *karma* the moment he perceives that his true self is inactive so far as these actions are concerned, and in the perception of that inactivity lies the true *karma* of the self.

Karma-yoga is prescribed in the Bh. G. for the generality of the people who are unable to see beyond the veil of Prakṛti or Māyā, for in the Bh. G. Prakṛti stands for Māyā (7.14-15; 18.61). Though the ignorant people work for the fruit of their actions, the wise should not bewilder their minds which are hungry for action. On the contrary, the wise should seemingly follow the ignorant so far as performing the act is concerned, but remaining detached they should urge the people to act (3.25-26).

ii. *Jñāna-yoga:* As soon as the seer perceives that 'inaction is action' (4.18), he also realizes the distinction between self and the non-self, and is firmly established in Jñana-yoga. Dealing with the Vedic rituals, the Bh. G. says that all these rituals are born of works (*karmajān*) 'and so knowing you shall be freed. Knowledge (lit. 'knowledge as a sacrifice') is greater than any material sacrifice, O Paraṁtapa (Arjuna), all works without any exception terminate in *jñāna* (wisdom)' 4.32-33). Therefore we are advised to 'seek *jñāna* (knowledge) from possessors of knowledge, by humble reverence, by interrogation, and by service' (4.34). 'Interrogation' or *paripraśna* has been explained by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī as asking the following questions: 'Who am I?' What is the nature of my bondage? How can I free myself?'

Components of *jñāna* (wisdom) are: 'Modesty, simplicity, non-violence, forbearance, rectitude, service of the preceptor,[1] (physical and mental) purity, steadfastness and self-control, aversion to sense-objects, mastery over ego, perception of the evils of birth, death, decrepitude, disease, and suffering, non-attachment, non-adherence to son, wife, home etc. equanimity to all favourable and unfavourable happenings, unswerving devotion to Me with undisturbed heart, living in solitude, avoiding crowd, ceaseless striving in quest of self, and clear comprehension of true knowledge (*tattva-jñānārtha-darśana*)' (13.7-11). Without these qualities, one cannot attain knowledge.

[1]See Śaṃkara on Br.S. 4.1.1 on *Muṇḍaka*, 1.5 and his devotional hymns the *Gurvāṣṭakam* and the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra*.

The 'object of knowledge' (*jñeya*) is the Supreme Brahman, the Beginningless, who is neither existent nor non-existent (13.12).[1] He has His hands, feet, eyes, head, mouth, and ears everywhere in the world, and He envelopes all. He is without senses, but He illumines the sense-qualities. Himself unattached, the upholder of all, He is beyond the *guṇas*, He is also the enjoyer of the *guṇas*. He is both inside and outside of all living beings, all that is moving and all that is stationary. He is both near and far, unknowable on account of His subtle nature. Being one in many, yet appearing in many, the upholder of all living beings, the destroyer and creator, He is the light of lights, beyond all darkness. He is knowledge, the object of knowledge, and the goal of knowledge, residing in every heart' (13.13-17). This is Upaniṣadic Brahman.[2]

The effect of *jñāna* is the destruction of all *karmas*. 'Even if you are the worst of sinners,' says Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna, 'the raft of knowledge will carry you across all your sins. As the blazing fire turns its fuel to ashes, even so the fire of knowledge (*jñānāgni*) turns all *karmas* to ashes' (4.36-37).[3] That is, there is a cessation of *karma* (and its effects become inoperative). 'When a man has found delight, satisfaction, and peace in Self (*ātman*) he has no longer any *karma* to perform. He has nothing to gain in this world by action, and nothing to lose by refraining from action. He is not dependent on anything, nor has he any interest' (3.17-18).[4]

iii. *Bhakti-yoga:* The *Gītā's* route *par excellence* leading to liberation is *Bhakti-yoga*. We have seen that one of the main components of *jñāna* is 'unswerving *bhakti* (devotion) to Me.' The insistence on *bhakti* is the most important difference between the Bh.G., and the Upaniṣads,[5] which are

[1]Bh.G., 13.12 says, *anādimat param-brahma*, which according to Śaṃkara means 'beginningless Supreme Brahman.' Here Rāmānuja raises an objection on pure grammatical grounds, and constructs it as *anadi mat-param brahma*, meaning 'beginningless Brahman (i.e., the individual soul) than whom I am higher,' which is a very laboured and far-fetched interpretation. The Vaiṣṇava commentators usually follow Rāmānuja.

[2]*Gītā*, 13.13, 14ab,=*Śvetāśvatara* 3.16, 17ab, Bh.G. 13.15 cp., *Īśā*, 5, and *Muṇḍaka* 2.1.2b. The word Brahman is used in the Bh.G. in several senses, such as Veda (4.32), as Īśvara (5.10,19). In 8.3 and 10.12 Brahman is referred to as the differenceless ultimate principle, but in 14.27 it is said that God is the support of this ultimate principle, which induced Śaṃkara to give two explanations: 1. That Śakti of Brahman which Brahman evolves to bestow favour upon its devotees, is also Brahman, because Śakti and the 'possessor of Śakti' are inseparable; 2. That Brahman here means *saguṇa* Brahman, which is located in undifferentiated *nirguṇa* Brahman.

[3]There are two types of *karmas*, which have been compared to (1) arrows in the quiver, called *sañcita-karma* (accumulated *karma*), and (2) to the arrow which has been shot, called *prārabdha-karma* (*karma* which has commenced). A person in his present life discharges his *prārabdha-karma*. Śaṃkara says that this *prārabdha-karma* is not destroyed but has to be experienced and exhausted, while the *sañcita-karma* are destroyed by Jñāna. See also *Muṇḍaka*, 2.2.8 and Br.S. 4.1. 13-15 and 19.

[4]Compare Bh.G. 3.17 with *Chāndogya*, 7.25.2 and with *YS*, 4.30 which says *tataḥ kleśa-karma-nivṛttiḥ*. This cessation happens after the Dharma-megha-samādhi.

[5]*Bhakti* is mentioned only in the concluding passage of the *Śvetāśvatara*. See A.K. Majumdar, *Bhakti Renaissance*, 2nd edn., Bombay, 1979, pp. 2-4.

popularly known respectively as the Bhakti-prasthāna, and the Jñāna-prasthāna; the Br.S., being somewhat polemical in nature, is known as the Nyāya-prasthāna.

In the first two verses of Chapter 9 (Bh.G.) 'The Blessed Lord (Śrī Bhagavān),' says that he will impart to Arjuna 'this innermost secret (*guhyatama*)....this is the king of knowledge (and) the king of secrets....' It is apparent from the following verses (9.3-21) that this knowledge is the identity of Kṛṣṇa, the incarnate Lord with Brahman, the source of all.

Then Kṛṣṇa says: 'Whatever man gives me in true devotion, I accept it, be it a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or just water, because it is offered by a dedicated heart. Whatever you do, eat, worship, distribute gifts, whatever penances you perform O son of Kunti (Arjuna), lay those also as offerings to me. And thus shall you be free from the good and evil results forged by *karma* (actions). With thus perfect renunciation of *karma* (because they have been dedicated to Lord) you will become free and attain to Me .... Even if a man of the most vile conduct worships me with unswerving devotion he must be reckoned as righteous, for he has rightly resolved. Soon he turns into a righteous soul, and obtains everlasting peace. Know for certain, O son of Kunti, that the man who loves Me shall never perish ....'[1] (9.26-28; 30-31).

As the *Muṇḍaka* (3.2.3) says:

The soul (*ātman*) is not to be obtained by exposition,
Nor by intellect, nor by much learning,
He is to be obtained only by the one whom He chooses;
To such a one only doth He reveal His own person.

The *Gītā* teaches how to please Him and obtain His grace. Emphasis on *bhakti* will be found in the *Śvetāśvatara* 6.18 and 23. In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (11.14.20) Kṛṣṇa repeats the same message to Uddhava, when he says:

na sādhayati māṁ yogo na sāṁkhyaṁ dharma Uddhava
na sādhhyayas=tapas=tyāgo yathā bhaktir=mam-orjitā

(O Uddhava, you cannot win me over by *yoga*, knowledge, the study of the Veda, penances, or by charity (as completely) as by overflowing devotion).

In Chapter 10 of the Bh.G., Śrī Bhagavān declares Himself to be the source of all which is His *paramaṁ vacah* (supreme word, 10.1), and in Chapter 11 reveals to Arjuna His cosmic form. At the beginning of the next chapter, Arjuna asks: 'Which type of devotee have the greater understanding of *yoga*: those who worship You with steadfast love, or those who meditate upon the Imperishable Unmanifest.' In reply Śrī-Bhagavān says that He considers the former as most securely yoked to Him (*yuktàtamā*), but the worshippers of the latter type also attain Him. Then He says: 'The difficulty (lit. 'suffering') of those whose thoughts are set on the Unmanifested is

[1]This assurance does not mean that the sinner immediately becomes a virtuous soul. An illustration of this verse will be found in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (6.1.21 to 6.2.45) which describes the conversion of the sinner Ajāmila, who got a reprieve due to his uttering the name of Nārāyaṇa at the time of his impending death. After his reprieve, he set out to perform penance for his former deeds, and at last gained heaven.

greater, for the Unmanifest is very difficult for men (lit. 'embodied souls') to realize' (12.1-5).

As Swami Vivekananda has said: 'The Jñāna-yogi has the harshest of all renunciations to go through, as he has to realize from the very first that the whole of this solid-looking nature is all an illusion. He has to understand that all that is any kind of manifestation of power in nature belongs to the soul, and not to nature. He has to know from the very start that all knowledge and all experience are in the soul and not in nature; so he has at once and by sheer force of rational conviction to tear himself away from all bondage to nature. He lets nature and all that belongs to her go, he lets them vanish and tries to stand alone.'[1]

For those who are absolutely devoted to the Lord. He avers: 'I straightway deliver those whose thoughts are set on me from the ocean of death-bound existence; on Me alone fix your mind, let your understanding repose in Me. Then, after death, you will live in Me alone. Do not doubt it' (12.7-8).

This instruction, this declaration to Arjuna, is indeed the ultimate teaching in religious mysticism.

Again in the last chapter, after summarizing His teachings, Kṛṣṇa says (18.63): 'Now I have taught you knowledge (*jñāna*) which is the secret of secrets (*guhyād gyhyatara*). Reflect on it, and then act as you think best.' Then follows the final teaching of the *Gītā* (18.64-66): 'Listen again to My supreme words, the most secret of all (*sarva-guhyatama*). You are very dear to Me, hence I speak for your benefit. Concentrate your mind on Me, be My devotee, worship Me, bow to Me; and I promise you I who love you dearly, you shall attain Me. Lay down all duties, take refuge in Me alone. Be free from fear, for I will save you from all sins (and bondage).'[2]

Thus, though the three are to a certain extent complimentary, Jñāna-yoga, transcends Karma-yoga, and Bhakti-yoga transcends Jñāna-yoga. As Prof. S.N. Dasgupta has said, 'The *Gītā* lays down for the first time the cornerstone of the teachings of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa and of the later systems of Vaiṣṇava thought, which elaborated the theory of *bhakti* and described it as the principal method of self-elevation and self-realization.'[3]

Ethics of the Gītā

Karma-yoga is possibly the most misunderstood part of the Bh.G. A large

[1] *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, III, p. 71. On p. 42 ibid, Swamiji has rendered *Bh.G.*. 12.5ab as: 'The way is more difficult for those whose mind is attached to the absolute.'

[2] Compare *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, 11.11.32: 'They, who, while knowing their merits and demerits renounce all actions sanctioned by Me in the shape of the Vedas, adore Me alone, and knowing what I am worship Me with complete devotion, are the foremost of My devotees.' *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 11.20.9: 'A person should engage himself in actions, only so long as he is not disgusted with fruits of action and does not acquire reverence for themes based on Me (*mat kathā*)' See also *Bh.G.*, 9.27-28.

[3] S.N. Dasgupta, op, cit., II, p. 532.

section of the present day Hindus, particularly those engaged in active politics, believe that the Bh.G. recommends incesant work of any type. They overlook two fundamental aspects of Karma-yoga. Firstly, as stated above, in Karma-yoga, all the results or fruits of *karma* must be surrendered to God. Secondly, any *karma* specifically performed for one's own benefit or for the benefit of one's relations and friends is *kāmya-karma* (action performed with a desire) and is denounced in the *Gītā*. In short, Karma-yoga means that even amidst intense activity a person must be without any desire, and renounce all results of his action.

Karma-yoga has another criterion: what type of action should one engage himself in? It is said in 4.17: You must understand what action is wrong-action . . . .' This 'wrong action' is explained in Chapter 16, where the nature of *daiva* (god-like) and *asura* (demoniac) person are distinguished and the nature of the latter explained in some detail. In the meantime it is said in 7.14-15: 'My divine *māyā* consisting of the *guṇas*, is hard to overcome. Those who take refuge in Me cross beyond it. The foolish evil-doers, worst among men, whose minds are caught in the web of *māyā*, have the heart of a demon (*asura bhāva*), do not seek refuge in Me.'

The *daivī sampat* (divine equipment) are: fearlessness, purity of heart, knowledge of things and proper action in accordance with it, charity, self-control, sacrifice, study of scriptures, austerity (*tapas*) sincerity (*ārjava*) non-violence, truthfulness, control of anger, renunciation, tranquillity, aversion to slandering, compassion to living beings, non-covetousness, tenderness, bashfulness, steadiness, vigour, forgiveness, fortitude, purity, and freedom from malice and from vanity. These virtues liberate our spirits, while vanity, pride, conceit, anger, cruelty, and ignorance, which are the characteristics of the *āsurī* nature, bind and enslave us (16.1-5). It is the *daivī* people, who alone are fit for *Karma-yoga.*

The *āsurī* type of men do not know that they ought to do, nor what they should refrain from doing. They have no regard for truth, or purity, or right conduct. They hold the scriptures to be false, and that the universe is based not upon a moral law, but God-less, conceived in lust and created by copulation without any other cause. Their lust is insatiable. They are arrogant, vain, and drunk with pride (16.7-8).

The *āsurī* type of men run blindly after what is evil. The ends they work for are unclean. They are sure that the only purpose in life is the gratification of the senses. And so they are overwhelmed with innumerable cares all their lives. Hundreds of desires bind them; lastful and wrathful, *they pile up wealth by dishonest means* to satisfy their cravings (16.10-12).

'I gained this today; I shall satisfy that desire. All these riches are mine; soon I shall have more. I have killed this enemy, and others also I shall slay. I am the lord, I enjoy life, I am successful, mighty and happy. I am rich and nobly born. Who is my equal? I shall perform sacrifice; I shall distribute alms. I shall make merry.' Thus do the *āsurī* type of men contemplate in the blindness of their ignorance (16.13-15).

'Caught in the net of delusion, a filthy hell is the destiny of these addicted to physical and material pleasure, made restless by endless desires. Conceited, haughty, filled with the pride and arrogance of their wealth, they perform so-called sacrifices with ostentation, and without regard to rules. They are malicious, egoistic, vain, given over to lust and anger; they despise Me dwelling in the bodies of themselves and others. These cruel men are enemies of all. I cast them again and again into the wombs of demons. Then they can never attain me, but sink to the lowest level of hell '(16.16-20).

'Lust, anger and greed are the three gateways to hell leading to the ruin of the soul. Therefore one should avoid these three' (16.21).

For ordinary people, this homily constitutes the most important part of the *Gītā*. To be fit for engaging oneself in Karma-yoga, one must get rid of the disqualifications of the *āsurī* type of men, and then cultivate the qualifications of the *daivī* type. For it is the *daivī* men alone, like Arjuna, who are fit for Karma-yoga.

CHAPTER XX

ADVAITA-VEDĀNTA

Introduction

It has been shown in the last chapter, that Vedānta has been differently interpreted by the Ācāryas. These interpretations are the bases of the different systems or schools of Vedānta, of which the earliest is Advaita-vedānta. Advaita is also the most important school, so much so that today Vedānta is sometimes taken to mean Advaita-vedānts, though such a connotation of the term is not correct. The pre-eminence of the Advaita school is due to various reasons. It was the Advaita doctrine preached by Śaṃkarācārya which re-established the supremacy of the Upaniṣadic doctrine replacing Buddhism. Indeed, the history of our religion and philosophy can be divided into three broad periods. First was the Vedic period, which closed with the rise of Buddhism, that is about 500 BC, shortly after the birth of Buddha, the Śākyasiṁha. The second or the Buddhist period may be said to have ended with the rise of Vedānta under Vedāntakeśarī (Lion of Vedānta), as Śaṃkara was called. The second period may be said to have begun about AD 800 and to have ended with the writing of Baladeva Vidyabhuṣana's writing of the *Govinda-bhāṣya* commentary on the Br. S. from the standpoint of the Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavas. One of the Baladeva's works is dated Śaka era 1686 or AD 1764, and the *Govinda-bhāṣya* was written probably earlier, that is about AD 1750. Thus the second period lasted from *c.* AD 800 to 1750. The third period begins from Rājā Rāmmohun Roy (born 1772 or 1774) and still continues.

The second period saw the rise of the various Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sects which identified the Upaniṣadic Brahman with their respective deities. They differed from each other in matters of detail, their common ground being their total opposition to Advaita-vedānta. Successive generations of scholars of these schools engaged in subtle disputations for and against Advaita-vedānta producing a vast but brilliant philosophical literature in Sanskrit. Throughout this period Advaita philosophy held its ground, though the country was inundated with Vaiṣṇava faith and movement. Then came Rāmmohun, an uncompromising champion of Advaita-vedānta. Though his followers changed his creed and adopted more or less the Vaiṣṇava attitude, which they called 'theistic', the position of Advaita-vedānta was firmly secured in India by Śrī Ramakrishna Paramahaṃsa and Swami Vivekananda. In our own days Śrī Ramana Maharṣi preached pure Advaita. Thus one may possibly be permitted to remark that, from Rāmmohun to Ramana Maharṣi

Advaita philosophy has dominated the spiritual life of India and has not yet been seriously challenged.[1]

Gauḍapāda

Advaita-vedānta is invariably associated with the name of Ācārya Śaṃkara, its great preacher. In fact, however, the doctrine is as old as the Upaniṣads, from which Śaṃkara drew his inspiration. And, as Śaṃkara himself has said, there were other Advaita teachers before him; of them the most important was Gauḍapāda, the author of the *Māṇḍukyakārikā* mentioned above. Gauḍapāda is usually taken to be Śaṃkara's preceptor's preceptor, but there are valid reasons to believe that he was separated from Śaṃkara by many generations of teachers, and that he flourished about AD 500.[2]

We have given above (p. 254) a short account of the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* with the English rendering of some of its passages. Gauḍapāda's main work is called *Māṇḍukyakārikā*, because its first chapter is based on the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad*. Gauḍapāda's work consists of 215 *kārikās* or verses grouped into four *prakaraṇas* or chapters: 1. *Āgama* (scripture), 29 *kārikās*; 2. *Vaitathya* (illusoriness of self-experience), 38 *kārikās*; 3. *Advaita* (non-duality) 48 *kārikās*; 4. *Alāta-śānti* (quenching of the fire-brand) 100 *kārikās*. Of these only the first *prakaraṇa* follows the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* with 9 *karikas* on the 6th and the 7th passages of the Upanisad, 5 *karikas* on the 11th, and 6 on the 12th passage.

Gauḍapāda begins (on the 6th passage of the Upaniṣad) with the three apparent manifestation of the self: i. as *viśva* which experiences the external objects (waking state); ii. as *taijasa* which experiences the internal (subtle) objects (dream state); and iii. as *prājña* which experiences bliss (pure consciousness, state of deep sleep, 1.1-4.) 'He, who knows both the experiencer and the objects of experience . . . . (associated) with the three states, is unaffected by his experiences' (1.5). Gauḍapāda then refers to several theories of creation without indicating his preference for any, and then says: 'The world-appearance would have ceased had it existed; all this duality (*dvaita*) is mere Māyā (illusion or unreal apparition), non-duality (*advaita*) is the Supreme Reality' (*paramārthataḥ*, 1.17). This non-duality is perceived in the *turīya* (fourth) state. As Śaṃkara explains this *kārika*, what does not exist (like the snake mistaken for the rope) can never disappear. 'Similar is this duality of the cognized universe which is a mere illusion. Non-duality (*turīya*) is alone the Supreme Reality. Therefore the fact is that there is no such thing as the manifold about which appearance or disappearance can be predicated.' This *kārikā* contains the central idea of Advaita-vedānta.

Commenting on the 1st *kārikā* of the 2nd *prakaraṇa*, Śaṃkara says that 'it is also equally possible to determine the unreality of duality through

[1]For details of this periodization see A.K. Majumdar, *Impact of Śaṃkarācārya on Indian Thought*, reprinted from Viśvabhāratī Quarterly, 37, no. 1, pp. 4-13.

[2]ibid, pp. 3-4.

pure reasoning.' Then Gauḍapāda states; 'Objects seen in the waking state are illusory, just as the objects seen in dream state, the only difference being the limitation of space (in the dream state) . . . . That which neither exists in the beginning nor in the end cannot be said to exist in the present' (2.5 and 6). But like unreal it appears as real.' 'In dream things are imagined internally, and in the experiences that we have when we are awake, things are imagined as if existing outside, but both of them are illusory creations' (2.9-10).' 'Who is the cognizer ? . . . The self-luminous *ātman* himself by his own *māyā* imagines in himself by himself (all the objects that the subject experiences within or without). He alone is the cognizer of all (his created) objects. This is the conclusion of Vedānta' (*iti Vedānta niścayaḥ*)', 2.11-12. 'First of all is imagined the *jīva*, and then the various perceived entities. . . . As the rope, whose nature is unknown, is imagined in the dark to be a snake etc., so also is the *ātman* imagined (in diverse forms). When the real nature of the rope is ascertained, all illusions about it disappear, and the conviction arises that it is just the rope, similarly is the conviction regarding the *ātman*' (2.16-18). 'There is neither cessation nor production; none is in bondage, none is striving for knowledge, there is no seeker for release and no released person (*mukta*): this is the ultimate truth' (*paramārthataḥ*, 2.32.) Introducing this verse, Śaṃkara says: 'This verse sums up the meaning of the chapter. When duality is perceived to be illusory and *ātman* alone is known as the sole reality (*paramārthataḥ*) it is clearly established that all our experiences, ordinary or Vedic (*laukika Vaidikaś=ca*) pertain to the domain of ignorance.' 'Imagination finds itself realized in the non-existing existents, and also in the sense of non-duality; all imaginations either as the many or as the *advaya* (non-dual, i.e., 'one') is false. Therefore non-duality alone is bliss (*śiva*)' (2.33). Śaṃkara comments that 'no action is possible for *ātman*. Therefore, the objects that are perceived to exist by the active mind can never be imagined to have existence from the standpoint of Ultimate Reality. . .' ' The sages who have transcended attachment, fear, and anger, and who have gone beyond the sphere of the Vedas have perceived it (*ātman*) as the originationless cessation of all appearances, the non-dual (*prapañca-opśamo'dvayaḥ*).'

In the third chapter, Gauḍapāda attempts to describe Brahman (3.2). He compares the *ātman* to sky and says: 'As in the destruction of the pot etc., the enclosed *ākāśa* of the pot merges in the *ākāśa*, similarly the *jīva* merges in the *ātman*,' (3.4).' 'As any portion of *ākāśa* enclosed in a pot, being soiled by dust etc., does not soil other portions of the *ākāśa* enclosed in other pots, so is the happiness etc., of the *jīvas*' (individual souls) (i.e., the happiness or misery of one *jīva* does not affect another; 3.5). Upon this Śaṃkara comments: 'The dualists contend that if one *ātman* existed in all bodies, then the birth, death, happiness etc., of one *ātman* (as *jīva*) must affect all, and further that there must follow a confusion regarding the results of the actions (done by individuals because the action of one must affect others not responsible for the action, obliterating the law of causality). This contradiction is refuted.' With the knowledge of Brahman all contradictions disappear, as Gauḍa-

pāda says: 'The dualists obstinately cling to their own conclusions, (and) they contradict one another, whereas (Advaitin) finds no conflict with them. As non-duality is the Supreme Reality, therefore duality is said to be its effect. The dualists perceive duality either way (both in the Absolute and in the phenomenon). Therefore the non-dual position does not conflict with the dualists' position. This Unborn (Brahman) appears to undergo modifications only on account of Māyā and not otherwise. For, if these modifications were real, the Immortal (Brahman) would become mortal,' (3.17-19).[1]

'The apparent birth of the ever-existent (*sat*) is due to Māyā, and not from the standpoint of Reality .... The unreal (*asat*) cannot be born, either really or through Māyā. For, the son of a barren woman is neither real nor illusion' (3.27-28). 'When the mind ceases to imagine on account of (the realization of) truth which is *ātman*, then it ceases (to function) as mind, and stops cognition for want of cognizable objects' (3.32). Commenting upon this, Śaṃkara says that knowledge of the reality of Ātman comes through the scriptures like *Chāndogya* 6.1.4 (which he quotes), and the teacher. Then the mind ceases to imagine and becomes like the fire whose fuel is exhausted. Then the mind becomes free from all cognitions.

'The mind is absorbed (or disappears) at the time of deep sleep, but not when its function is stopped by spiritual exercise. At that time the light of fearless Brahman alone exists' (3.35). Then Gauḍapāda describes the *asparśa-yoga* which has been explained above in Chapter X (p. 508). Gauḍapāda then adds: 'The mind can be brought under control only by unrelenting effort such as is required to empty an ocean drop by drop by a blade of grass. The mind distracted by desires and enjoyments and the mind enjoying pleasure in oblivion should be brought under control by proper means. For the state of oblivion is as harmful as the state of desires'[2] (3.41-42). Then Gauḍapada describes the condition of mind when it becomes Brahman, which has been rendered above. In that state of realization of Self, it is 'comfortable, peaceful, attended with liberation (*sanirvāṇam*), indescribable, extreme happiness, and unborn. It is described as non-different from the object of knowledge (*jñeya*, i.e., Brahman) and omniscient,' (3.47). Commenting upon this verse Śaṃkara says: '.... It is indescribable as nobody is able to describe it .... The knowers of Brahman describe this bliss as the omniscient Brahman, as it is identical with that Reality which is omniscient.' The last verse (3.48) says: 'No *jīva* (man) is ever born. There does not exist any cause which can produce it. This is the highest truth that nothing is ever born.'

[1]Translation of Śaṃkara's commentary are mostly based on Swami Nikhilānanda, *The Māṇḍukyopaniṣad with Gauḍapāda's Kārikā and Śaṃkara's Commentary*, Mysore, 1955. The second line of the verse quoted by Raja Rammohan Roy in his *Religious Instructions Founded on Sacred Authorities* is *Māṇḍukya Kārikā*, 3.1ab, but the first line cannot be traced though he refers to '*Gauḍapādācārya-kārikā*:' *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, published by The Panini Office, Allahabad, 1906.

[2]*Māṇḍukyakārikā*, 3.41 and 42 are quoted by Madhusūdana Sarasvati on *Gītā*, 6.23 and26.

In the fourth chapter Gauḍapāda describes the final state. The opening verse pays homage to *dvipadāṁ varam* (best among men), a controversial term which will be discussed below. The second verse again refers to the *asparaśa-yoga* mentioned above, and verse 2 to 8 are repetitions of what has been said in the previous chapters. It is then stated that 'those who regard *kāraṇa* (cause) as the *karma* (effect, in a potential form) cannot consider the cause as truly unproduced (*aja*), for it suffers modification. How can it be called eternal and yet be subject to modification?' (4.11). The following verses carry this dialectic logically, and then it is said: 'The inability (to reply), the ignorance (about the matter), and the impossibility of establishing) the order of succession (of the cause and the effect) clearly lead the wise to stick to their theory of absolute non-evolution (*ajāti*, 4.19). 'Nothing is born either of itself or of another. Nothing is ever produced whether it is being or non-being, or both being and non-being' (4.22). It is admitted, however, that 'knowledge (*prajñapti*) must have an objective cause, otherwise both would have vanished. For this reason as well as that of the experience of pain, the existence of external objects, accepted by other thinkers, should be accepted. From the standpoint of logical reason a cause for the subjective impression must be assigned. But from the standpoint of the highest Reality or the true nature of things, we find that the (so-called) cause (of the subjective impression) is, after all, no cause' (4.24-25).[1]

Introducing *kārikā* 4.28, Śaṃkara states that the *kārikās* 4.25-27 'give the views of the Vijñānavādin Buddhists who refute the view of those who maintain the view of external objects. The Ācārya (Gauḍapāda) approves of these arguments. Now he makes use of these arguments as the *hetu* (middle term) for refuting their conclusions.' The *kārikā* (4.28) states: 'Therefore neither the mind nor the objects perceived by the mind are ever born. Those who perceive such birth may as well discover the foot-prints (of the birds) in the sky.' Commenting on this *kārikā* Śaṃkara states: 'The Vijñānavādins admit that the mind, even in the absence of the (external) jar etc., takes the form of the jar etc. We agree with this conclusion because this is in conformity with the real nature of things. In like manner, the mind, though never produced, appears to be produced and cognized as such. The Vijñānavādins who affirm the production of the mind and also assert that the mind is momentary, full of pain, non-self in nature etc., forget that the real nature of the mind can never be understood by the mind (as described by them because according to them the mind is momentary, and consciousness of one moment is unrelated to the consciousness of the next moment). Thus the Vijñānavādins who see the production of the mind resemble those who (pro-

[1]S.N. Dasgupta rejected Śaṃkara's commentary on *Māṇḍukyakārikā* and rendered this verse as: 'All experiences (*prajñapti*) is dependent on reasons, for otherwise both would vanish, and there would be none of the afflictions (*saṃkleśa*) that we suffer. When we look at all things in a connected manner they seem to be dependent, but when we look at them from the point of view of reality or truth the reasons cease to be reasons.' S.N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 427.

fess to) see foot-prints in the sky left by birds etc. In other words, the Vijñānavādins are more audacious than the others like the Dvaitavādins. And the Śūnyavadins who, in spite of the perception of the visible world, assert the absolute non-existence of everything including their own experiences, are even more audacious than the Vijñānavādins. (These Śūnyavādins) desire to hold the sky in the palm of their hands.'

Almost at the end (4.99) Gauḍapāda says: 'The knowledge of the wise one, who is all-light, is ever untouched by objects. All the entities as well as knowledge (which are non-different) are also ever untouched by any object. This is not the view of Buddha (*n=aitad Buddheṅa bhāṣitam*).' The reason, Śaṃkara explains, is that the knowledge of the man who has attained Supreme Reality, is always centred on Ātman, that is identical with Ātman, like sun and its rays.

Gauḍapāda and Buddhism[1]

From Śaṃkara's commentary cited above it is clear that Gauḍapāda was influenced by Buddhism. It is also evident from the commentary that he rejected the Buddhist doctrine. On this point, however, there is some difference of opinion. For example, Prof. Dasgupta writes: 'It is so obvious that these (Gauḍapāda's) doctrines are borrowed from Mādhyamika doctrines, as found in Nāgārjuna's Kārikās, and the Vijñānavāda doctrines as found in *Laṅkāvatāra*, that it is needless to attempt to prove it. Gauḍapāda assimilated all the Buddhist Śūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda teachings, and thought that these hold good of the ultimate truth preached by the Upaniṣads. It is immaterial whether he was a Hindu or a Buddhist, so long as we are sure that he had the highest respect for the Buddha and for the teachings he believed to be his.'[2]

This sweeping remark, even though made by so great an authority, must be critically examined. Firstly, as T.R.V. Murti has pointed out that 'in the first three chapters of the *kārikās* [of Gauḍapāda], nothing is said to which any orthodox Vedāntin could take exception as regards language and logical content.'[3] Prof. Dasgupta has, however, found close similarities even between the first chapter of Gauḍapāda's *kārikā* and Nāgārjuna's and writes: 'Gauḍapāda does not indicate his preference one way or the other, but describes the fourth state of the self as unseen (*adṛṣṭa*), unrelationable (*avyavahāryam*), ungraspable (*agrāhyam*), indefinable (*alakṣaṇa*), unthinkable (*acintyam*), unspeakable (*avyapadeśya*), the essence as oneness with the self (*ekātma-pratyayasāra*), as the extinction of the appearance (*prapañcopaśama*),

[1]For the influence of Buddhism on Gauḍapāda see Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, *The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda*, Calcutta, 1943, Introduction, pp. xxv ff and cxiv ff, and S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., pp. 422-29. For a different view see T.P. Mahadevan, *Gauḍapāda, A Study in Early Advaita*, Madras, 1954, chapter IX, and T.R.V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, London, 1955, pp. 109-17.

[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 429.

[3]T.R.V. Murti, op. cit., p. 114.

the quiescent (*śāntam*), the good (*śivam*), the one (*advaita*).' In a footnote Prof. Dasgupta compares this passage with two similar passages from Nāgārjuna and adds: 'So far as I know the Buddhists were the first to use the words *prapañcopaśama śivam*.'[1]

Here Prof. Dasgupta has unfortunately overlooked that this passage which he quotes as Gauḍapāda's is really from the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* (7), and after defining the 'fourth state' of consciousness, as given by Prof. Dasgupta, ends by stating '*sa ātmā sa vijñeyaḥ*' (That is the *ātman*, that has to be realized). It may be added here, that *prapañcopaśama śiva* is again mentioned in *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* 12. Hence the entire position is reversed. In the passages quoted by Prof. Dasgupta, apart from other similarities, Nāgārjuna twice uses the phrase *prapañcopaśama śiva*, but it is obvious that if there was any borrowing Nāgārjuna was the borrower, for the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* is much anterior to Nāgārjuna, and that instead of the Buddhists, the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* was the first to use the phrase.

It is obvious that Gauḍapāda has borrowed some ideas from Vijñānavāda Buddhism, and we have seen that even Śaṃkara admits it. The reason is that Gauḍapāda subscribed to the Vijñānavāda view that external objects are not real. But according to Vijñānavāda, mind is momentary, and consciousness of one moment is unrelated to the consciousness of the next moment. This view Gauḍapāda and Śaṃkara refuted in Kārikā 4.28. They firmly upheld the Upaniṣadic view that there is an unchanging entity, the *ātman*, without whom it is not possible to know the change of consciousness from one moment to another. The Buddhists never admitted the existence of *ātman* or permanent soul.

Another point has been advanced to show the Buddhistic nature of Chapter IV of Gauḍapāda's *Kārikā*. This chapter begins with a verse paying obeisance to *dvipadāṁ varam*, which means 'the best among men', which, it has been held, indicates Buddha. This assumption seems to be far-fetched particularly when more convincing explanations are available.[2] Secondly, references in these type of verses cannot be decisive. Still, a salutation verse at the beginning of the fourth chapter is unusual. Many theories can be built on this departure from the normal practice, but we need not go into them here.

The point which should be borne in mind is that if Gauḍapāda were a Buddhist why did he write a *kārikā* on an Upaniṣad? Secondly in *kārikā* 2.31, Gauḍapāda respectfully refers to the views of the 'learned in Vedānta' (*Vedānteṣu vicakṣaṇaḥ*) and similarly to 'those well versed in Veda' (*Vedapāragaḥ*) in 2.35. In *kārikā* 1.22 Gauḍapāda refers respectfully to *mahā-muni*

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 425.

[2]See Swami Nikhilananda, op. cit., introduction, p. xv where it is explained that 'the phrase does not mean Buddha but Nārāyaṇa who is worshipped at Badarikasrama through the symbol of Man.' See also R.D. Karmarkar, Dvipadam-vara in Gauḍapāda's Kārikā, *ABORI*, XXXII, 1951, pp. 166-73. Nārāyaṇa in Badaryāśrama is mentioned in *Mbh*, 5.109.4 which states: *atra Nārāyaṇaḥ Kṛṣṇo Viṣṇuś c'aiva Narottamaḥ*. The first verse of the Nārāyaṇīya section (*Mbh*. 12.322.1) refers to Nārāyaṇa as *dvipadāṁ variṣṭham*.

and in 1.29 to *muni* instead of to *śramaṇas* or *theras* which are the Buddhist terms. Finally, Gauḍapāda's eulogy of *praṇava* (1.25-29), and his equation of *aum* with Brahman (1.26) are clearly based on Upaniṣad.

It has been suggested that the first three chapters based on the Upaniṣads were written by one man, and the last chapter based on Buddhist doctrine written by another. It is difficult to subscribe to this view. The fourth chapter repeats several ideas contained in the earlier chapters and nowhere contradicts the Upaniṣadic doctrines. Moreover, Śaṃkara on Br.S. 2.1.9, while quoting *Māṇḍukyakārikā* 1.16 ascribes the verse to '*Vedāntārtha-sampradāya-vid ācarya*' (teacher knowing the true tradition of Vedānta), and on Br.S. 1.4.14 while quoting *kārikā* 3.15 refers to its author as '*sampradāyavid*' (he who knows the tradition of the *sampradāya*).[1] As will be shown at the end of this chapter Śaṃkara held *sampradāya* to be extremely important. Thus commenting on *Gitā* 13.2 he says: '*asampradāyavit sarva-śāstravid api mūrkhavad eva upekṣanīyaḥ* (a man who does not belong to a *sampradāya* should be completely disregarded as if he was a fool)'. Apparently, Śaṃkara believed that in the *Māṇḍukyakārikā* Gauḍapāda had preached the genuine Advaita-vedānta tradition. Śaṃkara knew the Vijñānavada doctrine quite well, and if Gauḍapāda had preached that doctrine it is unthinkable that Śaṃkara would have accepted him as his traditional teacher. It is equally unlikely that Śaṃkara would be wrong on a doctrinal point concerning his *sampradāya*. Gauḍapāda used Mādhyamika technique which is there for everyone to see, and Śaṃkara openly admits it, but the borrowing of techniques or logical tools is quite different from borrowing or incorporating tenets. For example, Advaita-vedānta refutes Mīmāṁsā doctrine, but openly accepts Mīmāṁsā rules of interpretations. The Buddhists never admitted the Upaniṣadic doctrine of Ātman, just as the Vedāntins never admitted the Buddhist *nairātmya* doctrine. Vedānta substratum is infinity or plenitude, Buddhist substratum is 'zero' or 'vacuity':[2] conception of either is equally difficult if not impossible.

Importance of Gauḍapāda

Gauḍapāda upheld the Ātman doctrine of the Upaniṣads, but he differed from his predecessors on important points. Former teachers upheld the sole reality of Brahman, against Śāṃkhya conception of duality. They were really monists, who maintained the unity of mind and matter. The former teachers also accepted as literal truth the Upaniṣadic accounts of creation.

Gauḍapāda's main contribution was the new conception of *advaita* or non-dualism. As we have seen, he declares that *dvaita* (dualism) is Māyā (illusion), and Advaita is the Supreme Reality (1.17). Then he says (3.3-7, 13-14) that there is complete unqualified identity between *jīva* (individual self) and

[1]Śaṃkara writes *ācāryaiḥ* in the plural to show his respect.

[2]'The aim of Vedānta is to declare that knowledge and memory are not without support as the Bupdhist *śūnya-vādins* maintain;' *Śaṃkara* on *Māṇḍukyakārikā*, 2.12.

Ātman (Supreme Self).[1] Their difference is only apparent, and is due to limiting adjuncts. Further, there is no creation, and all accounts of creation in the Upaniṣads are but devices to teach the identity of Brahman and *jīva*.

This identity of Brahman and *jīva* is true *advaita* or non-dualism, as opposed to monism of former teachers. Śaṃkara accepted Gauḍapāda's conception of non-dualism and of Māyā, and several other ideas which are scattered in the *Kārikā* in germinal forms. He wove these conceptions, ideas, and suggestions into the fabric of Advaita-vedānta philosophy by unifying the teachings of the Upaniṣadas, the Br.S. and the *Gītā* into one harmonious system.

Life and Works of Śaṃkarācārya

Several biographies of Śaṃkara are available of which two are famous: *Śaṃkara-digvijaya* by Mādhava (Vidyāraṇya, 14th century), and *Śaṃkara-vijaya* by Ānandagiri. Neither of these texts are free from historical errors, and, like the biographies of other religious leaders, these biographies also contain many marvellous stories associated with Śaṃkara. For, it may be emphasized that Śaṃkara, like Buddha was a religious teacher, and it would be quite wrong to consider him as a modern philosopher. Among his religious activities was the introduction of the *pañcopāsanā* form of worship, in which images of five deities were taken, usually of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇesa (or Kārttikeya) and Mother Goddess. The worshipper placed four subsidiary deities on the four corners of an imaginary square, and placed his main deity in the centre. This system removed sectarianism, which later became prominent when Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva teachers preached the supremacy of their respective deities. The second innovation was probably the introduction of *tāntrik* rituals in worship. We have seen above that Gauḍapāda himself is said to have written a short work on *tantra* on which Śaṃkara wrote a commentary, and that the *Saundaryalaharī* a well-known *tantra* text is traditionally ascribed to Śaṃkara. Śaṃkara's affiliation to *tantra* is referred to in many *tantra* texts, and it is well to remember that the Śrī-yantra is worshipped at the Śṛṅgerī monastery founded by Śaṃkara. Śaṃkara's connection with *tantra* need cause no surprise, for in a sense *tantra* is the ritualistic counterpart of *advaita*. Many *tantra* texts preached *advaita-vāda*, though there are *dvaita tantra* texts also.

Śaṃkara's *floruit* is controversial, but it seems that he was born in AD 788, and died at the age of thirty-two.[2]

Śaṃkara was born is a Nambudri *brāhmaṇa* family at Kalasi in modern Kerala State. His father Śivaguru, a devout worshipper of Śiva, died when Śaṃkara was three years old. According to tradition, Śaṃkara learnt the four Vedas by the time he was eight years old, and within another four years gained complete mastery over all the *śāstras*. He completed his commentary

[1]See also *Māṇḍukyakārikā*, 3.11. which refers to the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* as authority.

[2]For a discussion of this date, see A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 1-4.

(on the Br.S.) at the age of sixteen, and passed away at the age of thirty-two. During the sixteen years of life that remained to him after the completion of the commentaries, Śaṃkara set about to propagate Advaita-vedānta doctrine and philosophy, establish monasteries, and organize his disciples into ten orders. The monasteries were Govardhan in Puri (East), which was to look after Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa; Śṛṅgerī on the Tungabhadra (South) for Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Karnataka etc.; Sāradā (West) in Dvaraka for Sindhu, Sauvira, Saurastra, Maharastra etc.; and Jyotiḥ (modern Joshi) *maṭha* near Badarikāśrama (modern Kedar Badri) (North) for the northern region.

Śaṃkara, as stated above, grouped his disciples into ten orders and named them as follows: Araṇya, Vana, Sarasvatī, Bhāratī, Puri, Tīrtha, Āśrama, Giri, Parvata, and Sāgara. At present all these orders are found scattered all over India, but to begin with the *maṭha* at Puri was meant for the first two, the next three were at Śṛṅgerī, Tīrtha and Āśrama at the Sāradā-pīṭha, while the abode of the last three was fixed at Jyotir-maṭha. According to one tradition, Kanchi is said to be the place where Śaṃkara established the Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha, and its occupants were given the title Indra-Sarasvatī. These orders are now to be found all over India, though their different identities are maintained. The Ramakrishna Maṭha belongs to the Puri order. The importance of the organizational set-up can be realized from the fact that some of Śaṃkara's sharpest critics, like Madhva and Caitanya, belonged to one of the ten orders, and almost every founder of a sect followed the monastic pattern established by Śaṃkara.

In the midst of such intense activity, Śaṃkara found time to write a large number of works. His main works are commentaries on the Br.S. and on the following Upaniṣads: *Īśa, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍukya, Taittirīya, Aitareya, Chāndogya*, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. It is generally agreed that the commentary on the *Śvetāśvatara* is wrongly ascribed to him. The *Kena* has two commentaries, both ascribed to Śaṃkara. Of these two, the *pada-bhāṣya* seems to be authentic, while the *vākya-bhaṣya* seems to be spurious, and is sometimes ascribed to one Vidyāśaṃkara. Scholars have also expressed doubts about the authenticity of the commentary upon the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad*, mainly because the two *maṅgala-ślokas* at the beginning are defective. Also it was not usual for Śaṃkara to write *maṅgala-ślokas*. It is probable, however, that the two defective verses were later additions, like the *maṅgala-śloka* at the beginning of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*. There is, however, no doubt that he wrote the commentary on the *Māṇḍukyakārikā*. The celebrated commentary on the *Gītā* was undoubtedly his work.[1]

Besides these, Śaṃkara wrote a number of small tracts. MM. Gopinath

[1]It is always assumed by scholars that the writer of the commentaries on the Br.S. and the *Gītā* were the same Śaṃkara. This identity of the author was established a few years ago on uncontestable grounds by Samgaku Mayeda: The Authenticity of the *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya* ascribed to Śaṃkara, *Wiener Zeitschrift Fur Die Kunde Sud-Und Ostasiens*, Band IX, 1965, pp. 155-97.

Kaviraj has given a list of 81 such tracts, which include some of Śaṃkara's famous hymns. The most well-known tracts are: *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi, Aparokṣānubhūti, Ātmānātmaviveka, Ātmabodha,* and a commentary on the *Gāyatrī.* Besides these, he is said to have composed 91 hymns, of which 12 were on Śiva, 27 on Śakti, 23 on Viṣṇu, 4 on Gaṇeśa, 6 on syncretized deities (like Hari-Hara, Hara-Gaurī etc.), 9 on rivers and *tīrthas,* and 10 on miscellaneous deities.[1] Whether all these works were written by Śaṃkara may be doubted, but there can be no doubt about the authenticity of many of them, particularly the works (tracts) we have mentioned above. As for the hymns, some of them like the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra, Carpaṭa-pañjarikā-stotra,* (popularly known as the *Bhaja-Govindam-stotra*), the *Dvādaśa-pañjarikā-stotra* (also known as the *Moha-mudgara*), the *Kaupīna-pañcaka* and the *Nirvāṇa ṣatka* could only have been written by Śamkara himself. At the end of the *Gaṅgā-stotra* he subscribes: *Śaṃkara-sevaka Śaṃkara racitam* (written by Śaṃkara the servant of Śaṃkara, i.e., Śiva). It is also not possible to doubt the authenticity of such passages as the third verse of the *Viṣṇu-ṣaṭpadī:*

saty'api bhedāpagame nātha tavāhaṁ na māmakīnas tvam[2]
sāmudro hi taraṅgaḥ kvacana samudro na tāraṅgaḥ

(Even when [the sense] of differences vanishes, it is I who is Thine, not Thou art mine; the waves belong to the sea, but the sea does never belongs to the wave.) That is, though the self is identical with the Supreme Self, their relation is unilateral and not reciprocal. This confession of faith is not only a part, it is the pith and substance of Advaita-vedānta, and could only have been made by Śaṃkara himself. He uses the same simile while commenting upon *Bṛhadāraṇyaka,* 5.1.1 to illustrate the same idea.

An anonymous philosopher claims in a popular verse that in 'half a verse he can demonstrate what has been said in ten million books: (namely) Brahman is truth, world is false, the individual self verily Brahman (and) not distinct from it.'[3] This statement, strange as it may appear, contains the central idea of Advaita-vedānta. For the vital tenets of Advaita philosophy—Brahman is the sole reality, the objective world is false, Māyā is neither real nor unreal, Īśvara is Brahman in reference to Māyā, and *mokṣa* (liberation) is through knowledge of and identity with Brahman—may be regarded as elaborations of the central idea contained in this verse.

Nature of Reality

Brahman is the ultimate reality. The teaching of the Upaniṣads is that there is one eternal consciousness which illusorily appears as all objects; there is in reality no perceiver and no perceived object but only one eternal

[1]For details see G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā,* pp. 136-42. For Śaṃkara and his School see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., II, pp. 77-83.

[2]Jīva Gosvāmin, the great exponent of Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavism quotes this verse to illustrate the sentiment of *śānta-rati;* see S.K. De, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal,* 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1961, p. 397.

[3]*Ślokārdhena pravakṣyāmi yad uktaṁ grantha koṭibhiḥ*
Brahma satya jagan mithyā jīva Brahm'aiva n'āparaḥ

consciousness. The Real is known to us as That which is proved by *pramāṇas* and will never again be falsified by later experiences or other means of proof. Real is not only truth, it is uncontradicted truth. Brahman alone is true, and world-appearance is false.

The notion of reality cannot be derived from the senses, nor can it be defined as 'the content of the right knowledge.' For, there cannot be a conception of right knowledge without a conception of reality, and neither of reality without the conception of right knowledge. Ultimate truth is not that which is amenable to proof, but that which can be independently and directly felt.

Brahman differs from all other things in that it is self-luminous (*sva-prakāśa*), and has no form. Hence it cannot be the object of any other consciousness that apprehends it. Brahman is *draṣṭā*, the pure consciousness comprehending all objects of consciousness, while all objects of consciousness are *dṛśya*. As Vidyāraṇya has said in his *Dṛg-dṛśya-viveka*:

dṛg-dṛśyau dvau padārthau staḥ paraspara-vilakṣaṇau
dṛg Brahma dṛśya Māy'eti sarva-vedānta ḍiṇḍimaḥ

(The perceiver and the perceived object are two entirely different things; the perceiver is Brahman, the perceived object is Māyā as is proclaimed in every Vedānta text.) When through illusion a man perceives silver in an oyster-shell, the oyster-shell is not seen though it exists. What the person sees is the unreal silver. Similarly, Brahman, the real, exists as the ground, though it appears as if the world is the only existing thing, and Brahman is not perceived. Brahman is the immanent self within us which transcends all changeful experiences, and it is also the ultimate Reality underlying all objects perceived outside of us in the external world. For that alone is real, which is unchangeable; whatever changes is unreal.

As Śaṃkara says (on Br.S. 1.1.1): 'Brahman exists (*asti tāvat*). Its essential nature is eternal purity, intelligence, and freedom (*nitya-śuddha-buddha-mukta-svabhāva*). It is omniscient (*sarvajña*), and endowed with all powers (*sarva-śakti-samanvita*). For if we consider the derivation of the word Brahman from the root *bṛh* (to be great), we at once understand that eternal purity (*nitya-śuddhatva*) belongs to Brahman. Moreover, the existence of Brahman is known on the ground of its being the self of every one. For every one is conscious of the existence of (his) self and never thinks "I am not". If the existence of the self were not known, every one would think "I am not." And this self (of whose existence all are conscious) is Brahman (*ātmā ca Brahma*).' This 'Ātman cannot be the abode of any action. For an action cannot exist without modifying that in which it abides. But if the Ātman were modified by an action Its non-eternality would result therefrom . . .Hence it is impossible to assume that any action should abide in Ātman', (Śaṃkara on Br.S. 1.1.4)

'The (knowledge of the) self,' Śaṃkara says (on Br.S.2.3.7) 'is not, in any person's case, adventitious, nor established through the so-called means of right knowledge; it rather is self-established. The self does indeed employ

perception and the other means of right knowledge for the purpose of establishing previously non-established objects of knowledge . . . but the knowing agent does not change, since his nature is eternal presence. . . .'

Agency (*kartṛtva*) is an attribute of the embodied self, and not a fundamental nature of the self. Thus Śaṃkara says (on Br.S. 2.3.40): 'The agentship of the self is therefore due to the attributes of the adjuncts being ascribed to it and does not form part of its nature . . . For the condition of being agent and enjoyer are presented by nescience (*avidyā*) merely . . . It is not to be supposed that the agentship of the self belongs to its true nature, as heat belongs to the nature of fire . . . . Vedic injunctions (*vidhi-śāstra*) are operative with reference to that agentship of the soul which is due to nescience . . . . . perception belongs to the self. Nor can agentship be ascribed to the self on account of perception, since permanent perception constitutes its nature (*nitya-upalabdhi-svarūpatvāt*). Nor can the agentship which has self-consciousness (*ahaṃkāra*) for its antecedent belong to the perceiving principle; for self-consciousness itself is an object of perception.'[1] As Vācaspati explains: '*Caitanya* (conscious principle) is by nature the eternal perceiving principle; it has neither any agency nor (any instrument for perception like the) *buddhi* (intellect). But when *caitanya* is shrouded by sense objects, *buddhi* etc, become the instruments of the self, and self-consciousness (*ahaṃkāra*) imposes agency.'

This is Nirguṇa (unqualified) Brahman, the Ultimate Reality. It is undifferentiated. Neither action nor agency can be attributed to It. It can neither be the object of action, nor of meditation (Śaṃkara on Br.S .1.1.4).

The Upaniṣads, however, also speak of Saguṇa Brahman (Brahman with qualifications), and Śaṃkara states (on Br.S. 1.1.11): 'Brahman is apprehended under two forms; in the first place as qualified by limiting conditions owing to the multiformity of the evolutions of name and form (i.e., the multiformity of the created world); in the second place as being the opposite of this, that is, free from all limiting conditions whatever (*dvirūpaṁ hi Brahmāvagamyate nāma-rūpa-vikāra-bhed-opādhi-viśiṣṭaṁ, tad=viparītaṁ ca sarvopadhi-vivarjitam*).' In the course of the same commentary, after quoting passages from several Upaniṣads, Śaṃkara states: "All these passages, with many others, declare Brahman to possess a double nature, according as It is the object either of knowledge (*vidyā*) or of nescience (*avidyā*). As long as It is the object of nescience, there are applied to It the categories of devotee, objects of devotion, and the like. The different modes of devotion lead to different results, some to exaltation, some to gradual emancipation, some to success in works . . . .'

Śaṃkara repeats this statement in commenting on Br.S. 2.1.14: 'Hence the Lord's being a Lord (*Īśvarasy-eśvaratvam*), His omniscience, His omnipotence, etc., all depend on the limitation due to the adjuncts whose self is nescience; while in reality none of these qualities belong to the Ātman whose true

[1]Translation by G. Thibaut, who has rendered *ahaṃkāra* as 'self-consciousness,' but 'ego' seems to be preferable.

nature is cleared, by right knowledge, from all adjuncts whatever.' This denial of the reality of *śakti* (power), and with it of personality and self-consciousness in the Absolute form Śaṃkara's central teaching. The Saguṇa Brahman, usually referred to as Īśvara or Parameśvara, is admitted to be personal, and consequently pseudo-real concepts like omniscience and omnipotence belong to Him, but Ultimate Reality (*Paramārthikatva*) is not conceded to Saguṇa Brahman. 'In the system of Śaṃkara,' MM. Gopinath Kaviraj remarks, 'there appears to be an impassable chasm between the two aspects of Brahman.'[1]

Some explanation of the nature of Nirguṇa Brahman is given by Śaṃkara (on Br.S. 1.1.5), where he says that 'though there is no action or agency involved in this universal consciousness, it is spoken of as being a knowing agent, just as the sun is spoken of as burning and illuminating, though the sun itself is nothing but an identity of heat and light. Before the creation of the world what becomes the object of this universal consciousness is the indefinable name and form which cannot be described as "this" or "that". The omniscience of Brahman is therefore this universal manifestation, by which all creations of Māyā become the knowable contents of thought. But this manipulation is not an act of knowledge, but a permanent steady light of consciousness by which the unreal appearance of Māyā flash into being and are made known.'[2]

As for the Saguṇa Brahman Śaṃkara says (on Br.S. 1.1.20) 'that the highest Lord (*parameśvara*) also may, when He pleases assume a bodily shape formed of Māyā, in order to gratify thereby His devout followers.'[3] Here Śaṃkara quotes a verse from the Mbh (12.326.43) which says: 'That thou seest me, O Nārada, is due to Māyā created by Me. Do not attempt to know Me as endowed with the qualities of all beings (because essentially I am beyond Māyā).'[4]

However, on Br.S. 1.1.1, Śaṃkara has said that Brahman 'is all-knowing and endowed with all powers', (*sarvajñam sarva-śakti-samanvitam Brahma*). This assertion is repeated (on 2.1.24) where he concludes: 'Therefore, Brahman, although one only (*ekasy-āpi Brahmaṇa*), is, owing to Its manifold powers, able to transform itself into manifold effects; just as milk is.' Śaṃkara again says (on Br.S. 2.1.30): 'We have stated that this multiform world of effects is possible to Brahman, because although one only, It is endowed with various powers. How then—it may be asked—do you know that the highest Brahma

[1]G. Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, p. 28, Swami Vivekananda said: 'How has the Infinite, Absolute, become the finite?. This Absolute has become the universe by coming through time, space, and causation. This is the central idea of Advaita . . . . in the Absolute there is neither time, space, nor causation . . . .' *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, II, p. 130.

[2]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, p. 198.

[3]As Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa used to say:' Brahman congeals into forms by the dew of *bhakti* (devotion).'

[4]This verse is from the Nārāyaṇīya section; Śaṃkara quotes this verse again on Br.S. 3.2.17.

(*Paraṁ Brahma*) is endowed with various powers? . . . .For various scriptural passages declare that the highest divinity (*parā devatā*) possesses all powers . . . .' He then quotes from *Chāndogya*, 3.14.4 and 8.7.1; *Muṇḍaka* 1.1.9; and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 3.8.9.

On Br.S. 1.4.9, Śaṃkara quotes *Śvetāśvatara* 1.1 and 1.3 which respectively state: '*Brahmavādins* (Discoursers on Brahman) say: "What is the cause?. . . Those who followed after meditation (*dhyāna*) and abstraction (*yoga*) saw the self-power (*ātma-śakti*) of God (*deva*) hidden in his own qualities . . .' These two passages and *Śvetāśvatara* (4.10) refer to the Parameśvara's *śakti* which creates the world. Again, on Br.S. 2.1.18, Śaṃkara says: '*Śakti* abides in the cause (and) the effect abides in *śakti* (*kāraṇasy-ātmabhūtā śaktiḥ śakteś=ca ātmabhūtaṁ kāryam*).[1] And nearing the end of his comments (on Br. S. 2.1.18) he concludes: 'The fundamental cause (*mūla-kāraṇa*) of all appears in the form of this and that effect, up to the last effect of all, just as an actor appears in various roles and costumes, and thereby becomes the basis for all the current notions and terms concerning the phenomenal world.' *Mūla-kāraṇa* in this passage is, according to Vācaspati, Brahman.

It may be recalled here that on *Gītā* 14.27, Śaṃkara has given two alternative explanations. According to the first explanation, 'that is *śakti* which (means) Īśvara's *śakti*, by which Brahman proceeds to (fulfil) the necessity of conferring favour on Its devotees. I (Kṛṣṇa) am verily that Brahman, because there is no difference between *śakti* and *śaktimat* (wielder of *śakti*).' According to the second explanation, since Brahman is intended (*vācya*), Brahman here indicates *savikalpa* (differentiated, i.e., *saguṇa*) Brahman, which is located in *nirvikalpa* (undifferentiated, i.e., *nirguṇa*) Brahman. However, commenting on the first verse of the next chapter (15.1) of the *Gītā* Śaṃkara explains *ūrdhva-mūlam* ('root of the eternal fig tree, the tree of transmigratory existence, *saṃsāra-vṛkṣa*) is Brahman. 'It is "above", because It is subtler thon "time", because It is the (ultimate) cause, because It is eternal, and because It is *mahat* (great), and It is *mūla* because it is endowed with unmanifested power of Māyā (*Brahma avyakta-māyā-śaktimat tad mulam*).

From these two complementary expositions it seems permissible to conclude that there is at the epicentre of Reality a Will which transforms itself into power (*śakti*) when necessity arises like conferring grace upon favourites. This dynamic *śakti* is verily Īśvara, the Saguṇa Brahman. This conclusion is supported by Śaṃkara's commentary on Br.S. 2.1.14 where the opponent raises the question: 'How can you assert that the creation, sustenation, and reabsorption of the world proceed from an omniscient, omnipotent Lord (Īśvara) while maintaining the absolute unity and non-duality of the Self?' In reply Śaṃkara says: 'Listen how. Belonging to the Self, as it

[1]G. Thibaut translates this passage as '. . . . power is identical with the Self of the cause, and that the effect is identical with the Self of that power.' 'Self of the cause' and 'Self of that power' may be literal renderings of *ātmabhūta*, but does not help in understanding the real meaning. Manu 7.217 has used the word *ātmabhūta*, which Medhātithi explains as '*ātmasama*' and Kulluka as *ātmatulya*, that is 'not identical but very intimately related.' Śaṃkara may have used the term here in similar sense.

were, of the Omniscient Lord (Īśvara), there are name and form, the figments of nescience, not to be defined either as being (i.e., Brahman) nor as different from it, the germs of the entire expanse of the phenomenal world, called in Śruti and Smṛti Māyā (illusion), Śakti (power), or Prakṛti (nature) of the omniscient Lord (*sarvajña Īśvara*).' After quoting *Chāndogya*, 8.14.1, 6.3.2; *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, 3.12.7; and *Śvetāśvatara* 6.12, Śaṃkara proceeds: 'Thus Īśvara is limited by the adjuncts of name and form, the products of *avidyā*; just as *ākāśa* (space or universal ether) is limited by its adjuncts, such as pot etc. Īśvara is controlling *vijñanātmans* (cognitional selfs) known as *jīvas*, which are the conglomeration of *kārya* (i.e., body), and *kāraṇa* (instruments, the sense-organs), through *avidyā* which is in Himself like ether in a pot.'

Thus there are two categories, Brahman and Īśvara. Īśvara has for His ground the world-appearance, and is the principle by which the one unchangeable Brahman is falsely manifested in all the diversities of the manifold world. Īśvara, however, has a relative existence, and will ultimately vanish with the dawn of the true knowledge of *Brahman*.[1] 'Hence,' as Śaṃkara says (on Br.S. 2.1.14) 'as long as the identity of self with Brahman does not present itself through awakening, all secular and religious duties should be performed, just as a man in his dreams sees many things, and is convinced of their reality without suspecting that his perception is merely apparent, till he wakes up.'[2] As Śaṃkara says in his *Vivekacūdāmaṇi* (v. 239) :

jñātṛ-jñeya-jñāna-śūnyam anantaṁ nirvikalpakam
keval-ākhaṇḍa-cin-mātram paraṁ tattvam vidur-budhāḥ

(Sages realize the Supreme Truth, Brahman, in which there is no differentiation of knower, knowledge, and known, which is infinite, transcendent, and the Essence of Absolute Knowledge.)[3]

The man enmeshed in the bondage of the unreal world is unable to realize this Brahman.[4] He therefore prays to Īśvara. And Vidyāraṇya says in his *Pañcadaśi* (6.206-209): 'Īśa, Sūtra, Virāṭ, Vedhas (Brahmā), Viṣṇu, Śiva, Indra, Agni, Gaṇeśa, Bhairava, Mairāla, Mārika, Yakṣa, *rākṣasas* (demons), *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *śūdras*, cows, horses, and other beasts, birds, fig, banyan and mango trees, barley, rice, and other cereals, and grasses,

[1]The difficulty of understanding Śaṃkara is, as Prof. Dasgupta has pointed out, that 'he did not always use strictly absolutist phrases; for, as he admitted three kinds of existence, he could talk in all kinds of phraseology, but one needed to be warned of the phraseology that Śaṃkara had in view at the time, and this was not always done .... But, if the testimony of the great commentators and independent writers of Śaṃkara's school be taken, Śaṃkara's doctrine should be explained in the purely monistic sense, and in that sense alone.' S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, p. 196.

[2]Commenting earlier on the same *sūtra* (2.1.14), Śaṃkara explains *laukika* (secular) and *Vaidika* (religious) activities to be based on *karma-kāṇḍa*, i.e., the ritualistic part of the Veda.

[3]*Vivekacūḍāmaṇi of Śrī Shankarācārya* text and translation by Swami Madhavananda, Calcutta, 1957, p. 95.

[4]'The infinite is not an object constructed by philosophy; it is an ever-present fact. Śaṃkara is opposed to all attempts to think the Absolute. The moment we think it, it becomes a part of the world of experience.' S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 541.

water, stone earth, sticks, chisels, axes, and other implements are all Īśvaras. Any of these worshipped (as Īśvara) grants fulfilment of desires. In whatever form Īśvara is worshipped, the worshippers obtain the appropriate reward through that form.

'If the method of worship and the conception of the attributes of the deity worshipped are of high order, the reward also is of a high order; but if otherwise, it is not. But the final release from all limitations, including death, can be obtained only through the knowledge of reality. The dreamer does not see the end of his dreams until he awakes.'[1] Thus is provided an outlet for the religious fervour of the mass for whom the sublime but somewhat arid path of knowledge is difficult of comprehension and still more difficult to follow.

Nature of the World

Only the unchanging eternal is real, whatever changes, comes to an end, is unreal. As Śaṃkara has said in his introduction to the *Taittarīya Upaniṣad*: 'What is eternal cannot have a beginning, and whatever has a beginning is not eternal.' All objects of perception are liable to destruction, and are therefore unreal, while Brahman, who perceives but is not perceived, is Real. The Real is present at all times (*trikal-āvādhita*). As Śaṃkara says in the *Ātmabodha* (vv. 6-7): 'The world filled with attachments and aversions etc., is like a dream: it appears to be real as long as one is ignorant, but becomes unreal when one is awake. The world appears to be real as long as the non-dual Brahman, which is the basis of all, is not known. It is like the illusion of Brahman in an oyster-shell.'[2] How does this world-appearance manifest itself? Through Māyā, says Advaita-vedānta.

The word *māyā* is used in the RV and in the Upaniṣads a few times in the sense of 'supernatural power' or 'magic', though the *Śvetāśvatara* (4.10) says that 'Māyā is *prakṛti*.' It was Gauḍapāda, who, as we have seen, gave the word *māyā* a peculiar connotation which was adopted by Śaṃkara. Śaṃkara has actually used the word *māyā* to mean 'illusion', 'principle of creation', a '*śakti*', and as 'the phenomenal creation' itself, that is as 'the illusion of world-appearance.' Śaṃkara (on Br.S. 1.4.3) says that 'Māyā is properly called *avyakta* (non-manifest) since it cannot be defined either as that which is or that which is not,' (*avyaktā hi sā māyā tattv-ānyatva-nirupaṇasy-āśakyatvāt*). Here (on Br.S. 1.4.3) Śaṁkara admits the existence of a causal potentiality (*bīja*) 'which is of the nature of *avidyā* (nescience); it is rightly denoted by the term *avyakta* (undeveloped or imperceptible); it has the highest Lord (Parameśvara) for its substratum (*āśraya*); it is the nature of an illusion (*māyā-mayī*); it is a universal sleep in which are lying the transmigrating souls destitute for the time of the consciousness of their essential character.' Com-

[1] For a detailed exposition of the efficacy of image worship, see Swami Vivekananda, *Bhakti Yoga*, Complete Works, III, pp. 60-62. In this connection Swamiji has explained Śaṃkara's commentary on Br.S. 4.1.4 and 4.1.5, and has quoted the last line from 4.1.5.

[2] *Ātmabodha of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya*, text and translation by Swami Nikhilananda, Madras, 1967, pp. 157-58.

menting on this passage, Vācaspati remarks that 'just as the rope is the material cause of the illusion of snake, so is Īśvara the material cause for the world-appearance (*yathā ahi-vibhrama rajjūpādāna evaṁ prapañca-vibhrama Īśvar-opādānaḥ*). However, at the end of his comments on Br. S. 1.1.2, Vācaspati says that 'with the dawn of the knowledge of rope (one realizes that the) rope is the material cause and the substratum and the (illusory) snake dissolved in the rope; similarly, the material cause of the world is Brahman, nescience is located in Brahman and dissolves into it (with the dawn of real knowledge; (*avidyā-sahitaṁ Brahm-opādānaṁ jagat*). (From Vācaspati's comments it appears that Brahman endowed with all powers referred to in Br.S. 1.1.1 is Īśvara.) Hence Māyā-reflected form of Brahman should be regarded as the cause of world-appearance.[1]

How does Brahman come to be associated with nescience? This is nowhere stated. If nescience had been a nonentity altogether, like a barren woman's son, it could never appear at all. If it were a positive entity, then it would never cease to be. It is thus a mysterious category, neither 'being' nor 'non-being' and therefore undefinable. Hence *avidyā* or Māyā is called *tattv-ānyatvābhyām anirvācya* (undeterminable either as real or unreal and undefinable).

The world-appearance, however, is an effect. Since the effect, the manifold phenomenal world, is different from the cause, it is called *vivarttavāda*, in distinction to Sāṁkhya *pariṇāma vāda*, where the effect is regarded as the real development of the cause in its potential state. As the material cause of the world is Māyā, which neither exists nor non-exists, the world too can neither truly exist nor truly non-exist. Śaṃkara's position roughly was that the only Real category was Infinite Brahman: Māyā, the category of the indefinite and the unreal, was associated with Brahman as Īśvara in transformation (*vivartta*), and that though Īśvara was substantially the same identical entity as the world, yet the world-appearance was a Māyā transformation with Brahman inside as the kernel of truth or reality. Commenting on Br. S.2.3.7, Śaṃkara says that 'it is not an absolute law that effects should originate only from things belonging to the same genus . . . . Nor is it an absolute rule that only a plurality of inherent causes, not one such cause, is able to originate an effect . . . . But as a matter of fact, one and the same substance, when passing over into a different state distinguished by peculiar characteristic marks, is admitted to be an effect . . . In short it is none of Īśvara's laws that only several causes in conjunction should produce an effect. We therefore decide, on the authority of scripture, that the entire world has sprung from one Brahman, *ākāśa* being produced first, and later on the other elements in due succession,' It is evident that Brahman is the last sentence means Īśvara, but Śaṃkara concludes his comments on Br. S. 2.3.9 by stating: 'Nor does the fact of other effects springing from effects imply that Brahman must also be an effect; for the non-admission of a fundamental causal substance would drive us to a *retrogessus in infinitum*.

[1]Introducing *Gītā*, chapter 13, Śaṃkara says that 'Īśvara with two Prakṛitis is the cause of the origination, sustenation, and dissolution of the world.'

And that fundamental causal substance, which as a matter of fact is generally acknowledged to exist, just that is our Brahman.'

From *ākāśa* is produced air, from air fire, from fire water, and from water earth (Br.S. 2.3.10-12 based upon *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2.1 to 2.3.12, *Chāndogya* 6.2.2-3). According to the *Pañcadaśī* and the *Vedāntasāra* (40-41) these elements are *sūkṣma-bhūtas* (subtle elements). They combine to form the *mahā-bhūtas* or 'gross matter' of which the world is composed. According to the *Pañcadaśī* (1.26.27): 'Bhagavān (i.e., Īśvara) mixed the five subtle elements so that each (of the resulting gross matter) should participate in the nature of all the five . . . Dividing each element into two equal halves, and one half of each again into four, He (Īśvara) mixed the subtle elements so that each gross element thus formed should contain one half of its own peculiar nature and one-eighth of that of each of the other four.' The process of world formation is known a *pancī-karaṇa*, and though not mentioned by Śaṃkara, attained prominence in later Vedānta.

The gross substance, *ākāśa* manifests sound, gross air manifests sound and touch, gross fire these two and form (*rūpa*), water these three and *rasa* (taste). These gross elements or matter constitute the universe. Dissolution takes place in the reverse order of creation.[1]

This explanation of the evolution of the world or causality is not wholly satisfactory, and various suggestions were put forward by Advaita teachers. It was, however, held by all followers of Śaṃkara that though Brahman was at the bottom the ground cause, yet the staff of the world was not of real Brahman material, but of Māyā. Hence the world-appearance has a relative existence, but has no reality in the true sense of the term in which Brahman is real. What then is Māyā?

Swami Vivekananda was once asked: 'Why does Māyā or ignorance exist?' He answered: ' "Why" cannot be asked beyond the limit of causation. It can only be asked within Māyā. We say we will answer the question when it is logically formulated. Before that we have no right to answer.'[2]

On another occasion Swami Vivekananda said: '. . . . The knowledge of happiness brings the knowledge of unhappiness. Which way then shall we go? The least amount of material prosperity that we enjoy is causing the same amount of misery elsewhere. This is the law . . . An this is Māyā. These things are going on, day and night, and to find a solution of the problem is impossible. Why should it be so? It is impossible to answer this, because the question cannot be logically formulated. There is neither *how* nor *why* in fact; we only know that it *is* and that we cannot help it. Even to grasp it, to draw an then. exact image of it in our own mind, is beyond our power. How can we solve it Māyā is a statement of fact of this universe, of how it is going on . . .'[3]

[1]See *Vedāntasāra* (42-44) of Sadānanda with the commentaries by Nṛsimha-sarasvatī and Rāma-tīrtha edited by Kalīvara Vedāntavāgīśa, revised edition by Niśikānta Sāṁkhyatīrtha and Kālīprasanna Sāṁkhyatīrtha, Calcutta, 1950.

[2]*Complete Works*, V, p. 299.

[3]ibid, II, p. 94; emphasis in the original.

As stated above, Māyā is a *śakti*, which is admitted even by Śaṃkara. The category of *śakti* is admitted by other schools of philosophy. What is the difference between the two conceptions? This was once explained Sri Ramana Maharsi who explained the difference between Māyā and *svatantra* of Pratyabhijñā, which indicates Kashmir Śaivism. Sri Ramana Maharsi said :

'The Vedantins say that Māyā is the Śakti of illusion premised in Śiva [i.e. Brahman]. Māyā has no independent existence. Having brought out the illusion of the world as real, she continues to play upon the ignorance of the victims. When the reality of her *not being* is found she disappears. "Recognition" [Pratyabhijñā] says that Śakti (power) is coeval with Śiva. The one does not exist without the other. Śiva is unmanifest, whereas *Śakti* is manifest on account of Her Independent Will *swatantra*. Her manifestation is the display of the cosmos on pure consciousness, like images in a mirror. The images cannot remain in the absence of a mirror. So also the world cannot have an independent existence. *Swatantra* becomes eventually an attribute of the Supreme. Sri Sankara says that the Absolute is without attributes and that *Māyā* is what is *not* and has *no* real being. What is the difference between the two? Both agree that the display is not real. The world does not exist in reality (*vastutah*). Both schools mean the same thing. Their ultimate aim is to realise the Absolute Consciousness. The unreality of the cosmos is implied in Recognition (*pratyabhijñā*). If the world is taken as *cit* (consciousness) it is always real. *Vedanta* says that there is no *nānā* (diversity), meaning that it is the same Reality. There is agreement on all points except in words and the method of expression.'[1]

Nature of Man

Man is *jīva*, the individual self in association with limiting adjuncts, which feels, suffers, enjoys, and is affected by world-experiences. As Śaṃkara has explained in the *Laghu-vākya-vṛtti* (v. 1): 'The physical body (*māṁsamaya-deha*) is the gross (adjunct of the *atman*), and the subtle (adjunct) is made up of desires (i.e., mind), (five) organs of perception, (five) organs of action, (five) *prāṇas*, and the intellect.'[2]

Śaṃkara, however, was not very clear regarding Brahman's relation with Māyā, and the effects, namely, the world-appearance and *jīva*. Hence shortly after his death, his two direct disciples, namely, Sureśvara and Padmapāda, and his greatest commentator, Vācaspati Miśra, gave three different interpretations of his teachings on these points.

The relation of *cit* (pure intelligence) or the highest Self with Māyā or *avidyā* or *ajñāna* explains the category of Īśvara and *jīva* or individual self. Sureśvara and his pupil Sarvajñātma Muni the author of the *Saṁkṣepa-śārī-*

[1] *Talks with Sri Ramana Maharsi*, three volumes in one, Tiruvanamalai, 1963, pp. 296-97. On p. 296 *pratyabhijñā* has been translated as 'independence of recognition,' but we think that it refers to the term used in Kashmir Saivism. Emphasis in the original.

[2] *Laghu-vākya-vṛtti of Śrī Saṃkarācārya*, text and translation by Swami Jagadananda, Almora, 1963. The translation given here differs slightly from Swamiji's.

raka (*c.* AD 900) held that Māyā was only an instrument (*dvāra*) through which the one Brahman appeared as many and had its real nature hidden. The reflected *cit*, circumscribed by nescience is known as the *śākṣī* (witness); the indiscrimination of the reflected *cit* (*cidābhāsa*) causes the world-appearance. In this view, nescience is one, but *buddhi* (intellect) on which *cit* is reflected being many, the individuals differ from each other.

Padmapāda conceives the relation between Īśvara and *jīva* as analogous to the reflection of sun in water in various containers, where the brilliance of the sun is modified according to the nature of the water in which it is reflected. This view is called *pratibimba-vāda*. The *pratibimba* (reflected image) appears like the original, but it does not possess the true characteristics of the original.

Vācaspati conceives of the relation between Brahman and *jīva* as comparable to the relation between the *ākāśa* (space or ether) in jug and in the room. The *ākāśa* does not undergo any modification in being confined within the jug or the room, but it appears to be so confined. So long as the jug remains, the *ākāśa* within it will remain separate from the *ākāśa* of the room. This view is known as *avacchedavāda* (from the root *avacchid*, 'to limit' or 'to separate').

As stated above, Śaṁkara on Br.S. 2.3.43 seem to support *avaccheda-vāda*, while in 2.3.50 he appears to support *pratibimba-vāda*, or *ābhāsa-vāda*. Vidyāraṇya was a supporter of *ābhāsa-vāda*, and while upholding his view, he gives short accounts of the two other views from his standpoint to refute them (*Pañcadāśī*, 8.15-36).

The early teachers held Māyā, Avidyā, Prakṛti, and Śakti to be synonymous terms. Prakāśātman, the author of the *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa* (c. AD 1200), a commentary on Padmapāda's *Pañcapādikā*, offered three alternative views on causation of world appearance: 1. like two twisted threads in a rope Māyā and Brahman are together the joint causes of the world: 2. that which has Māyā as its power is the cause; and 3. Brahman, which has Māyā supported on it is the cause of the world. In all the three theories, Brahman through Māyā appears as the world of experience.

Further development is found in Vidyāraṇya's *Pañcadaśī* (c. AD 1350), where a distinction is made between Māyā and *avidyā*. Vidyāraṇya says that Brahman, which is consciousness and bliss, is reflected (*pratibimba*) in Prakṛti, composed of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas guṇas*. When *sattva* predominates Prakṛti is known as Māyā, and Brahman reflected on Māyā is called Īsvara. He is omniscient and controls Māyā. When *sattva* is overpowered by *rajas* and *tamas*, Prakṛti is called *avidyā*. Brahman reflected on *avidyā* produces *jīva*, which is known as *prājña*, and the *avidyā* is known as the *kāraṇa-śarīra* (causal body). At Īśvara's command, Prakṛti, in which *tamas* predominates, produces the five subtle elements, namely, *ākāśa*, air, fire, water, and earth.

The five subtle elements give rise to various organs of *jīva*. The *sattva* parts of the five subtle elements individually give rise to the five sensory organs, namely, hearing, touch, sight, taste, and smell and in combination the

sattva portion of the five subtle elements produce the *antaḥkaraṇa*, composed of the mind (faculty of cogitation), and *buddhi* (faculty of determination). From the individual *rajas* portion of the five subtle elements arise: the organs of speech, the hands, the feet, and the organs of excretion and generation, while in combination the *rajas* portions give rise to the five vital airs, namely, *prāna*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna*, and *vyāna*. These seventeen, namely, the five sensory organs, the five motor organs, the five vital airs, *manas* (mind), and *buddhi* constitute the *sūkṣma*—(subtle) or *liṅga-śarīra*.

When the *jīva* or *prājña* identifies himself with the *liṅga-śarīra*, and considers it to be his own, he is called *taijasa*, while when Īśvara is conscious of his relationship with the totality of the *liṅga-śarīras*, He is called Hiraṇyagarbha. *Taijasa* is microcosmic (*vyaṣṭi*) and Hiraṇyagarbha is macrocosmic (*samaṣṭi*). When Hiraṇyagarbha experiences the totality of the gross bodies, He is known as Vaiśvānara. When *taijasa* (i.e., jīva) experiences an individual gross body, he is known as *viśva*.

The gross body, which is the product of *pancikaraṇa*, is known as the *annamaya-kośa* (food sheath). The five vital airs and the five organs of action constitute the *prāṇamaya-kośa* (vital sheath). *Manas* with its cognitive senses constitute the *manomaya-kośa* (mental sheath), while *buddhi* with the same cognitive organs constitute the *vijñānamaya-kośa* (intellectual sheath). The fifth and the last sheath is the *ānandamaya-kośa* (sheath of bliss), which is composed of the causal substance and is manifested by modes of joy etc. As the *jīva* identifies himself with the respective sheaths, he assumes their respective natures.[1]

If this is the nature of *jīva*, how then can one assert *tat tvam asi* (That thou art, *Chāndogya*, 6.8.7). The explanation is that the sentence should not be taken literally, but as interpreted by *lakṣaṇā*, which was shown by Śaṃkara in the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* (vv. 247-249). There are three kinds of *lakṣaṇā*: i. *Jahat lakṣaṇā*, in which a word loses its primary sense, but is used in a manner in which it is in some way connected with the primary sense. For example, *Gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ* (a hamlet on the Ganges). Here the word Gaṅgā (the river Ganges) loses its primary sense, and means 'the bank of the Ganges.' ii. *Ajahat lakṣaṇā*, in which the primary or original sense of a word which is used elliptically does not disappear. For example, *śveto dhāvati*, which literally means 'a white is running', but really means 'a white horse is running', iii. *Jahad-ajahat-lakṣaṇā* in which one part of the sense of a sentence is given up and another retained. For example, *so'yaṁ Devadatta*

[1] *Pañcadaśī* text and translation by H.P. Shastri, 2nd ed., London, 1965, I, 15-35. Śaṃkara refers to the five sheaths in his famous hymn the *Nirvāṇa-ṣaṭka*. 'Of the Vedantists who accept the reflection analogy the followers of Nṛsiṁhāśrama think that when the pure *cit* is reflected in the *māyā*, Īśvara is phenomenally produced, and when in the *avidyā* the individual or *jīva*.' S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., I, p. 476. 'Sarvajñātma Muni thinks that, when the pure consciousness is reflected through *avidyā*, it is called Īśvara, and when it is reflected through mind (*antaḥkaraṇa*), it is called *Jīva*.' ibid, II, p. 72. For Vidyāraṇya, see above volume I, p. 526.

(This is that Devadatta). Here 'this is' indicates present, while 'that' indicates past, and both these have to be given up and only 'Devadatta' is to be retained. In other words the contradictory parts of a sentence intended for identification are to be given up. Similarly, the contradictory parts in the identification of Brahman and *jiva* in the sentence 'That thou art', have to be given up and the identity of *jīva* and Brahman will be established on the basis of *cit* which is common to both.

When a *jīva* is able to realize the identity of his self with Brahman, he is liberated. Before being able to do that, he must be able to realize the reasons which led him to identify his self with non-self like the five sheaths. This problem is tackled by Śaṃkara in his introduction to the Br.S. where he begins:

'It is a matter not requiring any proof that the object (*viṣaya*, non-self, the phenomenal world), and the subject (*viṣayin*, *cit*, consciousness), whose respective spheres are the notions of the "thou" (the non-ego) and the "ego", and which are opposed to each other as much as darkness and light are, cannot be identified.' The superimposition (*adhyāsa*) of the qualities of the *viṣaya* upon the *viṣayin* is due to *avidyā*. What is superimposition? It is 'the apparent presentation, in the form of remembrance, to consciousness of something previously observed, in some other thing,' or 'the apparent presentation of the attributes of one thing in another thing,' ; as for example, oyster-shell appears like silver, one moon appears as two. This kind of superimposition 'learned men consider to be *avidyā*, and the ascertainment of the true nature of that which is (the self) by means of the discrimination of that (which has been superimposed on the self), they call knowledge (*vidyā*)' (*tam etam evaṁ laksaṇam adhyāsaṁ panditāḥ avidyā iti manyate, tad vivekena ca vastu-svarūp-āvadhāraṇam vidyām āhuḥ*).

Just as in the illustrations given above, in spite of the illusory perception of silver, the oyster-shell actually exists, though unperceived, so does the reality or Brahman exists as the ground, though the world-appearance is felt as the only existing thing, and Brahman is not felt separately from it. This is due to *avidyā*, which has no real existence, but exists only for the deluded. *Avidyā* is removed with the dawn of true knowledge of Brahman, and it is only through the realization of the *mahā-vākyas*[1] of the Upaniṣads that this knowledge can appear, or the self become evident. There is no other means of insight into the nature of Brahman. Truth is not what is amenable to proof, but that which can be directly and independently felt.

The difference between Advaita-vedānta and Buddhism is that, in spite of the doctrine of Māyā Vedānta admits the ultimate reality of Brahman, which Buddhism does not. According to both Gauḍapāda and Śaṃkara, even false

[1]Śaṃkara selected four sentences from four Upaniṣads each representing one Veda. He called these sentences '*mahā-vākyas*' (great sayings) and reconciled the teachings of other Upaniṣads with the teachings of these *mahā-vākyas*, which are: i. *Prajñānam Brahma, Aitareya*, 3.13, RV; ii. *Aham Brhmāsmi, Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 1.4.10, YV; iii. *Tat tvam asi, Chāndogya*, 6.8.7, SV; iv. *Ayam ātmā Brahma, Māṇḍukya*, 2, AV.

creation (like silver in an oyster-shell) must have some basis in truth (oyster-shell). The idealistic Buddhists hold that everything is unreal and indefinable, not even excepting cognition (*vijñāna*). The Vedāntins make an exception of cognitions, and holds that all the world, excepting the knowledge of awareness, is indefinable either as existent or non-existent.

The main difference between Vedānta and Sāṁkhya was that the latter believed that the stuff of which the world was made was a reality side by side with *puruṣa*. Śaṃkara has elaborately criticized the Sāṁkhya doctrine, as indeed the doctrine has been criticized by Bādarāyaṇa. We have seen, however, that later Vedānta compromised to a certain extent with Sāṁkhya and introduced the conception of three *guṇas* in Prakṛti giving rise to *māyā* and *avidyā*. Still the difference between the two systems persisted. As the *Pañcadaśī* (6.228) says: 'The Vedāntins will accept the doctrines of the followers of Sāṁkhya and Yoga provided they renounce three doctrines, namely, of the distinctions in Ātman, of the reality of the world, (and) of Īśvara being a separate and special *puruṣa*.'

Nature of Liberation

The philosophical structure of *Advaita-vedānta* was raised to demonstrate the falsity of world-appearance so that the *jīva* by negating it might realize his identity with Brahman.

Advaita-vedānta recognizes four states of consciousness, namely, i. *jāgrat* or waking state, when one is conscious of external objects; ii. *svapna* or dream state, when one is conscious of internal objects; iii. *susupti* or the state of deep sleep, when the sleeper does not desire any objects, nor does he see any dream; and iv. *turīya* or 'the fourth' state. The *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* (5) calls the 'sleeping state' *prajñāna-ghana* (cognitive mass, or mass of all consciousness unified), but Śaṃkara points out that 'this (sleeping state) is not bliss itself, because it is *not infinite bliss* (*ānandamaya ānandaprāya nānanda eva*). It is in the *turīya* (fourth) state that bliss is enjoyed. The *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* (7) describes *turīya* state as: 'Not inwardly cognitive (*antaḥ-prajña*), not outwardly cognitive (*bahiḥ-prajña*), not bothwise cognitive (*ubhayataḥ-prajña*), not a cognitive mass (*prajñāna-ghana*), not-cognitive (*a-prajña*) . . . .'

Advaita-vedānta admits three states of reality corresponding to three states of consciousness, namely, *prātibhasika* (illusory) in dream or *svapna* state, *vyāvahārika* (practical ordinary experience) in waking or *jāgrat* state, and *pāramārthika* (absolute consciousness) in the *turīya* state. The aim of every aspirant to liberation is to attain the *turīya* state through *sādhanā*. World appears to be real to a man who has not reached the *turīya* state. As Śaṃkara says (on Br.S. 2.1.14)': . . . . the entire complex of phenomenal existence is considered as true as long as the knowledge of Brahman being the Self of all has not arisen; just at the phantom of a dream are considered to be true until the sleeper wakes . . . .' He again says (on Br.S. 4.1.3): '. . . . before true knowledge springs up, the soul is implicated in the transmigratory state, and that this state constitutes the sphere of the operation of perception etc.' This

is a state of duality, and as Śaṃkara observes (on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 5.1.1): 'Nobody thinks from the very outset that duality is false.'

Śaṃkara, therefore, prescribes two different ways towards spiritual advancement depending on the mental state of the aspirant. For the ordinary man, that is for most of us, he enjoins *karma*, which here means religious activities, while for the spiritually advanced he prescribes the way of *jñāna* or knowledge. Śaṃkara defines *kriyā* (on Br.S. 1.1 4) as ". . . . that which is enjoined (*codyate*, i.e., Vedic injunctions) as being independent of the nature of existing things (*vastu-svarūpa-nirapekṣa*) and dependent on the energy of some person's mind . . . . Meditation (*dhyāna*) and reflection (*cintana*) are indeed mental, but as they depend on the (meditating) person they may either be performed or modified. Knowledge, on the other hand, is the result of the different means of (right) knowledge, and those have for their objects existing things; knowledge can therefore not be either made or modified, but depends entirely on existing things, and not either on Vedic statements or on the mind of man.'

Almost all the Vedānta schools before and after Śaṃkara advocated the synthesis of knowledge and the performance of religious rites (*jñāna-karma-samuccaya*). In many passages in his commentaries, Śaṃkara has unequivocally denounced this synthesis. Even those who repeat *tat tvam asi* (That thou art) are warned by him (on Br.S. 4.1.2): 'In the mind of one on whom repetition is enjoined as a duty, there arises infallibly notions opposed to the true notion of Brahman such as "I have a claim on this (knowledge of the Self) as an agent; this is to be done by me." ' So long as the "I" or the egotism, which is the real *avidyā*, is not destroyed, one cannot attain real knowledge. In the performance of religious rituals this "I" sense must be present in the mind of the performer, otherwise he would have been incapable of performing anything. Hence realization of knowledge and performance of religious rites are mutually contradictory. Only admissible action is for the maintenance of body (introduction to *Gītā*, 4.21), which also follows from *Gītā*, 3.8.

'But,' Śaṃkara continues (on Br.S. 4.1.2) 'if a learner, naturally dull-witted, is about altogether to dismiss from his mind the purport of the sentence because it does not reveal itself to him, it is permissible to fortify him in the understanding of that sense by means of reasoning on the texts relative to repetition and so on.' That is, care must be taken not to engender in the mind of such a learner the notion that repeated acts of reflection are incumbent on him as a duty. For, such notions would only obstruct the end aimed at, which is the intuition that the 'self' of the meditating man is identical with the Supreme Self to which no notions of duty or action apply.

Before the advent of self-knowledge, it is but natural to be attached to religious rites (on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 5.1.15). But on *Gītā* 3.5 Śaṃkara says that '*karma-yoga* is meant for the ignorant not for the wise' (*ajñānām eva hi karma-yoga na jñāninām*). And on *Gītā* 13.2, he says: 'Avidyā (nescience) along with *kārya* should be destroyed with the help of *vidyā* . . . . Because the ignorant

man regards his body etc., as his self, and impelled by attachment, hatred etc., performs righteous and unrighteous deeds .... Therefore the scriptural injunctions and prohibitions do not apply to him who knows (i.e., has realized) the self as beyond causality.' 'The (Vedic) rituals are only intended for attaining heaven etc.' (On *Gītā* 2.21). Hence for a person desirous of liberation, the rituals are not only useless, dut contra-indicated. For, as Śaṃkara says (introduction to *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 3.2), 'if the Vedic rituals led to *mokṣa* (liberation), there would have been no *saṃsāra* (transmigratory existence).'

On *Gītā* 18.30, Śaṃkara explains that '*pravṛtti* (desire leading to action) is *karma-yoga* and leads to *bandha* (*bondage*), while *nivṛtti* (renunciation) is *sannyāsa-mārga* (way of the renunciant) and leads to *mokṣa* (liberation).' Hence at the end of the *Gītā* he concludes: 'Knowledge alone can cause the destruction of good and evil (i.e., merit and demerit), and not the performance of *nitya-karma* (like *agnihotra* etc.).' However, 'he who performs *nitya-karma* without attachment to it and without expecting results, has his mind purified by such performance. (Then) the pure and pellucid mind becomes fit for the contemplation of the self' (introduction *Gītā*, 18.10). But 'he who thinks "I am the agent." must also think "this is my duty," thereby becoming qualified for actions, and on him actions are enjoined. He is unenlightened,' (*avidvān*, on *Gītā*, 2.21). The means of escape from this sense of agentship is stated by Śaṃkara (on *Gītā* 3.30): 'All actions must be surrendered to Lord Vāsudeva, and "I am agent," has to be substituted by "I am the servant of the Lord." '

Who are qualified for acquiring knowledge? Śaṃkara says (introduction to *Kaṭha* 1.1.20) that 'only those who are disgusted with the transitory nature of the results of *karma* (i.e., rituals) are (alone) qualified for (acquiring) the knowledge of the Self (*ātma-jñāna*).' On *Gītā* 5.22, he says: 'There is not a trace of happiness in this transmigratory existence,' (*na hi saṃsāre sukhasya gandha-mātram api asti*) And while introducing Chapter 15 of the *Gītā*, he says: 'Only he is qualified for the knowledge of the reality of the Lord (*Bhagavad-tattva-jñāna*) who has no worldly attachment, and no one else.'

The *Gītā* 3.33 says: 'Even the man of knowledge acts as prompted by his own nature. Men follow their natural impulses. What can be accomplished by suppression (of desires)?' After explaining this verse, Śaṃkara says: 'If every man acted according to his own nature, and none were master over his natural cravings, then there would have been no scope for human endeavour (*puruṣakāra*, free will) and scriptures would have become meaningless.' Hence the *Gītā*, (3.34) says: '.... Let no one be dominated by them (sense attachments, and sense objects) for they are obstructions (in the way of liberation).' Commenting on this verse, Śaṃkara says: 'Here is the scope for free will and the meaningfulness of the scriptures. The follower of the scriptures should free himself from the domination of attachment and aversion. The nature of a man is indeed inclined to aversion and attachment which impel him to action, to the neglect of his own duties, and sets him doing the duty of others. But when a man restrains his feelings by (adopting) contrary (attitudes,

i.e., aversion towards objects of attachment, and attachment towards the objects of aversion) then he verily becomes endowed with scriptural vision, and is no longer subject to his nature.'

For proper realization of Brahman, nescience has to be removed. Thus Śaṃkara says (on *Gītā*, 18.50): '. . . . Therefore, knowledge of self is not the (primary) duty. The duty is to remove the limiting adjuncts such as name, form etc., and not the realization of *ātma-caitanya* (consciousness of the real self) . . . . the Buddhist Vijñānavadins do not admit the existence of anything other than *vijñāna*, and holding that such knowledge is self-evident do not admit the necessity of any proof. Therefore, the duty lies in overcoming in Brahman the limiting adjuncts born of nescience (*avidy-ādhyāropaṇa-nirākaraṇa-mātraṁ Brahmaṇi kartavyam*), and not in striving for the knowledge of Brahman which is very well known. Though Brahman is very famous, easy to be known, very near, and similar to the self, yet for men without discrimination, whose intellect has been bewildered by discords of names and forms. It appears unknown, unknowable, very far, and different (from self). Those who have terminated their sensual realization of the phenomenal world, and have received the grace of the *guru* (preceptor) and the Atman (*labdha-guru-ātmaprasādānam*), for them, there is nothing more blissful, more easily accomplished, easier to be known (than Ātman). Some men who consider themselves to be learned say that since Ātman is formless (*nirākāra*), It is beyond the grasp of intellect, hence true spiritual knowledge (*jñāna-niṣṭhā*) is extremely difficult to attain. True it is. For those who do not belong to a sect (*sampradāya*) in which (realized) knowledge has been handed by one *guru* to another, who have not listened to Vedānta (in a proper manner), who are extremely attached to external objects, who have not made adequate efforts to realize the proofs, but on the other hand are attached to mundane sense of disparateness of subject and object, for them it is very difficult; (for) without the help of *ātma-caitanya* no realization is possible . . . . Therefore, do not strive for knowledge, but (strive for) terminating the sense of (accepting) non-self (as self). Then the advent of true spiritual knowledge will be easy (*tasmād jñāne yatno na kartavyaḥ kiṁ tu anātma-buddhi-nivṛttau eva, tasmād jñāna-niṣṭhā susampādyā*).'

When is the journey's end? Śaṃkara says (on Br.S. 1.3.19): 'The individual self retains his individual self-hood so long (*tāvat jīvasya jīvatvam*) as he does not shed his nescience in the form of duality (*dvaita-lakṣaṇām avidyām*),—which is comparable to one's mistaking a post for a man,—and attains the knowledge of the Self which is of the nature of unchangeable eternal cognition (*kūṭastha-nitya-dṛk-svarūpaṁ ātmānam*) by realizing (the *mahā-vākya*), "I am Brahman" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 1.4.10). But when he (the *jīva*) having risen above the (sense of belonging) to the conglomeration of body, senses, mind and intellect realizes (the teaching) of the scripture, "You are not the conglomeration of body, senses, mind, and intellect; your destiny is not perpetual transmigration." What then (art thou?) "Thou are That which is truth. That thou art (*Chāndogya* 6.8.7) whose essence is pure intelligence." Then (the *jīva*)

having realized himself to be of the nature of the Self (which is) unchangeable eternal cognition, raises himself above his misconceived identity with the body etc., (and) becomes the unchangeable eternal cognition which is the nature of the Self as is declared in the scripture, "He, verily, who knows that Supreme Brahman, becomes very Brahman" (*Muṇḍaka*, 3.2.9). This indeed is his (the *jīva's*) real nature by virtue of which he arises from the body and appears in his own form.[1]

CHAPTER XXI

DVAITA-VEDĀNTA

Introduction

THE Vedānta systems discussed in this chapter may be called '*dvaita*' in the sense that they are all opposed to Advaita-vedānta. Actually, only Madhvācārya's system is known as Dvaita, and the others are known as Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaitādvaita, Śuddhādvaita, Acintya-bhedābheda, etc. There were two elements common to all these systems which distinguished them from Advaita. Firstly, as we have seen, in Advaita-vedānta Brahman has no attributes, and no Śakti. In the '*dvaita*' systems on the other hand Brahman has infinite attributes, and is possessed of all powers or Śaktis. Brahman, in the '*dvaita*' systems, is another name for the deity, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, or Śiva, and in that sense these systems are theistic, because their faiths are firmly rooted in a personal God, who, as we have seen, is considered in the Advaita-vedānta as a lower form of Reality.

Secondly, as we have seen, Śaṃkara prescribed the removal of *ajñāna*, by which he meant primarily the *ahaṃ-bhāva*, that is, self-consciousness. For, so long as self-consciousness remains, it is impossible to feel identity with the Ultimate Reality. The '*dvaita*' systems oppose this tenet, for at the end of their spiritual journey they desire to relish the sweetness or the grandeur of the Lord for which a modicum of self-consciousness is essential. For them, the sense of 'I' or the ego-sense is not a mere quality extraneously imposed on the self, but the very nature of the self. If there is no self-consciousness, they argue, no 'I' to experience, who would strive to attain emancipation, for there would be no subject left to enjoy it. Who indeed would care to take all the trouble and suffer privations for such an undesirable state? But this 'I' (*ahaṃ-artha*) left after emancipation should be distinguished from the non-spiritual category of mind, which is but a modification of *prakṛti*, the false feeling of conceit. This latter type of 'I' is *prākṛta-ahaṃkāra*, which is always bad and must be discarded.

VAIṢṆAVA-VEDĀNTA

Viśiṣṭādvaita

The religion preached by Rāmānuja is known as Śrī-Vaiṣṇava[1] and the school of philosophy established by him is known as the Viśiṣṭādvaita or

[1]Śrī occupies an important position in Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. As the principal Śakti of Viṣṇu, Śrī is represented and worshipped in all Śrī-Vaiṣṇava temples. Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy,

'qualified monism,' not a very happy rendering, but it is difficult to suggest a better one. Rāmānuja systematized the teachings of the Prasthāna-traya with the teachings of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, and the Pañcarātra doctrine on the emotional background of *bhakti* preached by the Āḻvār saints, though he refrained from mentioning the Saints in his writings. His main endeavour, in which he seems to have succeeded, was to synthesize the concept of a personal God with the philosophy of the impersonal Absolute. Rāmānuja did not formulate this philosophy, and as we have seen he has given the names of his spiritual predecessors. As described above in Chapter XII, the Āḻvār saints, and the *aḻagiyas* or *ācāryas*, particularly, Yāmuna, had prepared the basis and practically finalized the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava doctrine. It needed Rāmānuja's genius to co-ordinate partially the teachings of the saints and the *ācāryas*, and reconcile the Vedic doctrine with the non-Vedic doctrine of Pañcarātra. As we shall see, the other Vaiṣṇava schools differed from Rāmānuja on vital doctrinal points, but all of them accepted the basic doctrine of Pañcarātra partly because of Rāmānuja's authority but also because the chapters of the *Mahābhārata* which deal with the Pañcarātra doctrine are ascribed to Nārāyaṇa.

The *Yatīndra-mata-dīpikā* of Śrīnivāsadāsa, which is considered to be a Viśiṣṭādvaita manual succinctly explains the essence of the doctrine as follows:

'In fact the quintessence of Vedānta has as its purport the unity of Brahman qualified by the sentient (*cit*) and the non-sentient (*acit*) things. With the purpose of teaching this Brahman as the only reality qualified by *cit* and *acit* the revered Bādarāyaṇa began his inquiry into the nature of this Brahman and explained that Brahman as having modes (*prakāra*). Thus Nārāyaṇa, the Supreme Vāsudeva known by the name of Viṣṇu indicated by the term "Brahman" and qualified by *cit* and *acit* is the only reality. This is the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita.'[1]

The difference between Śaṃkara's conception of Brahman, and that of Rāmānuja is that according to the former Brahman is absolutely unchangeable, and characterless, while according to the latter, Brahman is the Absolute containing within it the world and the individual beings and the changes involved in them. Brahman is unchangeable only in so far as all the changes rises from within and there is nothing outside which can affect It. That is, the Absolute, though unchangeable within Itself, is absolutely self-contained, and is entirely unaffected by anything outside it.

however, has only three categories as explained below and Śrī is not one of them. Some Viśiṣṭādvaita teachers have identified Śrī with human souls, while others hold Her to be as pervasive as Viṣṇu. According to Vedānta-Rāmānuja-muni a late author, Śrī and Her Lord (Śri-Śrīśau) jointly create and emancipate, hence both are to be worshipped. The importance of Śrī is shown by the fact that Rāmānuja's commentary on the Br.S. is known as the *Śrībhāṣya*, where in the first adoration verse he refers to the highest Brahman as 'the abode of Lakṣmī' (that is, Śrī).

[1]Quoted by M. Yamunacharya, *Rāmānuja's Teachings in His own Words*, Bombay, 1963, pp, 40-41.

Regarding the nature of the three entities, Rāmānuja says (on. Br. S., 2.3.18):

'We have shown that there are three entities of distinct nature, namely, objects of fruition, enjoying subjects, and a Ruler; that origination and so on which are characteristic of the objects do not belong to the subjects, and that the latter are eternal; that the characteristic qualities of the objects and likewise those of the subjects, namely, liability to pain and suffering—do not belong to the Ruler; that the latter is eternal, free from all imperfections, omniscient, immediately realising all His purposes, the Lord of the lords of the organs, the highest Lord of all; and that sentient and non-sentient beings in all their states constitute the body of the Lord while He constitutes their self. While Brahman thus has for its modes (*prakāra*) the sentient and non-sentient beings in which it ever is embodied, during certain periods those beings abide in so subtle a condition as to be incapable of receiving designations different from that of Brahman itself; Brahman then is said to be in Its causal state. When, on the other hand, its body is constituted by all those things in their gross state, when they have separate, distinct names and forms, Brahman is said to be in Its effected condition. When, now, Brahman passes over from the causal state into the effected state, the aggregate of non-sentient things which in the causal state were destitute of name and form undergoes an essential change of nature—implying the possession of distinct names and so on—so as to become fit to constitute objects of fruition for sentient beings; the change on the other hand, which the sentient beings (the souls) undergo on that occasion is nothing more than a certain expansion of intelligence (or consciousness), capacitating them to experience the different rewards or punishments for their previous deeds. The ruling element of the world, that is the Lord, finally, who has the sentient and non-sentient beings for His modes, undergoes a change in so far as He is, at alternating periods, embodied in all those beings in their alternating states. The two modes, and He to whom the modes belong, thus undergo a common change in so far as in the case of all of them the causal condition passes over into a different condition.' On *Gītā* 13.12 Rāmānuja explains that as an effect Brahman is referred to as *sat*, while in the causal state It is known as *asat*, and refers to *Taittarīya Upaniṣad* 2.7: 'In the beginning, verily, this (world) was non-existent (*asat*). Therefrom, verily, Being (*sat*) was produced.'

Rāmānuja (on Br.S. 1.1.1) defines Brahman as denoting 'Puruṣottama (the highest Person) who is essentially free from all imperfections and possesses numberless classes of auspicious qualities of unsurpassable excellence. The term "Brahman" is applied to any things which possess the quality of greatness (*bṛhattva* from the root *bṛh*); but primarily denotes that which possesses greatness, the essential nature as well as of qualities, in unlimited fullness; and such is only the Lord (Īśvara) of all. Hence the word "Brahman" primarily denotes Him alone, and in a secondary derivative sense only those things which possess some small parts of the Lord's qualities . . . .'

As stated above, *cit* and *acit* form the body of Īśvara (the term usually

used by Rāmānuja instead of Brahman), and He is the soul of *cit* and *acit*. That is, Īśvara is the central Reality without which neither *cit* (sentient beings) nor *acit* (inert matter) can exist. They exist in Him and are absolutely inseparable. Thus the three realities are all ultimate, eternal, and distinct from each other. Of them Īśvara is *Viśeṣya* (substantive), or *Śarīrin* (Soul) or *Śeṣin* (principal) while the *cit* and the *acit* are His *viśeṣaṇa* (attributes), *śarīra* (body), or *śeṣa* (subsidiary).[1]

Viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa relation means that God, the substantive factor, directs and predominates over the attributive factors. Though the world of matter and souls have real existences of their own, they are entirely subject to the control of God in all their conditions. It is not a case of synthesis of the distinctions between the attributive factors and the substantive factor, but that God, who is the Soul of souls and of matter, is one. In a sense it is the non-dualism (*advaita*) of the qualified (*viśiṣṭa*) whole. The souls and matter are neither identical with God nor with one another. While there is identity as well as difference of souls and matter with God, their difference is primary and their identity secondary.

Replying to the opponent's view in the *Vedārthasaṅgraha* (78-79) Rāmānuja says: '. . . . The error results from your taking the identity taught in the Upaniṣads as identity of essential substances. If the identity (*tādātmya*) is interpreted in terms of the relation of body and soul, there is absolutely no error . . . . Further, an entity cannot have, as already stated, identity-cum-difference because of the essential self-contradiction of such a character. If a jar is different from a piece of cloth, it means that the piece of cloth does not exist in the jar. If it is identical with it a piece of cloth must exist in the jar. Such being the nature of the case, the same entity, at the same time, in the same point of space, being the locus of both the existence and non-existence of another entity, is a sheer contradiction . . . .'

How can the difference be accepted in view of the Upaniṣadic teaching, 'That thou art,'? Rāmānuja says (on Br.S. 1.1.13): '. . . . the co-ordination of "thou" and "that" must be understood to express oneness, without at the same time there being given up the different attributes denoted by the two words.' Rāmānuja goes into this problem in greater details in the *Vedārthasaṅgraha* (21-23), where he criticizes Śaṃkara's use of *laksaṇā* to prove the identity of 'That' and 'Thou' and states: 'The identity of two persons is conveyed by the proposition of co-ordinate predication (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*).[2] Since the same person [Devadatta] cannot be conceived simultaneously as being present in two contradictory points of space and time, both the terms signify only the substantive personality of the man and the sameness of the

[1] *Vedārthasaṅgraha* of Śrī Rāmānujācārya, (182), text and translation by S.S. Raghavachar, Mysore, 1956, p. 146. See also Rāmānuja on Br. S. 1.1.1, tr. by G. Thibaut, *SBE*, XLVIII, p. 153.

[2] In a blue-lotus, 'blue' and 'lotus' are not identical, nor are they completely different. The object 'lotus and its attribute 'blue' subsist together, though the two have different significations. This relational view of thought is called *sāmānādhikaraṇya*.

person is brought out .... The same individual can, without any contradiction, be associated with actions in the past and the present. Presence at a different place is an event of the past. Presence in the immediate vicinity is an event of the present. Therefore there is no contradiction involved in positing the identity of the individual associated with activities of the past and the present ....'

We have seen that, according to Śaṃkara, Brahman appears as the world phenomenon through the influence of *avidyā*, which hides its own nature and can neither be described as 'being' (because then the illusion and its realization as an error would be inexplicable), nor can it be described as 'non-being' (like 'the barren women's son,' because then the world phenomenon would become inexplicable).

Rāmānuja refutes this theory of *avidyā* as impossible, on the ground that it must have some other thing for its support. It is clear that *jīva* cannot provide that support since they themselves are said to be the products of *avidyā*. Neither can Brahman be the support (*āśraya*) of *avidyā*, for being self-luminous consciousness It is opposed to *avidyā*, and is liable to be recognized as illusory with the advent of true knowledge. Moreover, Brahman, which is of the nature of pure self-illumination cannot be hidden by *avidyā*, for such concealment would destroy the true nature of pure self-illumination (*Vedārthasaṅgraha*, 51).

What then is illusion? Rāmānuja says that an illusion is perception in which a thing appears to be different from what it is. This raises the question, what is the illusion due to? Here Rāmānuja was confronted with three views, namely, *akhyāti*, *yathārtha-khyāti* and *anyathā-khyāti*. All these views agree in holding that the imposed idea has a real basis as its object. The *akhyāti* view considers illusion as being due to the non-apprehension of the difference between the presentation of 'this' of the oyster-shell and the memory of the silver. The *yathārtha-khyāti*, on the other hand, holds that the silver element being mixed with the oyster-shell element is also present to the senses, but owing to certain circumstantial defects, the oyster-shell, which ought to be the main part, is not perceived. *Anyathā-khyāti* view holds that illusion is not non-perception of the difference, but positive false knowledge, when, for example, *puruṣa* is taken to be for what it is not. The *akhyāti* theory is accepted by Mimamsa and Sāṁkhya, and *anyathā-khyāti* by Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and Yoga.[1]

Rāmānuja points out that the *akhyāti* theory is a form of *anyathā-khyāti*, for ultimately one has to accept the false identification of two characters or two ideas. However, he had to offer the *yathārtha-khyāti* view as an alternative because the earlier teachers of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school were adherents of this view. The ultimate Viśiṣṭādvaita conclusion on the theory of illusion is that, in cases of misapprehension of one thing as another due to similarity,

[1]The Advaita theory that, the world appearance is illusory, and the perceived sense of reality is a misattribution of the characteristic of Brahman to it, is also sometimes called *anyathā-khyāti*, in which case the *anyathā-khyāti* defined above is called *viparīta-khyāti*.

there is, strictly speaking, no misapprehension, but a right apprehension of a counterpart in the other object constituting the basis of similarity (silver), and the non-apprehension of the bigger and larger part which held the counterpart coeval with it (oyster-shell). When it is said that 'this is oyster-shell and not silver', the 'not silver' has no other meaning than that of the oyster-shell, that is, in its negative aspect the oyster-shell is 'not silver', while in its positive aspect it is oyster-shell. This theory is known as *sat-khyāti*.

We have seen that Śaṃkara makes a distinction between Brahman and Īśvara, but Rāmānuja admits only one Reality, who is called Brahman, Īśvara, Viṣṇu, and Nārāyaṇa. In the *Vedārthasaṅgraha* (198), Rāmānuja says: 'The texts of the Vedas define the substantive nature of this Nārāyaṇa, the Supreme Brahman, as infinite knowledge, infinite bliss, and infinite purity. They also sing of His unsurpassed, perfect, and countless holy attributes like knowledge, power, sovereignty, strength, vigour, and radiance .... His divine form is wholly agreeable and appropriate to Him; many kinds of numberless and infinitely auspicious ornaments adorn Him .... He bears numberless wondrous weapons .... His divine consort is agreeable and suited to Him in Her essential nature, form, beauty, glory, sovereignty, compassion, and unsurpassed greatness; He is served by (divine) servants, who are suited to Him and are endowed with holy knowledge .... His boundless and magnificent divine abode, containing all objects and means of delight suited to Him, is indescribable and inconceivable; all these are eternal and perfect'[1] Lakṣmī, Bhū, and Līlā are His *śaktis*. His beauty is changeless, possessed of unlimited lustre, and is indicative of his essential nature which attracts everyone, and a vision of which induces a cessation of worldly desires, and heals all miseries. Those who are eternally free from human bondage are in constant rapport with Him. An *Avatāra*, who comes down to earth to establish religion is produced from His body.

Rāmānuja, as has been already noted, accepts the Pañcarātra doctrine of the *vyūhas*, and according to him, Vāsudeva is the highest Brahman and the ultimate cause. From Vāsudeva originates the individual soul called Saṃkarṣaṇa; from Saṃkarṣaṇa emerges the internal organ called Pradyumna, and from Pradyumna comes out the principle of egoity called Aniruddha, the deity who presides over the changing time and the evolution of the phenomenal world. Similarly, Saṃkarṣaṇa presides over the creation of the *jīvas* and the dissolution of the world, while Pradyumna presides over the mental sphere. This evolution is due to the fact that, Vāsudeva, the highest Brahman, from kindness to His devotees, voluntarily abides in a fourfold form, so as to render himself accessible to His devotees. Vāsudeva has for His body the complete aggregation of the six qualities, and divides Himself in so far as it is either the subtle (*sūkṣma*), or division (*vyūha*) or manifestation (*vibhava*), and is attained in His fullness by the devotees, who, according to their qualifications, worship by means of work guided by knowledge. From the worship of the *vibhava* aspect one attains the *vyūha*, and by worshipping *vyūha* one

[1]See also Rāmānuja's introduction to *Gītā*.

attains Vāsudeva, Vibhava, the *avatāras*, such as Rāmā, Kṛṣṇa etc.; Saṃkarṣaṇa Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, are mere bodily forms which Vāsudeva voluntarily assumes.

The Lord is also the *antaryāmin*, that is, the inner-controller. In this state He is the companion and guide of every individual soul, and abides in the individuals' lotus-like hearts. These four categories, namely, Parā or Vāsudeva, the four *vyūhas*, the *vibhavas*, and *antaryāmin*, together with *arcā* or the idol, that is the deity, are the five forms of the Lord.

According to Rāmānuja (on Br.S. 1.1.1), the notion '"I" constitutes the essential nature of the inward self .... The conclusion therefore remains that the self is nothing but the knowing "I".' The individual selves are essentially of the nature of pure knowledge, devoid of restriction and limitation. They are covered by *avidyā* in the shape of *karma*, resulting in the proportionate curtailment of their knowledge. The individual souls get embodied in various bodies from Brahmā down to a bunch of grass, and are deluded into identifying themselves with their bodies. Thus they become subject to joys and sorrows and enter the stream of transmigratory existence. Their only way of emancipation is surrender to the Supreme Lord. Actually, the individual soul is wholly subservient to the Lord and is controlled by Him, and has Him as his sole support. The Supreme Being (Paramātman) endows all sentient beings with the power of thought and the power of action. Thus the individual endowed with the power of initiative engages or abstains from action by his own volition, while the Supreme Being witnesses his activity unconcernedly. If a person performs meritorious deeds, God is pleased with him and confers upon him pious disposition, and actuates him towards the right direction. And He gives that person evil intellect leading to his perdition who is inclined towards actions contrary to Divine Will. This is according to *Gītā*, 10.10-11, and 16.19.

The individual's agency (*kartṛtva*) is due to its contact with the reals (*guṇas*), and under all circumstances he is controlled by God. But all imperfections and sufferings etc., belong not to God, but only to the sentient and insentient beings (*cit* and *acit*) which are His modes. We have seen that an individual has some *svatantra-śakti* (freedom of action) but even that is a gift of God, and ultimately depends on Him. The case is analogous to that of a property of which two persons are joint owners. If one of them desires to transfer the property to a third person, he cannot do so without the permission of his partner; but that permission is given is after all due to his own exrtion, and hence the fruit of his action (reward or punishment) properly belongs to him only (Br.S. 2.3.41).

Cit is *ātman* (self) distinct from the physical body which is *acit* or *jaḍa* (inert). The *cit* is self-evident, eternal, atomic (not all pervading) beyond sense-perception, formless, and changeless. Ātman is knowledge, but is also knower. As Rāmānuja puts it (on Br.S. 1.1.1): 'Though the self is itself of the nature of consciousness, yet, just as one entity of light exists both as the light and as the rays emanating from it, so can it be regarded both as

consciousness and as possessor of consciousness. Ātman can be each of them. By contact with *prakṛti* or *acit*, nescience, desire, and action are produced in the *atman*, and these are destroyed when the contact is released.'

Acit or *jaḍa-tattva* is liable to transformation. There are three types of *jaḍa-padārthas*: *śuddha-sattva* (pure *sattva*) *miśra-sattva* (mixed *sattva*), and *kāla* (time). *Śuddha-sattva* is unblemished *sattva*, untouched by *rajas* or *tamo-guṇa*; hence it is eternal, pure, and produces knowledge and bliss. Under the Lord's will, this *tattva* transforms itself into substances out of which are built the eternal *dhāmas* (Hindu counterpart of heaven). According to some, *śuddha-tattva* is not *jaḍa*.

Miśra-sattva is compound of *rajas* and *tamas*, and forms the veil which covers the knowledge and bliss of the earth bound souls (*baddha-jīva*). It is also *nitya* (eternal), and subserves Īśvara in His creation of the phenomenal world. It is also the cause of anti-knowledge, and in course of time and space produces all worthy and unworthy transformations. Ultimately, it develops into the twenty-four *tattvas*.

That part of *acit* which is bereft of *sattva* and is untramelled by the *guṇas* is *kāla* (time). It is the effective agent which brings about the consequential changes is *prakṛti* and its substances. All dissolution depends on *kāla*. In His *līlā* (supra-mundane playfulness) aspect, Īśvara's action is determined by *kāla*, but in His *nitya* (eternal) aspect, *kāla* has no influence on Him, even though it still subsists.

Viśiṣṭādvaita admits two categories: substance (*dravya*) and non-substance or attribute (*adravya*). The non-substance is tenfold: five qualities of the *pañcabhūtas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, potency (*śakti*), and conjunction (*saṃ-yoga*). Substance is that which has modes or which undergoes change. The substantive factor, (*viśeṣya*), as noted above, in itself is changeless, and the attributive factors (*viśeṣaṇas*) alone undergo change, for which reason the synthetic whole (*viśīṣṭa*) is imagined to undergo change. God and souls, viewed as the substantive factors, are immutable. The *dravyas*, which are divided into two classes as *jaḍa* (matter) and *ajaḍa* (non-matter) are six. The *jada* includes *Prakṛti* and *kāla*, and the *ajaḍa* includes attributive consciousness (*dharma-bhūta-jñāna*), *suddha-sattva*, *jīva* and Īśvara. *Jaḍa* is devoid of *śuddha-sattva*.

Prakṛti is the substratum of three *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, and not the complex of the three *guṇas* as in Sāṁkhya. Prakṛti is not independent of God, but constitutes His body as His mode. The entire universe evolves out of Prakṛti under the will of God, and is entirely under His control. The relation between matter and soul of Prakṛti and her evolutes is *apṛthak-siddhi* (inseparable relation). The evolutes of the Prakṛti provide appropriate bodies to souls according to their past *karma*.

In his *Vedārthasaṅgraha* (127), Rāmānuja quotes from the *Siddhitraya* of his 'Paramaguru Bhagavān Yāmunācārya,' who says: 'He is attainable through absolute and uninterrupted *bhakti-yoga* which is an end in itself, and which follows the dual training (of the mind).' Rāmānuja explains that

dual training means 'purification of the mind by *jñāna-yoga* and *karma-yoga*,' and quotes Īśā (11) in his support, which says: 'One who knows *vidyā* and *avidyā* together crosses death through *avidyā* and attains immortality through *vidyā*.' 'Here the word *avidyā*,' Rāmānuja explains, 'signifies what is other than *vidyā*, namely, the duties pertaining to one's *varṇa* and *āśrama*. By the term *vidyā* is meant meditation that has developed into *bhakti*.'

Rāmānuja himself has defined *bhakti* (on Br.S. 1.1.1) as 'steady remembrance' (*dhruva-smṛti*) which has the same meaning as *upāsanā* (prayer or meditation). This steady remembrance or meditation is obtained through discrimination (*viveka*), freeness of mind (*vimoka*), repetition (*abhyāsa*), works (*kriyā*), virtuous conduct (*kalyāṇa*), freedom from dejection (*anavasāda*) and absence of exultation (*anuddharṣa*) according to feasibility and scriptural statements. *Viveka* also includes abstention and means keeping the body clean from all food impure either owing to species (*jāti*, such as *kalañja*, that is a bird or animal killed by a poisonous arrow) or abode (*āśraya*, food belonging to a *caṇḍāla* or the like, that is, sinners), or due to accident (*nimitta*, such as food in which a hair or the like has fallen).

Vimoka or freeness or mind means absence of attachment to desires. *Abhyāsa* or repetition means continued practice (*Gītā*, 8.8.) *Kriyā* or works means the performance, according to one's own ability, of the five great sacrifices. By *kalyāṇa* or virtuous conduct is meant truthfulness, honesty, kindness, liberality, gentleness, and absence of covetousness. *Anavasāda* or freedom from dejection means a state of mind contrary to the lowness of spirit or want of cheerfulness which results from unfavourable conditions of place or time and the remembrance of cases of sorrow (*Muṇḍaka*, 3.2.4.) 'Exultation' is that satisfaction of mind which springs from circumstances opposite to those just mentioned; the contrary is *anuddharṣa* or 'absence of exultation.' Thus, according to Rāmānuja, mind becomes purified by these mental and physical disciplines after which one can aspire to acquire *jñāna* or *bhakti*.

Rāmānuja has defined *jñāna* (on *Gītā*, 15.15) as *indriya-liṅg-āgama-yogajo vastu niścayaḥ*, that is, 'knowledge is the determination of the nature of an object by perception, through inference, through verification by scriptures, and by intuition.' He has also said (on *Gītā*, 12.12) that 'by the performance of desireless action a person is soon rid of his sins which brings mental peace. A peaceful mind induces meditation (*dhyāna*), which leads to *jñāna*, and then to direct cognition which generates *bhakti*.' At the end of the *Vedārtha-saṅgraha* (252), Rāmānuja states: '. . . .one, who by determined effort fixes his whole mind on Puruṣottama, perceives, that is, attains Him through *bhakti*, which agrees with (the *Gītā*, 11.54), "I am attainable only through *bhakti*." *Bhakti*, indeed, is a special kind of *jñāna*.'

Bhakti is an end in itself and not a means to an end. The allied way to salvation is *prapatti* which means complete surrender to God. In the *Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā* and other Pañcarātra texts, *prapatti* has been described as a means of winning God's grace. The idea is that if a devotee depends on God

with a sense of otherwise helplessness, he will have no other effort to make, for God will come to his aid. This mental attitude is also known as *śaraṇāgati*. The Āḷvār saints developed a systematic doctrine of *prapatti* which meant remaining in a continuous state of prayer to God with the certainty of conviction that He alone is the saviour, and that there is no way of attaining His grace except by such self-surrender. Such a devotee must cultivate the virtues of universal charity, sympathy, and friendliness even to his worst enemy, and must give up the following six impediments (*virodha*) to God's grace:

(i) *Āśrayaṇa-virodha*: the attitude of 'I' and 'mine', desire for results, and doubt about receiving God's grace.

(ii) *Śravaṇa-virodha* : attachment to scriptures relating to other deities.

(iii) *Anubhava-virodha*: desire to use for personal gratification the objects which are used to serve God.

(iv) *Svarūpa-virodha*: to consider oneself independent of God.

(v) *Paratva-virodha* : to consider a deity other than Viṣṇu (or Nārāyaṇa etc.) as Parameśvara (highest Lord).

(vi) *Prāpti-virodha* : accepting or approving the doctrine of a man who has not acquired *śakti*.

In its positive aspect, *prapatti* involves the following five elements :

1. God is the only saviour.
2. He is the only end to be attained.
3. He alone is the supreme object of one's desires.
4. One must absolutely surrender and resign oneself to Him.
5. One must continuously pray to Him and retain absolute trust in Him.

Other accessories to *prapatti* are :

(i) *Ānukulyasya saṃkalpaḥ* : a positive mental attitude to keep oneself always in consonance with the Lord's will.

(ii) *Prātikūlyasya varjanam* : avoidance of conduct not acceptable to God.

(iii) *Rakṣiṣyat=īti viśvāsaḥ* : faith that God would protect him.

(iv) *Goptṛtva-varaṇam* : appeal to God for protection.

(v) *Ātma-nikṣepaḥ* : absolute surrender.

(vi) *Kārpaṇyam* : feeling of utmost humility.

There was a difference of opinion as to whether a *prapanna* (one who has adopted *prapatti*) should perform his *varṇāśrama* duties or not. The older school believed the performance of such duties to be unnecessary for a *prapanna*, while the latter opinion was that such duties were obligatory. Rāmānuja seems to have been inclined towards the second view, which he had inherited from the Aḷagiyas or the Ācāryas. Rāmānuja reconciled the conflicting views of the Āḷvārs and the Aḷagiyas in his work called the *Aṣṭādaśa-rahasyārtha-vivaraṇa*,[1] but later the difference in the interpretation of

[1]Neither this work nor another work called the *Aṣṭādaśa-bheda-nirṇaya* have yet been published, and Prof. S.N. Dasgupta worked on manuscripts of these two works; see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., III, p. 85. See also G.A. Govindacarya, Aṣṭādaśa-bhedas, or the eighteen points of Doctrinal differences between the Tengalais and the Vaḍagalais of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vaiṣṇava school of South India, *JRAS*, 1910, pp 1103-1112.

prapatti gave rise to two Śrī-Vaiṣṇava schools. The first school, called the Vaḍa-galai, was headed by Veṅkaṭanātha (AD 1268-1369 or 1371) the greatest exponent of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy after Rāmānuja. The second school, called the Ten-galai, was headed by Pillai Lokācārya and his disciple Saumya Jāmātṛ Muni (AD 1370-1443). Pillai Lokācārya's contributions were towards the development of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava doctrine, and among his works is the *Śrī-vacana-bhūṣaṇa* dealing with *prapatti* on which Jāmātṛ Muni wrote a commentary.

The difference between the two schools is illustrated by two interesting popular examples. A baby monkey climbs on its mother's back and holds on to her firmly as she carries it, while cat takes her kitten by the scruff of its neck as she carries it about. In the first example, known as *markata-vat* (monkey-like) the baby may suffer a fall if it releases its hold, while such danger is absent in the second example, known as *mārjāra-vat* (cat-like) since the mother herself is holding the baby.

Viśiṣṭādvaita teaches that emancipation is the rediscovery of a lost soul to God for his unlimited servitude or *kaimkarya*. Hence in a sense emancipation is for the interest of God and not of the devotee. God moves us all to our actions and fulfils our desires according to our *karmas*. He grants knowledge to the ignorant, power to the weak, mercy to the sinners, and purifies the wicked. His numberless qualities are for the sake of others, not for Himself.

The ultimate aim of man is *mokṣa* or direct experience of Divine bliss. As stated above, both the *jīva* and the Lord are eternal, hence their relation too must be eternal. All spiritual exercises or *sādhanā* are meant to recover this lost relationship, which is servitude or *kaiṁkarya*. When the *jīva's* adoption of servitude is absolute he is released from human bondage and attains *mokṣa*. The *jīva*, then, being free from Prakṛiti's contact, gains untramelled knowledge and bliss, and in these respects the distiction between the *jīva* and the Lord is effaced. As Rāmānuja says (on Br.S. 4.4.17): 'The released soul, freed from all that hides its true nature, possesses the power (*muktasy-āiśvaryam*) of intuitively experiencing the pure Brahman (*nirvyāja-Brahm-āñubhava*) . . . .' He has also said (on Br.S. 4.1.18) : 'The soul whose knowledge is no longer obstructed by *karma* (*akarma-pratihata-jñāna*) freely enjoys all the different worlds in which the power of Brahman manifests itself and thus is fully satisfied.' But the important thing to remember is that the *jīva* always remains a *jīva*, and never becomes identified with Brahman, so that even though he may experience Brahmanhood, he never acquires the world-controlling power such as creation, dissolution, and regulation which belong exclusively to the Lord which is made absolutely clear by Rāmānuja (on Br.S. 4.4.17).

Dvaitādvaita

The school of philosophy known as Dvaitādvaita (dualism cum non-dualism) or Bhedābheda (difference-in identity) was founded by Nimbārka who

belonged to the Haṃsa sect. The Bhedābheda doctrine may have been very ancient, but Nimbārka established it on a firm foundation in his commentary on the Br.S. known as the *Vedānta-parijāta-saurabha* (The scent of the celestial flower of Vedānta). A similar doctrine was established by Bhāskara in his commentary on the Br.S., which differs in certain respects from Nimbārka's.[1] But we are here considering only Nimbārka's views, since Bhāskara did not belong to any known religious sect, and there is no indication that his commentary influenced any group of dedicated men.

Nimbārka states (on Br.S. 1.1.1) that first a person must study the Veda with its six auxiliaries. The next step is *manana*, that is, forming the true conception of the Vedic teachings through cogitation, and thereby to learn the real nature of *dharma*. Thus one realizes the results of *karmas*, and their finiteness, and loses faith in *karmas* and their results. Such a person being desirous of liberation approaches the preceptor to be informed about Ramākānta (Lord of Ramā, i.e., Viṣṇu) who is endowed with infinite number of essential qualities and power etc. He is known as Brahman.

According Nimbārka's philosophy, there are four states of Brahman all of which are eternal.[2] They are:

1. It is *sat* (existence) in the form of *cit* (consciousness) and *ānanda* (bliss). Brahman is perpetually enjoying Its own bliss in a state of actionlessness as if immersed in eternal bliss. From this point of view, it is known as Akṣara-Brahma, Nirguna-Brahma, or Sad-Brahma.

2. Brahman has the capacity to eternally enjoy Its inherent essential bliss in infinitely different number of forms. From this point of view, i.e., its existence as the perpetual enjoyer of those infinitely different forms, It is known as Īśvara. No doubt can be entertained as to the feasibility of the simultaneous enjoyment of undifferentiated bliss, and also of infinite number of differentiated bliss. For, the Upaniṣads have declared Brahman as undifferentiated, imperishable (Akṣara) existence, and also as existing in all forms, omniscient, revealer of all, the sole cause of creation, maintenance, and dissolution. There are many examples of such dual-state of existence.

[1]The main difference between the two schools is that according to Bhāskara' Aupādhika-bhedābheda-vāda the concept of unity and distinction of Brahman is due to the operation of conditions (*aupādhika*), while according to Nimbārka the unity and difference that exist between Brahman and the individuals is natural (*svābhāvika*); hence Nibārka's doctrine is known as Svābhāvika-bhedābheda-vada.

[2]This section is based on the Introduction to the *Vedānta-darśana, Dvaitādvaita Siddhānta*, by Sri 108 Svāmī Santadāsji Mahārāj Vrajavidehī, Calcutta, Saka 1854 (AD 1932), pp 10-13. According to one calculation, Śrī Santadas Bābājī (1859-1935), was the forty-fifth head of the sect in the direct line after Nimbārka. It is usually held by scholars that Nimbārka's system, like that of Rāmānuja's, recognizes only three principles : God, sentient beings, and the insentient world. In view, however, of Srī Santadas Bābājī's explicit statement I felt it worthwhile to differ from scholars and present the traditional view of Nimbārka's sect which may be more authoritative. It may be noted that before joining the order Śrī Santadās Bābājī had passed M.A. in philosophy from the Calcutta University and after graduating in law, had practised with distinction at the Calcutta High Court for a number of years.

The body of every organism, indeed of every object, is changing from one moment to another, but their continuity, that is oneness is always perceived due to the power of *pratyabhijñā* (the perception of the past and the present of one object at the same time). A person undergoes infinite number of changes from his childhood to old age, but he retains his basic permanent principle, his personality: the same person is the child and the old man. He sleeps and while asleep also dreams. The adept, while immersed in the contemplation of the self, also carries on a conversation. As the *Gītā* (5.8-9) says: 'The man who is united (with the Lord) and knows the truth thinks "I do nothing at all;" for, in seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, tasting, walking, sleeping, breathing, speaking, emitting, grasping, opening and closing the eyes, he holds that only his senses are engaged with the sense-objects.' Hence there can be no reason to doubt the simultaneity of Brahman's Akṣaratva (imperishableness) and Īśvaratva (lordliness).

3. The *jīva* or individual soul is *cit*, through whom Brahman manifests Itself when It subjects Itself to experiencing particulars as a part of Its total experience of Its own essential bliss. During the *samādhi* state, a person gets oblivious of his self due to his faculties being engrossed in the contemplation of the object of meditation; similarly, *jīva*, in his concentrated perception of limited particulars (*vyaṣṭi*) forgets that he is a part of the *cit*.[1] With the oblivion of his essential *cit*, the bliss which the *jīva* enjoys appears as devoid of *cit*. The results of the extreme forgetfulness of *cit* are various creatures including the human beings, who are known as *baddha-jīva* (man-in-bondage). For due to their ignorance of their proper nature as *cit*, they are in a greater or lesser degree under insentient influence. *Cit* is revealed to those persons who regain the knowledge of their essential *cit* nature. They are known as *mukta puruṣas* (free men). The existence of bliss is contingent upon its knowledge. An inert object cannot experience its own qualities, as sugar cannot know of its own sweetness. Similarly due to its loss of memory about its own true nature, the *jīva's* experience of bliss gradually diminishes and he begins to experience misery. But the knowledge of *cit* and *ānanda* (bliss) being inherent though hidden in him, the desire to regain them is ever present in *jīva*. This is true for the man in bondage. The free *jīva* never experiences the want of bliss. He always remains in *cid-ananda* (blissfully conscious) state, and perceives this universe as a form of *cid-ānanda*, not as inert matter.

4. The infinite number of forms of His essential bliss which Brahman as Īśvara perceives are known as *jagat* (material world). The *jiva*-in-bondage, having forgotten his *cit*-nature, perceives the *jagat* as insentient. The state of Brahman as the insentient world is Its manifest form.

Thus Brahman exists simultaneously in four forms: as Akṣara-Brahma, Īśvara-Brahma, Jīva-Brahma, and Jagad-Brahma. Brahman's plenitude is made up of these four forms, but Its Īśvaratva (Lordliness), *jīvatva* (individual-selfness), and *jagad-rpūatva* (materialness as world) are established on

[1] *Vyaṣṭi* is the opposite of *samaṣṭi* or aggregate. See *Pañcadaśī*, 1.25

Its Akṣara form, and none of the other three can transgress Akṣara-Brahma. This material world with its infinite number of forms is manifestation of Brahman's inherent *cit* part, hence *cit* permeates all objects from the biggest to the smallest. As has been stated above, Īśvara and *jīva* are also respectively aspect and part of the same *cit*. Īśvara controls everything, though He is invisible to ordinary mortals, that is *jīvas*, who experience the world. Brahman does not 'exist', It is (*sat*) Existence Itself, and whatever is in existence, Īśvara, *jīva*, and *jagat*, partake of that Cosmic Existence (Sat), that Cosmic Consciousness (Cit) and Cosmic Bliss (Ānanda).

Brahman has the power of manifesting Itself in infinite number of forms without undergoing any change. This power is known as Māyā. The *jīva's* oblivion of his own nature is called *avidyā*.

We have seen that Śaṃkara (on Br.S. 1.1.11) admits that Brahman apparently has two forms, but concludes that the Upaniṣadic passages 'declare Brahman to possess two forms according as It is the object of knowledge or of nescience.' This view is held to be untenable, being Śaṃkara's personal opinion. It is held on the contrary that the perception of Brahman in any object is *Brahma-vidyā* (Brahma-knowledge, or Brahma-perception), not nescience or *avidyā*. Brahman has the capacity of manifesting Itself in infinite number of forms, nescience is that which displays the multifarious forms as different self-contained objects. A rope is mistaken for a snake, because a rope has certain characteristics of the snake, certain features are common to both. But no one mistakes the sun to be a snake, because the sun has no such characteristic. Brahman has the capacity (*yogyatā*) of appearing in any form. Hence perception of the universe as Brahman is the perception of truth.

Brahman creates and destroys the universe, hence It is beyond the universe so that there is difference between the universe and Brahman. On the other hand, the entire universe is established on Brahman and is composed only of Brahman. Hence their relation is difference-in-identity. Brahman is the *guṇin*, possessor of all the qualities, or *śaktimat*, the possessor of all the *śaktis* (powers); the universe is composed of all these qualities (*guṇātmaka*) or of *śakti*. Materials composed of qualities cannot exist entirely apart from the possessor of qualities, just as *śakti* cannot exist apart from the possessor of *śakti*. Their relation is difference-in-identity. The Sāṁkhya also admits that the universe is a transformation of *guṇa*, but they hold Prakṛti, which is composed of *guṇas*, to be an independent category. But Vedānta, according to Nimbārka, teaches that *guṇa*, and the universe, which is composed of *guṇas*, belong to Brahman, and are Its parts, and moreover that Brahman is the controller of whatever is beyond the *guṇas* and of this universe as well.

Brahman is omniscient. All forms in the past, present, and the future are eternally established in Its knowledge, otherwise It cannot be omniscient. Hence there cannot be any transformation in the essential nature of Brahman. Time is inoperative in Brahman, and in its essential nature there is no distinction between quality and possessor of quality, or of knowledge, knower,

and object of knowledge. Brahman is always 'the knower' (*jñātṛ*). It always experience Itself. Brahman, as has been said, is essentially plenitude of bliss, and the universe is a manifestation of that bliss. Brahman's experience of that bliss is everlasting. As Īśvara, Brahman experiences this bliss in myriad particulars, and is called Akṣara, when It experiences the undifferentiated non-particularized bliss.

The *Gītā* (15.16-17) says: 'There are two *puruṣas* (persons) in this world, *kṣara* (the perishable) and *akṣara* (the imperishable). The *kṣara* is all these creations, the unchanging is the *akṣara*. But other than these, the Highest Puruṣa called the Supreme Self, who as the Indestructible Īśvara, enters the three worlds and controls them.'

Brahman is the sole cause of creation, maintenance, and dissolution of the world. This is due to Its inherent *śakti* (power). Through this Śakti, Brahman reveals the universe, and Īśvara, who perceives the particular objects, controls the world. As this Śakti belongs to Brahman's essential Self, it is called Īśvara.[1] It is due to Its controlling power that Brahman creates, maintains, and destroys the universe without Itself being transformed. The Br.S. 4.4.17 clearly shows that *jīva* never attains this power of Brahman, though he is Its part. Their part-and-whole relationship is unambiguously stated in Br.S. 2.3.42 (*amśo nānā vyapadesād . . . .*). *Jīva* is a part of the Paramātman for the *Śvetāśvatara* (1.9) says that *jña* (Īśvara) and *ajña* (*jīva*) are eternal and indestructible. On the other hand, the Upaniṣads also have stated their identity or non-difference in such statements as 'That thou art' (*Chāndogya*, 6.8.7). The Atharvan goes to the extent of saying that the 'fishermen, slaves, and dishonest people are also Brahman.'[2] Though *jīva* is a part of Brahman, he is neither omniscient nor all-pervasive (*vibhu*): *jīva* is atomic in character (*aṇu*; Nimbārka, on Br.S. 2.3.16-31).

Śaṃkara (on Br.S. 2.1.14) concludes, on the basis of *Chāndogya*, 6.1.4, that the modifications of clay, such as jars etc., are only names which originate from speech, while in reality there is no such thing as modification (*etad anṛtam*). Nimbārka, who also quotes the same *Chāndogya* passage, concludes that though there is difference between a cause and Its effect, such difference is not radical. Had the world been an illusion, this example (of clay and jar) would have been inappropriate. From clay or gold various objects like rings, bangles etc., may be produced; each of such objects differ from each other and though made of gold are in a way different from gold. By the knowledge of clay or of gold one can acquire the knowledge of the material,

[1]The word Īśvara, usually translated as 'Lord', is derived from the root *iś* meaning 'to rule', 'to command.'

[2]On this *sūtra*, which he numbers 2.3.43, Śaṃkara concludes: 'Non-differenced intelligence (*caitanya*) belongs to the *jīva* and Īśvara alike, as heat belongs to the sparks and the fire. From these two views of difference and non-difference there results the comprehension of the difference in identity (*bhedābheda*).' 'By two views' Śaṃkara means the Upaniṣadic passages which he had quoted. The next two *sūtras*, according to Śaṃkara affirms the *bhedābheda* view.

that is of clay or of gold, which is the Upaniṣadic teaching, but that such knowledge renders the bangles etc., or the jars etc., as illusory is an inadmissible conclusion.

In commenting on Br.S. 3.2.22, Nimbārka quotes from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2.3.1) which states that 'Brahman has indeed two forms, the formed (*mūrta*) and the formless (*amūrta*), the mortal and the immortal, the stationary and the moving, the *sat* (actual or perceptible), and *tya* (yon or the imperceptible).' Nimbārka also quotes in this connection the famous sentence *'n'eti n'eti'* from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 2.3.6 which states: *athātaḥ ādeśaḥ n'eti n'eti, na hy=etasmād iti n'ety=anyat param asti* (lit. 'Now [after the truth has been ascertained] is the precept (about Brahman): "Not thus; not so. For there is nothing beyond Him other than this, that is thus".') Swami Santadās Vrajavidehī explaining Nimbārka on Br.S. 3.2.22 has construed this sentence as: *'hi* (wherefore) *Brahmaṇaḥ etasmāt* (than this, i.e., what has been said before) *anyat param* (other and beyond, i.e., better form) *na asti* (does not exist) *iti na* (is not, i.e., is not to be understood); *anyat param* (better than this, i.e., better form that this) *asty=eva* (indeed exists).' Here Nimbārka radically differs from Śaṃkara, who established on the basis of this statement of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* that Brahman is undifferentiated.

Nimbārka's position is further strengthened by Br. S. 3.2.27 which says: 'But on account of the two fold teaching (the relation of the Highest Self to the individual self is to be viewed) as that between a serpent and its coils.' According to Nimbārka, this *sūtra* emphasizes the dual nature of Brahman in Its form and formless aspects. Just as the form of a coiled snake is hidden from view, and is only exposed when it stretches itself, similarly the phenomenal world is hidden from view during dissolution and assumes its shape only on creation, but in both states abides in Brahman,. Śaṃkara's comments on this *sūtra* is : '. . . .As thus difference and non-difference are equally vouched for by scriptures, the acceptation of absolute non-difference would render futile all those texts which speak of difference. We therefore look on the relation of the Highest Self and the individual self as analogous to that of snake and its coils. Viewed as a whole, the snake is one, non-different, while an element of difference appears if we view it with regard to its coils, hood, erect posture etc.'

Nimbārka also differs from the Viśiṣṭādvaita view that the souls and the insentient world are associated with the Lord as His qualities. It is pointed out that since there is nothing to differentiate in Brahman, the concept of souls and matter as Its qualities also fails. By their presence, qualities distinguish one object from another object, but there is nothing similar to Brahman so the question of qualities (*viśeṣaṇa*) in relation to Brahman does not arise. Again, if Brahman is qualified with *cit* and *acit* as Viśiṣṭādvaita claims, their defects also would inhere in It. Hence they will have to admit the existence of an unqualified pure omniscient Brahman, while the qualified Brahman would be impure and not omniscient. Thus Īśvara would be in certain parts associated with the highest and purest qualities, and in other

parts defiled with the impurities of the world and the imperfections of the souls. In other words, God would be associated with two sets of qualities pure and impure. Thus while Rāmānuja considers that the soul and the matter qualify Brahman and are in that sense one with It, Nimbārka repudiates the concept of a permanent modification of Brahman by the souls (*cit*) and matter (*acit*). In Nimbārka's view, as has been stated above, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is the Lord, the ultimate Brahman, and He is the support of the universe consisting of the souls, and matter, which are derived from Him, are absolutely under His control. and dependent on Him for their existence.

Śrī-Kṛṣṇa,[1] the Supreme Brahman, is manifest in each and every form and is also formless. He, the conglomeration of all forms (*rūpa*) is also beyond form. He is beyond the *guṇas* of Prakṛti, but is the controller, substratum, and resort of all. He is attained through *bhakti* (devotion), which is the final step to His realization. While commenting upon 'And (Brahman is apprehended) in perfect meditation (*samrādhana*) also according to *śruti* and *smṛti*', (Br.S. 3.2.24), Nimbārka takes *samrādhana* to mean *ārādhanā* (worship), and states: 'Brahman is manifested in Bhakti-yoga. "By limpid knowledge (*jñāna-prasāda*) one's nature is purified, hence by meditating one does behold Him who is without any parts," (*Muṇḍaka*, 3.18). "But by unswerving devotion to Me, O Arjuna, I can be known, truly seen, and entered into," ' (*Gītā*, 11.54)! Śaṃkara, as noted above, has taken this *sūtra* in the same sense, having explained *samrādhanam* as *bhakti-dhyāna-praṇidhānādy-anuṣṭhānam* (devotional performance of contemplation and meditation etc.).

In the devotional contemplation of Nimbārka's Bhaktimārga (the path of devotion), the devotee meditates upon his self and the entire world as Brahman. This is opposed to Jñāna-marga (the path of knowledge) which teaches the contemplation of self as Brahman, and the rest of the universe as non-self (*anātmā*). To a devotee of the Nimbārka's school, nothing is non-self. Just as he identifies himself with Brahman, so does he identify the universe with Brahman, and also meditates upon Brahman as beyond *jīva* and world, the omnipotent, imperishable, plenitude of bliss.

Worship, according to Nimbārka's Bhakti-mārga, is also complete in three parts: to perceive the world as Brahman; to perceive *jīva* as Brahman; and to meditate upon Brahman as beyond *jīva* and world, the omniscient, omnipotent, the sustainer of all, the plenitude of bliss. The first two forms of this devotional worship purifies the mind of the devotee, and by the third he apprehends Brahman. To the devotee Brahman is both *saguṇa* (qualified) and *nirguṇa* (unqualified). Nothing in this world is composed only of qualities, and no quality exists apart from Brahman, the independent existence of quality being against the teaching of Vedānta. Therefore, whatever form (*rūpa*) is manifested to the devotee is Brahman, and he becomes passionately attached to that form. Thus the devotee is rid of all dualistic conceptions

[1]Being a Vaiṣṇava, Nimbārka naturally mentions Ramākānta, i.e., Viṣṇu on Br.S. 1.1.1, as stated above, but his sect worships Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, probably the earliest recognized Vaisnava sect to do so.

and of intolerance. His heart is purified to become the true foundation for the contemplation of the Supreme Brahman. This is *parā-bhakti* (ultimate form of devotion), which leads to the apprehension of Supreme Brahman. This is the teaching of Br.S. (1.1.31) according to Śaṃkara; commenting upon this aphorism, he explains '*upāsā trayividhyāt*' (on account of threefoldness of devout meditation): 'The chapter aims at enjoining three kinds of devout meditation on Brahman, according as the Brahman is viewed under the aspect of *prāṇa*, under the aspect of *prajñā*, and in Itself. . . .' ". . . But as of a chariot the felly is fixed on the spokes, and the spokes are fixed on the hub even so the elements of being (*bhūta-mātrā*, i.e., the objects) are fixed on the elements of intelligence (*prajñā-mātrā*, i.e., subjects), and the element of intelligence (*prajñā-mātrā*, i.e., subjects) are fixed on *prāṇa* (the breathing spirit)." 'Thus we see,' Śaṃkara continues after quoting these passages, 'that the one modification on Brahman is here represented as threefold, according as Brahman is viewed either with reference to two limiting conditions (*upādhi*) or in Itself.'

Commenting upon this *sūtra* (1.1.32), Rāmānuja says: '. . . .The highest Self is called by these different terms in order to teach threefoldness of devout meditation; namely, meditation on Brahman in Itself as the cause of the entire world; on Brahman as having for Its body the totality of enjoying (individual) souls; and on Brahman as having for Its body the objects and means of enjoyment. This three-fold meditation on Brahman, moreover, is met with also in other chapters of the sacred text . . .'

Nimbārka (on Br. S. 1.1.32) points out that the 'threefold meditation is due to the variation in the qualities of the devotees (*upāsaka-tāratamyena*).'

It may be pointed out here that the *Gītā* (18.54-55) also speaks of *parā-bhakti* as the means of God realization: 'Having attained oneness with Brahman, the tranquil soul neither grieves nor desires. Regarding all beings as alike, he attains supreme devotion for me (*mad bhaktiṁ labhate parām*). Through devotion (*bhaktyā*) he comes to know Me, what My innermost nature is; who in truth I am. Having known me in truth, he enters into My Being.'

Nimbārka states (on Br. S. 4.1.4) that it is improper to attach to symbols the idea of Brahman, and here he agrees with Śaṃkara and Rāmānuja who give detailed reasons for not contemplating the Self in symbols, Nimbārka being very terse. It may be concluded therefore, that Nimbārka does not teach that Brahman can be finally apprehended through dualistic worship. What he intends is that such dualistic worship is a necessary preliminary for the purification of mind without which the devotee cannot gain*parā-bhakti*. And *parā-bhakti*, not knowledge, is the quintessential teaching of Vedānta. Through *bhakti* one passes from *dvaita* to *advaita*.

Dvaita

Madhvācārya, the founder of the Dvaita school of philosophy, belonged to the Brahma-sampradāya. The Dvaita or the 'dualistic' view, which is the

sharpest reaction to Śaṃkara's Advaita philosophy, is based on the common sense perception of difference between man and God, and this doctrine based on difference between the worshipper and the worshipped had wide appeal. Like all Vaiṣṇava teachers, Madhva emphasized the importance of *bhakti* (devotion) for the realization of God. He himself composed beautiful Sanskrit hymns, and later his followers started the Haridāsa Kūṭa movement based on devotional Kannaḍa songs of great beauty which are sung even today. But Madhva's task was not easy. He had to combat the entrenched positions of previous teachers, specially of Śaṃkara and his followers. So he had to base his doctrine on a strong logical foundation. Much of the polemics of Madhva's school were formulated by his followers, of whom the most outstanding were Jayatīrtha (c. 1335-1385), and Vyāsatīrtha (c. 1460-1539). Of them Prof. Dasgupta has written: 'In my opinion Jayatīrtha and Vyāsa-tīrtha present the highest dialectical skill in Indian thought.'[1] It will not be possible to present their dialectics in the present work, so that the strength of Madhva's position will not be apparent.

Madhva contributed some new concepts to ontology of Vedānta, though it has been said that his ontological ideas are only the implications of their epistemological positions. We must however take notice of some of these concepts, otherwise his philosophy cannot be understood. Madhva has introduced the conception of the following ten categories (*padārthas*):

1. *Dravya* (substance), 2. *guṇa* (quality), 3. *karma* (action), 4. *sāmānya* (class character), 5. *viśeṣa* (particularity), 6. *viśiṣṭa* (qualified), 7. *aṁśī* (whole), 8. *śakti* (power), 9. *sādṛśya* (similarity), 10. *abhāva* (negation).[2] Of these we shall explain only a few which are necessary for our present purpose. But before doing that it is necessary to explain Madhva's doctrine of *sākṣī* which is basic to his theory.

According to Madhva, knowledge is of two kinds, *vṛtti-jñāna* and *sāksī-jñāna*. *Vṛtti-jñāna* is derived through the ordinary cognitive senses and the mind, and is material in nature. On the other hand, *sākṣī-jñāna* is a special intuitive knowledge which always leads to unerring and certain truths, while *vṛtti-jñāna* is liable to error. Madhva has explained the function of *sākṣī* at some length in the *Anuvyākhyāna* from which it appears that *sākṣī* is a supersensory organ of intuitive perception, which is never susceptible to error, and, like a sieve, is actually capable of filtering true from false knowledge. *Sākṣī* not only intuits knowledge, but also its validity, being the ultimate criterion of all knowledges and their validation. In short, it is not

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, IV, preface, p. viii. It may be noted that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in his *Advaita-siddhi* replied to Vyāsatīrtha. For a summary of the controversy between them, see ibid, pp. 204-58. It seems that Madhusūdana had the last word. Elsewhere (ibid, III, pp. 111) Prof. Dasgupta indirectly admits Śrīharṣa and Citsukha of the Advaita school to the same level as Jayatīrtha and Vyāsatīrtha, but denies that Veṅkaṭanātha (Vedāntadeśika) the great Viśiṣṭādvaita scholar belonged to the same rank.

[2]For details of these categories, see A.K. Majumdar, *Caitanya, His Life and Doctrine*, pp. 54-65.

possible to go beyond the verdict of *sākṣī* even in the case of teachings of the scriptures. That is, if some scriptural texts, like those which indicate identity between *jīva* and Brahman, are not approved by *sākṣī*, such texts have to be interpreted in a manner which may be acceptable to *sākṣī*.

Madhva's *sākṣī* must be distinguished from the *sākṣī* of Advaita-vedānta. where the term is used for the inextinguishable Brahma-light which can be veiled by *ajñāna* or ignorance, though the manifestation of the true nature of *ajñāna* is due to *sākṣī*.[1]

Viśeṣa or the doctrine of specific particulars, is the fifth category mentioned above. Madhva admitted *viśeṣa* to determine the qualities to their substances. The relation of qualities or attributes to their substances may be (1) identical, (2) absolutely different, and (3) different in identity. None of these is satisfactory. If they are identical then the substance and attribute being the same, the question of relation does not arise. Secondly, if they are identically related, for example, blueness and jarness in a jar, then both should be destroyed when either one is destroyed. But if a blue jar is painted red, the jarness remains. Moreover, a blind man who cannot see the jar, can feel it. The Naiyāyikas, who hold that the relation between the substance and the attribute are entirely different, introduce the *samavāya* relation between them. But in that case the *samavāya* relation itself has to be related to the terms and so on leading to an infinite regress. *Bhinnābhinna* (difference-in-identity) relation is also not entirely satisfactory, for that also raise the question of relating the relatas by another relation. Hence Madhva introduces the concept of *viśeṣa*, which serves to hold and reconcile plurality without sacrificing its unity. Later Dvaita teachers, like Jayatīrtha and Rāghavendra, defined *viśeṣa* as 'self-sustained potency of things' (*sva-nirvāhaka viśeṣo-nāma podārtha-śaktiḥ*).[2]

The number of *viśeṣas* in a substance correspond to its qualities, and as such may be any number. There are infinite number of *viśeṣas* in Brahman to account for Its diverse external qualities. The scriptures have declared *ānanda* to be of the essential nature of Brahman, and it is also said that *ānanda* is of the nature of Brahman's *dharma*. The conception of difference-in-identity in Brahman being untenable, the relation of Brahman with Its *dharma* may be said to be identical, which also is not admissible. Hence it is imperative to admit the category of *viśeṣa*, which is representative of *bheda* but not *bheda* (difference) itself, and which may be called 'qualified identity' (*saviśeṣa-bheda*). *Viśeṣa* being its own determinant, one *viśeṣa* need not be qualified by another to relate itself to its locus. *Viśeṣa* is of two kinds, those of eternal substances are eternal, while those of non-eternal substances are non-eternal.

Viśeṣaṇa means the qualifying attributes, and *viśeṣya* is the substance qualified, wherefore *viśiṣṭa* or 'composite whole' stands in Madhvas' philosophy for the form which a substance acquires after being related to its

[1]There are actually four views of *śāksī* in Advaita-vedānta. For details see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., IV, p. 158 fn.

[2]Quoted in B.N.K. Sharma, *Philosophy of Śrī Madhvācārya*, Bombay, 1962, p. 51.

attributes. *Viśiṣṭa* is also of two kinds, namely, eternal and non-eternal. God and His attributes like omniscience etc., are therefore to be distinguished from a *daṇḍin* (a man carrying a stick) and the *daṇḍa* (stick) which are non-eternal by nature.

Śakti (power) is of four kinds, namely, 1. *acintya-śakti* (inconceivable power); 2. *ādheya-śakti* (adventitious power), e.g., the power brought in an idol through the ritualistic operations of the installation ceremony; 3. *sahaja-śakti* (inherent power) by virtue of which changes and other things are produced by a thing; and 4. *pada-śakti* (power of words). Only the Lord possesses the full *acintya-śakti*, others possess it in relative qualities. It is due to the *acintya-śakti* that the Lord and other divine beings are capable of resolving contradictions, as of being seated in a place and yet going far away, as lying here and yet moving far away which are mentioned in the *śrutis* (*Kaṭha*, 1.2.21; *Gītā*, 13.13-14). This *acintya-śakti* is also known as *aiśvarya*.

Any power which is conducive to the performance of an action is *sahaja-śakti*; possessed by eternal objects they are eternal, and by non-eternal objects are non-eternal. The *ādheya-śakti* or adventitious power has been explained above. *Pada-śakti* is that power which relates a word to its meaning.

Madhva also introduced a new conception of *bheda* (difference). It is usually held that *bheda* is of three kinds: 1. *svajātīya*, difference in one class, e.g., one cow from another; 2. *vijātīya*, difference from those of another class, e.g., difference between a cow and a horse; and *svagata*, internal or organic difference, e.g., difference between a tree and its branches etc. Rāmānuja admitted *svagata-bheda*, but Madhva did not admit it in its absolute sense. Difference according to Madhva is the essence of an object. When we perceive an object, we perceive its difference from other objects at the same time that we perceive it. This fact of experience cannot be denied whatever be the logical difficulties in explaining the simultaneous apprehensions. Madhva, therefore, formulated his theory of five kinds of *bhedas:* or differences :

1. Between *jiva* (individual soul) and Īśvara; 2. between *jaḍa* (insentient objects) and Īśvara; 3. between *jīva* and *jaḍa*; 4. between one *jīva* and another; and 5. between one *jaḍa* and another *jaḍa*. Madhva designates this fivefold division as *pra-pañca*: *prakṛṣṭaḥ pañcavidho bhedaḥ prapañcaḥ* (manifested reality pre-eminently consists of fivefold division),[1] Bondage is due to false knowledge of identity or non-dualism, and deliverance can be attained only on the realization of the five kinds of differences.

Madhva defines 'reality' as 'that which is not superimposed (*anāropita*)', and is also 'an object of knowledge (*pramiti-viṣaya*).' According to Advaita, there is a difference between 'existence' and 'reality', for it is held that the real must exist at all times, in the past, in the present, and also in the future. Madhva, on the other hand, defines '*satya*' or 'real' as existence at (some)

[1]*Viṣṇu tattva-nirṇaya* of Madhva quoted in B.N.K. Sharma, *Madhva's Teachings in His Own Words*, Bombay, 1961, p. 68.

time and place. The unreal is that which, like hare's horn, has no existence at any time or place. Another test of reality, according to Madhva, is *artha-kriyā-kāritva* (implied activity). The silver which appears in the oyster-shell is illusory, because it cannot be put to any use. The illusory snake seen in the rope causes fear which may be overcome later, but feeling of the snake exists for the moment wherefore it causes fear. But this being a case of super-imposition, the rope-snake has no existence.

The Buddhists view of reality is that it is momentary, while Śaṃkara holds the opposite view, namely, that reality is only that which is eternal. Madhva takes an intermediate position. He rejects Śaṃkara's conception of *vyāvahārika* (relative) reality of the phenomenal world, because if it is unreal, then by no stretch of imagination can it be held as real. Existence is reality. But though every existing thing is real, there are gradations of reality. Only God is *svatantra* or 'independent real', the rest comprising of *cetana* (sentient) and *acetana* (insentient) are dependent on God, and hence are 'dependent (*paratantra*) reality.' As Madhva states in his *Tattvaviveka* (1) *svatantram asvatantraṁ ca prameyaṁ dvividhaṁ matam* (there are two gradations of reality, the independent and dependent).[1]

God is the only independent real, and the highest principle. He is perfect in every aspect, and free of all limitations. He is the fullness of infinite qualities. Madhva (on Br.S. 1.3.8) quotes *Chāndogya* (7.23.1): 'He who is plenum is indeed infinite bliss (*sukha*) itself.' This 'infinite bliss' is only possible in God. He is different from all material objects, souls, and Prakṛti. He is absolutely One, though He may have diverse forms, as in the Avatāras and in the Vyūhas, which are the manifestations of His qualities. God has the powers of creation, maintenance, destruction, control, knowledge, bondage, salvation, and obscuration. He is omniscient, and all words in their most pervading and primary senses refer to Him. He causes all bondages, and is also the source of man's redemption.

According to Madhva, all the Avatāras are of equal merit, and he rejects the commonly accepted supremacy of Kṛṣṇa based on a statement of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (1.3.28): *Kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam*, as inappropriate on philosophical and syntactical grounds. This constitutes a fundamental difference between Madhva and Caitanya, who, relying on this *Bhāgavata* verse, proclaimed Kṛṣṇa to be the supreme Avatāra.[2]

Brahman is the source of all. In this *Anuvyākhyāna*,[3] Madhva says: 'There is no independent *śakti* anywhere (in the universe). It is Īśvara Himself that directs properly the various *śaktis* of nature and the souls for production, growth, development etc., which are always dependent on Him. Their capacities and inclinations are controlled by Īśvara by His *nitya-śakti* (perpetual

[1] ibid, p. 27.

[2] For Madhva's position, see B.N.K. Sharma, *Philosophy of Śrī Madhvācārya*, p. 259. For Caitanya's position see, A.K.Majumdar, op. cit., p. 295.

[3] B.N.K. Sharma, *Madhva's Teaching in His Own Words*, p. 108.

power). Non-eternal things are ordained by the everlasting will of Īśvara to be non-eternal, and eternal substances are ordained by His will to be eternal. This is established by the *śruti*: "Without reference to your will, nothing happens far or near" (RV, X. 112.9). The *śruti* also says: "*Svabhāva, jīvas*, their *karma*, categories, *kāla, śruti, kriyā* etc., all these exist, function, and are cognized only by His will and pleasure. They have no existence otherwise. Hence the very reality, existence of Prakṛti and other entities depend on His control." Therefore, the position of Patañjali, Vindhyavāsin and other philosophers [who in various ways restrict Īśvara's power, or do not recognize His existence] is not conducive to the attainment of *purusārtha* (*mokṣa*)."

Next to God or Paramātman is Lakṣmī. Madhva (on Br.S. 4.2.7) calls her *samanā*,[1] which he defines as: 'She to whom the Supreme Person (*nā*) is equal (*sama*) in point of pervasion in time and space is Samanā. Lakṣmī is under the control of Paramātman, but Brahmā and others are under the control of Lakṣmī as of Paramātman. Lakṣmī, being strengthened by the glance of the Lord, performs the eightfold work of creation etc., mentioned above. In respects of dearness to, devotion to, and knowledge of the Lord, Lakṣmī is million times superior to the free-souls. Like the Lord, Lakṣmī is perpetually free and is replete with virtues. But even so and in spite of Her having all Her desires fulfilled, She always worships the Lord, and is therefore the ideal of the devotees. Being possessed of all the virtues and qualities, Lakṣmī also may be indicated by the word *sarva*, but primarily this word is applicable only to the Lord. Lakṣmī has various forms like Śrī, Bhū, Durgā, Hrī, Dakṣiṇā, Sītā, Jayantī, Bhṛṇi, Satyā, Rukmiṇī etc.; indeed She has infinite forms. Like the Lord's Lakṣmī's body is made of non-material *cit* and is eternal. She is not limited by time or space, but unlike the Lord is limited by *guṇa*.

Madhva defines *jīva* (individual soul) as 'he who has ego-sense, is subject to pleasure and pain, and is eligible for bondage and release.'[2] They are limited by ignorance, misery, fear, and delusion. Even Brahmā is not free from their contamination. But these are not permanent in Brahmā, as they are in Rudra. Brahmā's delusion is not due to false knowledge, but to the absence of immediate knowledge.

The *jīvas* are divided into three *gaṇas* (groups), namely *mukti-yogya, nitya-saṃsārī*, and *tamo-yogya*. *Mukti-yogya-jīvas* are of five kinds: 1. gods like Brahmā, Vāyu and others; 2. *ṛṣis* like Nārada and others; 3. *pitṛs* like Viśvāmitra and others; 4. *cakravartins* like Raghu, Ambarīṣa and others; and 5. *uttama-manuṣyas* or excellent men, that is those who are devoted to the Lord. *Nitya-saṃsārī* or *madhyama-manuṣyas* are constantly revolving round the cycle of births and deaths between earth, heaven, and hell. They are infinite in number. The *adhama-manuṣyas* and demons and goblins are *tamoyogya-jīvas*. Each *jīva* is different from the other *jīvas*, and even after emancipation they

[1] This word in Br.S. 4.2.7 is read by other commentators as *samāna* (common).

[2] *Viṣṇu-tattva-nirṇaya* quoted in B.N.K. Sharma, *Madhva's Teachings in His Own Words*, p. 76.

differ from each other in their respective merits, qualifications, desires et cetera.

The *jīva* derives all his capabilities and powers from God, but remains under the delusion that those are self-generated and under his control. This is *avidyā* (nescience). Actually, the *jīva* is under God's bondage, which is real. This bondage is neither due to *karma*, nor to *ajñāna* (ignorance), but to Divine will. Dependence is in the nature (*svabhāva*) of *jīva*, and the ignorance of his own nature leads to *jīva's* bondage. Hence, Madhva calls his 'theory of bondage' as *Svabhāva-ajñāna-vāda*.[1]

This theory of bondage apparently conflicts with the Upaniṣadic passages which proclaim the identity of *jīva* and Brahman. Here Madhva points out that primarily such identity is denied by *sākṣī*.[2] Secondly, Madhva invokes PMS 1.4.23 (*tat siddhi . . . . guṇāśraya*) according to which the literal sense of some Vedic passages cannot be accepted. When for example, a Vedic passage says, '*yajamānaḥ prastaraḥ*' (the handful of grass is the sacrificer), obviously the passage has to be taken in a figurative or secondary sense like, 'the handful of grass is a necessary ingredient for the sacrificer,' and not as establishing the identity of between 'grass' and the 'sacrificer.' Similarly, all Upaniṣadic passages which apparently identify *jīva* and Brahman are to be understood in their secondary sense and not in their primary sense, that is, *jīva* and Brahman are not 'essentially identical' (*svarūpaikya*) but that there are similarities in their secondary attributes (*guṇaikya*). As Madhva says in his *Anuvyākhyāna*: '*Śrutis* sometimes describe the *jīvas* as non-different from Brahman, due to some broad similarities of their attributes . . . . Such descriptions should not, however, be understood literally in terms of any identity of essence between them.'

Commenting upon Br.S. 2.3.43 which says that 'the soul is a part of the Lord' (*amśo nānā-vyapadeśād . . . .*) Madhva points out that both difference and identity cannot hold true in their primary sense. Only one, that is *bheda*

[1]See ibid, pp. 83-87.

[2]It is instructive to note that something like *sākṣī-pramāṇa* determined Maharşi Devendranath Tagore, father of Rabindranath, when he selected passages from the Upaniṣads for his Brāhma Samāj. Devendranath writes: 'We had no faith in the [Advaita] Vedānta philosophy, because Shaṅkaracharya seeks to prove therein that Brahma and all created beings are one and the same. What we want is to worship God. If the worshipper and the object of worship become one, then how can there be any worship . . . . . We were opposed to Monism just in the same way as we were opposed to idolatry . . . . I was delighted with it (*Mahānirvāṇatantra*). But as it was tinged with Advaita doctrines I was unable to accept it in its entirety . . . . Sankaracharya has turned India's head by preaching the doctrine of Monism—the identity of God and man . . . .' *The Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore*, translation from Bengali by Satyendranath Tagore and Indira Devi, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 24,32, and 100. Devendranath's attitude must have greatly influenced Rabindranath for he was initiated into spiritual life by his father, for whom he cherished feelings of deep respect throughout his life. Rabindranath, however, never wrote anything against Advaita or Śaṃkara. Raja Rammohan Roy, said to be the founder of the Brahma Samaj faithfully followed Śaṃkara's commentaries and Advaita doctrine, and rejected unceremoniously the doctrine of both Madhva and Caitanya.

(difference) can be accepted in the primary sense, and the other, that is *abheda*, must be understood in a secondary sense. Madhva then points out (on Br.S. 2 3.46-47) that there are two types of *aṁśas* (parts), namely, *svarūpāṁśa* (fraction of essence) and *bhinnāṁśa* (fraction apart). The Avatāras of the Lord fall in the first group, while the second group includes the *jīvas*. The *bhinnāṁśa* is of limited power and its resemblance to the Lord is very slight.

Madhva, therefore, replaces the theories of *śarīra-śarirī bhāva* or *śeṣa-śesī-bhāva*, explained above, with his *bimba-pratibimba-bhāva* (on Br.S. 2.3.50). Here Madhva makes a distinction between ordinary reflections which depend on an external media (*sopādhi-pratibimba*) and those which do not (*nirupādhi-pratibimba*). The example of the former is reflection in a mirror, which is the *upādhi*. For the latter, Madhva cites the example of rainbow (*jīva īśasy-ānupādhiḥ indracāpo yathā raveḥ*) which is formed by the sun's rays refracted in the water drops which then reflect the sun's hue. Here the water drops are activated directly by the sun (*bimba*) and cast the shadow (*pratibimba*) in the shape of the rainbow which is formed by the water drops (comparable to the *jīvas*) without the help of any *upādhi* like a prism or a mirror.

The individual souls can never be identical with Brahman. Had they been identical, there would be no necessity for inquiry into Brahman. It is only because the *jīvas* are not identical with Brahman that 'the (scripture) enjoins inquiry (into Brahman), because the bondage (of the *jīvas*) which is real cannot be destroyed without the grace of Viṣṇu.'[1] There is an essential difference between the nature of *jīvas* and of God, in that the former suffer pain, which cannot even touch Him. Hence, the two can never be identical.

'Mukti (liberation),' says Madhva (on Br.S. 1.1.17), 'consists in shaking off all extraneous associations and regaining one's own selfhood.' Bondage is due to attachment to worldly objects, and release from *saṃsāra* (transmigratory existence) comes through direct realization (*aparokṣa jñāna*) of God. There is, however, no possibility of release from bondage without the grace of God. God must be worshipped daily by chanting His qualities. The scriptural duties have to be carried out, but their mere performance does not lead to salvation without *jñāna* (knowledge). All *karmas* are not destroyed with the rise of knowledge, for the *prārabdha karmas* (those *karmas* which have commenced to give their result; in effect 'the present birth') have to be experienced in this life till they are exhausted.[2] This is *jīvanmukti*, denied by Rāmānuja (on Br.S. 4.1.14) but admitted by Śaṃkara. Final release, however, cannot take place without God's grace. He is the cause of all bondage as well as of all liberations.

God's grace can be attained only through *bhakti* (devotion). In the

[1] *Anuvyākhyāna*, in B.N.K. Sharma's *Madhva's Teaching in His Own Words*, p. 66. Madhva wrote four commentaries on the Br.S., the *Anuvyākhyāna* is one of them.

[2] Here Madhva agrees with Śaṃkara, one of their very few areas of agreement. See Śaṃkara on Br.S. 4.1.15 and *Gītā*, 4.37.

Anuvyākhyāna Madhva defines *bhakti* as: 'Jñāna is a constituent of *bhakti*. So the latter is often referred to as *jñāna* (knowledge) itself. Where the distinctive aspect of attachment is sought to be emphasized, their fusion is designated by the term *bhakti*. As mediacy and immediacy are but integral aspects of "knowledge," scriptural texts which refer to *jñāna* as the means of release have to be interpreted as inclusive of both the aspects thereof. Similarly, in the present case, wherever scriptures speak of *jñāna* as the means of release, the inclusion of *bhakti* within the sense of the word *jñāna* is certainly intended and presupposed. For the sake of clarity, sometimes the two are also separately mentioned as means of release.'

Bhakti, however, is not only a means but an end in itself. As Madhva says in the *Anuvyākhyāna*: 'From *bhakti* one reaches (mediate) knowledge, thence again (a higher stage of) *bhakti*, thence vision, and then again (another stage of) *bhakti*. Then comes *mukti* (liberation) and then (ultimate, *parā*) *bhakti*, which is of the essence of bliss.' In the *Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya* Madhva says: 'That firm and unshakable faith in God, which rises above all other ties of love and affection based upon an adequate knowledge and conviction of His great majesty, is called *bhakti*. That alone is the means of *mokṣa* (release).'[1]

Liberation, as has been stated above, can only come through the direct perception of the Lord, which is called *bimbaparokṣa* or *sva-bimba-darśana* (intuitive perception of one's own *bimba*; on Br. S. 3.3.53). Madhva admits that though Brahman is essentially formless, It reveals Itself in a flash to its earnest devotees by Its inscrutable power as an act of supreme grace. As the *Kaṭha* 1.2.23, and the *Muṇḍaka* 3.2.3 says: '. . . He is to be obtained only by the one whom He chooses; to such a one that Ātman reveals His own person (*tanuṁ svām*).'[2]

Liberation or *mukti* may be of five kinds: i. *sālokya*, attainment of the same *loka* or place of divine habitation with the Lord: ii. *sārṣṭya* or *sārṣṭi*, attainment of similar magnificence or divine power; iii. *sārūpya*, attainment of similar divine form; iv. *sāmīpya*, attainment of proximity or nearness to the Lord; and v. *sāyujya* contact with the Lord. Madhva counts *sārṣṭi* as a form of *sāyujya* and not a distinct form of *mukti*. *Sāyujya* means the entrance of individual souls into God's body and their identification of themselves with the enjoyment of God in His own body. *Sārṣṭi*, as explained above, means the enjoyment of same powers as God possesses, which, it is held, can only be possible by entering the body of God, and by identifying one-

[1]B.N.K. Sharma, *Madhva's Teachings in His Own Words*, pp. 91-92.

[2]For details of *aparokṣa-jñāna* see B.N.K. Sharma, *Philosophy of Śrī Madhvācārya*, pp. 315-20. Compare Madhva's *aparokṣa jñāna* with Śaṃkara's statement on Br.S. 3.2.21: 'Whoever wants to know the true nature of Brahman must first annihilate the appearance of plurality that obstructs true knowledge, just as a man wishing to ascertain the nature of some jar or similar object placed in a dark room must at first remove the darkness. For the apparent world has Brahman for its true nature, not vice versa; therefore the cognition of Brahman is effected through the previous annihilation of the apparent world of names and forms.'

self with the powers of God. Only deities and divine being deserve these two types of *muktis*. But as they are also eternal, even in *sāyujya mukti* their individualities are not lost.

Since the *jīvas* retain their individuality even after liberation, they also continue to have their differences. Thus the experience in emancipation is not same for all saints or emancipated persons, and there is a gradation in the qualitative enjoyment of bliss (*ānanda-tāratamya*) in *mokṣa* (*svarūpānanda-bheda*). The common feature in *mokṣa* is that there is no bondage as in life (*bandha-pratyavāya abhāva*, Madhva on Br.S. 3.3.30).

Of all the systems of Vedānta, Madhva's system is nearest to monotheism. His insistence on unqualified difference between God and man, even in *mokṣa*, and of the absolute dependence of man upon God are montheistic. He, however, believed in lesser divinities, which are not admitted by the Semitic religions. In Christianity, however, there is a gradation of angels, which may be compared with minor Hindu divinities.[1] There are, however, almost insuperable difficulties in correlating the various minor divinities and the orders of angels, for in spite of some external similarities the two systems are not quite analogous.

Śuddhādvaita

Vallabhācarya, whose philosophy is known as Śuddhādvaita or Viśuddhādvaita, belonged to the Rudra-sampradāya. Tradition regards one Viṣṇusvāmin as the founder of the Śuddhādvaita school which was regenerated by Vallabha, though Vallabha nowhere refers to Viṣṇusvāmin as his spiritual ancestor.[2] This Viṣṇusvāmin may have been an historical person, but it is now as difficult to identify him as to assign him a date with any degree of confidence. One Viṣṇusvāmin is mentioned in the SDS, and if he is identical with Vallabha's traditional predecessor, then he must have lived long before the 14th century AD when the SDS was written. The SDS states that Viṣṇusvāmin used to worship Nṛsiṃha (Man-lion) incarnation of Viṣṇu, while Vallabha worshipped Kṛṣṇa. It is possible that Vallabha changed the deity of the sect, and therefore forbore to mention his Nṛsiṃha worshipping predecessor. It is also peculiar that Viṣṇusvāmin should have been mentioned in the Raseśvara-darśana chapter of the SDS. The SDS also records that Viṣṇusvāmin's follower Śrīkānta, or Garbha-śrīkānta, believed in the peculiarly Raseśvara doctrine of the possible eternality of the body, which may

[1]The nine orders of angels are: 1. seraphim; 2. cherubim; 3. thrones; 4. dominations; 5. principalities; 6. powers; 7. virtues; 8. archangels; 9. angels. It has been suggested that the Jews got the idea of the angels after they came into contact with the Iranians during the Selucid period (312-93 BC). However, since the discovery of Asokan inscriptions in Aramaic it is possible to suggest that they got the idea of the angels from India. See A.K. Majumdar, *Theism in Indian Religions*, Bharatiya Vidya, XXVIII, 1968, pp. 80-7.

[2]For details see S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., IV, pp. 382-83; G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā*, p. 55; *SDS*, tr. by E.B. Cowell and A.E. Gough; pp. 141-42; A.K. Majumdar, *Caitanya, His Life and Doctrine*, pp. 40-1; *Kalyāṇa Vedānta-Khaṇḍa*, p. 700.

have been also Viṣṇusvāmin's view and provided another reason for Vallabha's not mentioning him, since he did not entertain such non-Vedāntic doctrines. This view gains support from the fact that Śrīkāntagarbha is mentioned as one of the pontiffs of Viṣṇusvāmin's sect in the *Vallabha-digvijaya.*

According to Vallabha, the world is not false but the creation of Brahman. Brahman by Its own will has manifested Itself with preponderance of *sat* (being) element as matter, and with preponderance of *cit* (consciousness) element as *jīva*. Preponderance of bliss is found only in Brahman. Brahman is the *samavāyi-kāraṇa* (inherent cause) and the *nimitta-kāraṇa* (efficient cause) of the world. Vallabha prefers the term *samavāyi* (inherent) to *upādāna* (material), because the concept of *upādāna* involves a concept of change which is not conceivable in Brahman. Vallabha conceives *samavāyi-kāraṇa* as pervading every form of existence, just as clay pervades the jug: but unlike the jug, there is no transformation (*vikāra*) of Brahman, because unlike clay, It has will.[1] The nature of Brahman can only be determined from scriptures, and they declare that Brahman has the power of becoming anything. Brahman is both *saguṇa* (possessed of qualities) and *nirguṇa* (qualityless). From the point of view of the world, Brahman is *vivarttakāraṇa*. From the point of view of the self-creation of God, it is *pāriṇāma*.

Kṛṣṇa is the Supreme or Para-Brahman Saccidānanda. From Him is derived Akṣara (immutable) Brahman, which is Brahman in Its causal state. In another aspect Brahman is *antaryāmin* helping a *jīva* in his works by presiding over him. There are as many *antaryāmins* (in-dwelling God) as there are *jīvas*.

Brahman is *vibhu* (all pervasive). Its first act at the time of creation is to manifest Its *icchā-śakti* (will-power) with its inherent subtle *māyā-śakti* with its three *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamo*). Māyā is an inseparable power (*śakti*) of Brahman, and this is the fundamental difference between Vallabha and Śaṃkara. Indeed this is the reason for which Vallabha's system is called Śuddh-ādvaita or 'pure Advaita', in distinction to Śaṃkara's Advaita or Kevalādvaita, where Māyā is categorized as neither *sat* nor *asat* and indefinable, which, according to Vallabha, is an extremely illogical position.

Vallabha maintains that though Brahman is undifferentiated, It has infinite forms which are not different from each other. Apparent differences are due to Its will to create infinite number of forms. The desire of Brahman to become many is for the purpose of creation. It is due to Its will that from Its essential nature are evolved infinite number of *cit* particles and *sat* particles forming respectively the *jīvas* and the insentient objects. From Its *ānanda* (Bliss) aspect are produced the *antaryāmins*, mentioned above, one for each *jīva*.

[1]According to Vallabha, *samavāya* means *tādātmya* (identity), and not a relation of inherence which exists between cause and effect such as is admitted by the Naiyāyikas. By *samavāyi-kāraṇa* Vallabha means universal and unconditional pervasion.

Though the Lord is essentially one, His methods of creation are many. Sometimes He Himself creates, sometimes through the agency of others, like Puruṣa and Brahmā. Sometimes He Himself assumes the form of the phenomenal world, and sometimes He creates the world like a magician through Māyā. In all types of creation, except the last, the Lord indwells in the world. Lord's power is infinite and inconceivable. Vedas praise His glory in describing the variegated creation with the object of establishing devotion for the Lord. *Bhakti* (devotion) is the firm and deep *sneha* (affection) for the Lord. It cannot sprout without the knowledge of His greatness. Muralīdhara, a pupil of Vallabha's son Viṭṭhaleśa (AD 1518-1588), defines *bhakti* in his *Bhakti-cintāmaṇi* as *yoge viyoga-vṛtti-prema*, that is, *bhakti* as *preman* is that form of love in which even when the two are together they are afraid of being dissociated and when they are not together they have a painful hankering for union. *Preman* is the highest form of devotion, but Muralīdhara may have been influenced by Gaudiya-Vaiṣṇavism which considered this type of *bhakti* in great detail.

Bhakti pleases the Lord and He appears before his true *bhakta* (devotee), but without His grace there is no other way to perceive Him. Therefore, *bhakti* is the cause of *mukti* (salvation). But His grace flows freely and unconditionally, one has to turn towards Him and receive it. *Vidyā* is *vairāgya* (renunciation); *sāṁkhya* (knowledge of scriptures), *yoga* (control of mind), *tapas* (worship), and *bhagavad-bhakti* (devotion for the Lord). Distaste for sensual objects or *vairāgya* is the first stage, which is followed by the knowledge of discrimination between eternal and mundane objects. Then the devotee practises the eightfold *yoga* as prescribed by Patañjali, and engages himself in critical discussion. Then at the end of *sādhanā* dawns *parama-prema* which enables a *jīva* to enter the Lord. *Vidyā*, *avidyā*, and *bhakti* are powers of the Lord, but, as has been stated above, His grace is at the root of all *bhakti*. Therefore, one must give up everything and surrender himself completely to Him.

Brahman is the only object of knowledge, but to facilitate understanding It has been described in three ways, namely *svarūpa* (essential point of view), *kāraṇa* (causal point of view), and third *kārya* (point of view of action). From the essential point of view, It may be viewed in three aspects as knowledge, action, and knowledge-action. Ritualistic sacrifices are prescribed in the *pūrva-kāṇḍa* of the Veda, which are also of the nature of Brahman, but the prescribed process, from the stage of performance to the realization of result, must be reckoned as an action in the shape of worship. The Upaniṣads represented the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* of the Veda, and though they undoubtedly represent Its essential gnostic nature, their teachings appear as mere knowledge till the ultimate realization. The subject of the *Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* is also the essential nature of Brahman, but the object of these two texts is *bhakti*, and they are also imbued with gnosis and action. In these texts Kṛṣṇa is described as Puruṣottama (the best Puruṣa). It is this form which is revealed through ultimate devotion. The categories of *akṣara*, *karma*,

kāla, and *svabhāva* are all included within Brahman. The *antaryāmin* is of his real nature, but as it is inherent in every soul it is capable of infinite division. But the *antaryāmin* also inheres in the causal Brahman whom it helps.

Is Brahman formless or not? Vallabha says that form (*rūpa*) may be the function of the ten senses as well as their object, and in neither of these two senses can it be admitted that Brahman is possessed of form. From everyday experience it is found that *rūpa* (form) and *rūpavān* (possessor of the form) are different. Brahman can never have the egotism consequent on having a form; indeed the 'form' itself is of the essential nature of Brahman, and there is no difference between them. Hence the scriptures admit the nature of knowledge and bliss (*cid-ānanda*) of Bhagavat as well as of His body by stating *ānanda mātra-kara-pada mukh-odar-ādi* (bliss only [is His] hands, legs, mouth, belly et cetera).

This *cid-ānanda* is *rasa* which is necessary to sustain the life of a *jīva*, and which brings to his heart a taste of bliss. The account of *rasa* found in the texts (*rasa-śāstra*) are the activated parts of Bhagavat, whose essence is *rasa*, that is He is *rasa-svarūpa*. The mode of expression of *rasa* being various, it appears in many forms though essentially one. In reality, the Supreme Brahman is signified as *rasa* by appearing in the hearts according to a particular mode which is impossible to realize without unswerving devotion. It is admitted, however, that Bhagavat's appearance outside the heart is also of the essence of *rasa*.

Bhagavat is not only *rasa*, He is also its enjoyer or Rasika. Among the *rasas*, the chief is *śṛṁgāra* (lit. erotic passion) of which the *sthāyī-bhāva* (root-emotion) is *rati* (sport). Hence though Bhagavat is in essence, *rati*, He is also Rati-mat, that is, possessor of *rati*. The *ālambana-vibhāga* (substantial excitants) of *rati*, for example, of the milkmaids of Vraja being *śṛṁgāra*, to them the essence of Bhagavat is *śṛṁgāra-rasa*, while to mother Yaśodā, His essence will be *vātsalya-rasa* (parental sentiment). Thus His essence will change according to the substantial excitants. *Bhāva* (inward sentiment) is also of the nature of Bhagavat.

It has been stated above that the highest form of love is tainted with the fear of separation or *viraha* and in the *viraha* state there is acute desire for reunion. There are those who think that it is not possible that Bhagavat, who is knowledge itself and the essence of bliss, can suffer the pangs of *viraha*, so that *līlā* is mere imitation. But it should be remembered that the *viraha* aspect of His *līlā* does not obstruct His abundance or His fullness. It is also not correct to say that *līlā* is mere imitation. If it is true that Bhagavat is also of the essence of *śṛṁgāra-rasa*, then it is unreasonable to dismiss as impossible His meetings and separations from His beloved. This does not detract from His Brahmanhood; for, Brahman contains all contradictions of nature which are resolved in Him. This is declared by the Veda, and realized by the sages.

Like Bhagavat, His attributes are also eternal and of the essence of *sat*, *cit* and *ānanda*. *Līlā*, which is action performed without any effort, is said to be

eternal and of abundance of *cit* (*cinmaya*). *Līlā* is of two kinds, one is with regard to contradictory counterpart, the other regardless of such counterparts.[1] The phenomenal world belongs to the former class, while Bhagavat's *līlā* flows on without any regard for the counterpart.

Bhagavat's *nāma* (name) is also eternal. Each name is imbued with a particular action or form, and that form in association with that action is eternal. However, 'for the enjoyment of a particular sentiment by devotees, sometimes a part of the Bhagavat is manifested and at times a part is obscured. Therefore, Bhagavat holding the Govardhana mountain is eternal. Hence the actions involved in holding the Govardhana mountain, and the form in which He held it are eternally present. Therefore, some devotees can feel Him thus even now'; (Viṭṭhaleśa). One can also worship and meditate upon Him in the shape of an image. Had these forms been mundane, and not of the essence of Bhagavat, then it would have been a sin to think of such forms as Bhagavat. It is a fact, however, that by worshipping such images it is possible to obtain His grace. A form must have a name; hence name also like quality, action, and form is eternal. Indeed, His name, form, quality, and action are all eternal.

From Sacchidānanda-Brahman atomic particles burst out like sparks from a raging fire. These atomic sparks are made of Brahman's *cit* nature. Due to Its will, each particle retains the *sat* (existence) aspect but loses the *ānanda* (bliss) aspect. These unqualified atomic particles with *sat* and *cit* (but without *ānanda*) are *jīvas*. However, when a *jīva* is immersed in a state of God-realization, qualities like bliss and all-pervasiveness manifest in him. But just as a piece of red-hot iron may partake of the nature of fire, but still 'burning' cannot be called a nature of iron, similarly all-pervasiveness as a concomitance of bliss is only a manifestation in a *jīva* and is not his real nature.

Jīva is eternal, and can be divided into three types, namely, *śuddha* (pure), *saṃsārī* (earth-bound), and *mukta* (free). When an atomic particle comes out of Brahman and loses its *ānanda* aspect, it is known as *śuddha-cit* (pure intelligence). This *śuddha-cit* is then attached to *avidyā* (nescience), becomes *saṃsārī*, and loses its magnificence. Some of the *saṃsārīs* are of divine nature, while others are of demoniac nature. Those possessed of subtle good desire of sporting with the Lord are rewarded with divine nature which can lead to salvation. The *jīvas* with low desires are given demoniac nature which impedes release. In their gross body, they perform many heinous deeds, and gradually descend in the scale of animal life. Their salvation comes only when the Lord destroys *avidyā*.

Free souls are of two types, namely, *jīvan-mukta* and *parama-mukta*. The destruction of *avidyā* ushers in the state of *jīvan-mukti*. Thereafter, by the special grace of the Lord, some are enabled to enter the *parama-vyoman* (highest heaven); they are *parama-mukta*.

According to Rāmānuja, God holds the *jīvas* within Himself and by His

[1]'Counterpart' is the English equivalent of the Sanskrit term *pratiyogin*. For example, a pot is the counterpart of the 'absence of a pot.'

will dominates all their functions by expanding or contracting their knowledge. According to Nimbārka, *jīva* is naturally identical with God, and it is only through the limiting conditions that he appears different from Him. According to Madhva, *jīva* is totally different from God. Vallabha holds that the *jīvas* being parts of God are one with Him; they appear as *jīvas* through His actions by which certain qualities and powers that exist in God are obscured in a *jīva*, and only limited powers are manifested in him. The devotees on whom he bestows his attributes of *aiśvarya* (majestic splendour) enjoy it only so long as it pleases Him.

According to Vallabha, the world is real, being a manifestation of God, who creates through his power called *māyā*, which is identical with Him. That aspect of *māyā* which causes confusion is called *avidyā*, and it is due to *avidyā* that a *jīva* suffers transmigratory life. Destruction of *avidyā* releases a *jīva*, but the *prapañca* (phenomenal world) remains.

Vidyā (knowledge) uproots *avidyā*, but that is not total destruction and cannot bring about real salvation. It is necessary to destroy the *samavāya* relation existing between the *jīva* and *avidyā*. *Vidyā* cannot destroy the self-generating *māyā*, and so long as *māyā* exists, *avidyā* must exist in a subtle form. Therefore, though *vidyā* can subdue *avidyā*, it cannot destroy it. But *vidyā* can destroy the illusory appearances of body, senses, and *prāṇa* (vital breath), which are due to *avidyā*, thus bringing the cessation of life and death. But even in the absence of illusory appearance, the body etc., being a part of *prapañca* retain their essential nature. This also is a kind of *mokṣa*, but it is called 'release from bondage.' Real deliverance is the cessation of universal *māyā*, which cannot be attained by knowledge. In *mokṣa*, due to the agency of *vidyā*, *avidyā* rests in a causal state in *māyā*, which, according to Vallabha, is the secondary material cause.

So long as *jīva* retains his essential nature (*jīvatva*) his chances of rebirth remains, even if the combination of his component elements are destroyed; for, the cause remains, though its effect in the form of the body is destroyed. But on the termination of the essential nature of *jīva*, that is, when he is merged in Brahman, or in Akṣara, the combined elements return to their primal cause, and chances of their further rebirth is ruled out. Akṣara-Brahman appears differently to the *bhaktas* (devotees) and *jñānins* (gnostics). The *bhaktas* see Him in all His splendour and with all His qualities. To the *jñānins*, He appears as beyond time, space, quality, and self-revealing, with only the power of obscuration.

Mukti (final salvation) is of two types, namely, *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa*. The principal result of worshipping a god is union (*sāyujya*) with him. As all the gods possess qualities, union with any of them will be of the nature of *saguṇa-mukti*. But Kṛṣṇa is not qualified, hence union with Him is *nirguṇa-mukti*, the highest form of salvation. This is not attainable by the path of knowledge.

Vallabha's system (*mārga*, lit. 'way') is known as the *puṣṭi-mārga*, or the way of grace. The Lord can deliver even a great sinner from the results of

his misdeeds. For example, Indra had killed Dadhīci, a great sage, and Vṛtra, a great devotee, but due to His grace Indra was absolved from the effects of the sinful acts.

As stated above, *bhakti* of any kind depends on His grace. *Bhakti* which results from ordinary or common grace aided by one's own efforts in following specific courses of duties and practices is known as *maryādā-bhakti. Bhakti* which is the result of His special grace and arises without any effort on the part of the *bhakta* is known as *puṣṭi-bhakti.* In the latter type of *bhakti,* the Lord becomes the only object of desire, and even *mokṣa* appears to be contemptible. There are four kinds of *puṣṭi-bhakti*:

1. *Pravāha-puṣṭi-bhakti*: here the sense of 'I' and 'mine' is retained, which inclines one to perform deeds which are dear to the Lord.

2. *Maryādā-puṣṭi-bhakti*: in this state all desires disappear, and the devotee is inclined towards renunciation; all his other attachments disappear, and he develops a desire to listen to scriptures.

3. *Puṣṭi-puṣṭi-bhakti*: in this state the devotee receives the special grace of the Lord's knowledge and becomes omniscient. He comes to possess full knowledge about the Lord, His servitors, His *līlā* (sport), and of the phenomenal world.

4. *Śuddha-puṣṭi-bhakti*: this is extremely rare. The devotee in this state is replete with love.

Harirāja, fourth in descent from Vallabha, has written twenty-nine *kārikās* (verses) on *śuddha-puṣṭa-bhakti* of which the summary is as follows:

Śuddha-puṣṭi-bhakti leads one to the Lord, but to attain that end *sādhanā* or spiritual preparation is unnecessary, so much so that non-performance of *sādhanā* is regarded as the accomplishment. Or, it may be said that in the result it is the Lord who accomplishes His own work. The ultimate attainment depends entirely on grace, not upon effort. Indeed efforts are counter-productive. The Lord does not select men according to their qualities or fitness; the devotee too does not judge the faults or merits of His (i.e., Kṛṣṇa's) deeds, but only feels His excellence. To the devotee, neither weeping or committing theft by the Lord appear despicable, nor are His awesome acts like subjugating the Kālīya serpent, or extinguishing the forest fire have any majesty about them. The only goal of any effort regardless of Vedic or customary usages, is Lord. In this *mārga* (lit. way) the Lord chooses a *jīva* for no apparent reason. An extremely undeserving man may get the result which is not attained by a spiritually advanced person. There is *ānanda* (bliss, happiness) even in separation from the Lord, for *bhakti* is the essence of *ānanda,* which evolves irrespective of logical sequences. Due to the preponderance of Divine emotion, fear of this or of the other world is lost, and God seems to set aside everything such as time, *dharma,* nature etc. This *mārga* leads to spiritual or even physical union with the Lord. The resultant nature is of relating all the sense-organs to Lord, which comes about by His will. Relationship with the Lord begets Divine intelligence, while in the transgressor arises the sense of antagonism to the Lord, and the indifferent

person remains poised in vacuity, The body is maintained not from a sense of identity with the self, but because it appears to belong to the Lord. Even in a state of separation or desertion (by Him) the body is maintained to retain it as worthy of the Lord's service. In this *mārga* the Master does not pay for the service rendered, He only maintains an attitude towards the servitor. The Lord does not disgrace the service by rewarding the servitor. Greater happiness is relished in the state of separation, because then each and every moment manifests a new *līlā* (festive diversion of Divine sport). *Sādhanā* [of this *mārga*] and its result are self-contradictory in nature. *Bhāva* or passion is of the nature of unlimited tender love and attachment. Lord's revelation is due to humility and self-abnegation. The misery caused by separation leads to renunciation of all objects and delivery of the body as oblation. Though the objects as such are renounced, for the sense of 'myness' is *saṃsāra* (worldly life leading to rebirth), but the objects are acceptable as belonging to the Lord. Thus the *jīva* ever remains an object in the Lord's memory.[1]

Acintya-bhedābheda

Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, the founder of the Acintya-bhedābheda (inscrutable relation of difference in non-difference) school of Vedānta, is usually known as Śrī-Caitanya or Caitanya. He did not, like other founders, leave behind any written work. Only six verses are ascribed to him, but those have no philosophical significance. His standard biography, the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, gives good summaries of his teachings on several occasions. Scholars, however, have expressed doubts as to whether Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja records genuine traditions (for which he had ample opportunities) or was ascribing to the Master the views propounded by the early theoreticians of the school, namely, the Gosvamins of Vṛndāvana. The Gosvāmins, however, were converted by Caitanya and deeply influenced by him, hence it is fair to assume that the main doctrine of Acintya-bhedābheda was formulated by Caitanya, while its superstructure was erected by the Gosvāmins, particularly the two brothers, Rūpa and Sanātana, and their nephew Jīva. They did not, however, comment on the Br.S., which task was performed by Baladeva Vidyābhūsaṇa, in the 18th century.

Caitanya, again unlike other teachers, did not belong to any recognized sect. His followers today are known as Gauḍīya or Bengal-Vaiṣṇavas, because the founder hailed from Bengal or Gauḍa. The main contribution of Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism to Vaiṣṇava philosophy is the recognition of *śakti* as the essential element in transformation. The other Vaiṣṇava schools also recognized *śakti* of Brahman, and usually worship Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa along with His *śakti*, who may be Śrī, Lakṣmī, or Rādhā. They, however, did not work out the implications of *śakti* into an ontological system. It was only in Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇa-

[1]This is the English rendering of the summary by G. Kaviraj, op. cit., p. 61. Part of this section is from my book on Caitanya mentioned above (fn. 2, p. 895) pp. 65-71, where I have quoted some Sanskrit passages as references which are not reproduced here.

vism that Rādhā was assigned almost equal importance with Kṛṣṇa, which made for its great popularity. Their second great contribution was the analysis of *bhakti* and its components, but this being an abstruse subject, its study remained confined within learned circles.

The only Vaiṣṇava school which resembles Caitanya's to some extent is the Dvaitādvaita school of Nimbārka. Bhedābheda (difference-in-identity) and Dvaitādvaita (duality-in non-duality) imply the same thing, and on Br. 1.1.4, Nimbārka mentions Brahman's *acintya-śakti* (inscrutable power). Like the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas, Nimbārka's followers also worship Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. There is, however, no evidence that Caitanya had ever met any teacher of the Nimbārka school, not to speak of being influenced by them. Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava philosophers also never refer to Nimbārka, though they make references to both Rāmānuja and Madhva, and once even to Jāmātṛ Muni, an early Viśiṣṭādvaita teacher. It seems that Nimbārka's doctrine never enjoyed wide popularity, and his followers survived as a small sect without attracting much notice. The dominant Vaiṣṇava school in north India at the time of Caitanya was formed by followers of Rāmānanda (AD 1360-1450), who belonged to the Viśiṣṭādvaita school.[1] Some Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas have claimed affiliation with the Madhva school, but such claims are not tenable.

Bhedābheda, or 'difference-in non-difference,' that is 'difference-in-identity' is, on the face of it, self-contradictory. Hence the emphasis on *acintya-śakti* (inscrutable, or inconceivable power) of the Lord, which is invoked on the authority of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (1.3.1-2). Celebrated commentators have interpreted *acintya* as 'indefinable but realizable by *arthāpatti* (doctrine of implied proof),' and *acintya-jñāna* as 'knowledge which is not susceptible to logical proof.' *Acintya-śakti* is 'the power which can reconcile the impossible,' or in other words, 'the power which can effect difference-in-identity.'

An example of *acintya-śakti* or inscrutable power is the burning power of fire. Fire burns, but the nature of the power which enables it to burn, or the nature of water which extinguishes fire are not known, and therefore while admitting such powers, they must be classified as inscrutable. Hence it is said that 'the simultaneous existence of *ekatva* (oneness) and *pṛthakatva* (manyness), *aṁśatva* (partness), and *aṁśitva* (wholeness) are possible in the Lord.' The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (3.9.28) says, '*vijñānaṁ ānandaṁ Brahma*.' Are *vijñāna* and *ānanda* synonymous terms? Or, do they differ in meaning? It cannot be the former, for that would mean repetition. If taken in the latter sense, it would mean that Brahman is a combination of two elements, which would conflict with the unity or *advaya-tattva*, which is cardinal to Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava doctrine. Similarly, *Gītā*, 9.4-5 states that this whole universe owes its being to the Transcendent Godhead, and yet the forms of this universe do not contain Him or express Him adequately; for, His absolute reality is far beyond the appearance of things in space and time. This simultaneous

[1]Rāmānanda, born at Melkote, went to the north where his followers, known as Rāmānandi or Rāmāt, are found today with headquarter at Ayodhya. His followers are said to have included Kabir, Nānak, Dādu, and Tulasīdās.

existence of empirical and transcendent Reality in Bhagavat is due to His *acintya-śakti*.

As for *bhedābheda*, Sanātana Gosvāmin in his *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta* (2.2.196) takes the example of the sea and its waves and states: 'A wave arises in one part of the sea and subsides in another part; the wave is not identical with the sea in respect of the latter's depth, possession of (under water) jewels etc.; but because the wave resolves into sea (water), it (wave) is said to be of the essential nature of the sea. Similarly, the liberated souls are said to have become identical with Brahman when they attain the *tejas* of Kāraṇa-Brahma; but no individual soul can ever attain the concentrated bliss of the attainment of Brahmanhood, because they (the individual souls) are naturally limited. Hence in liberation, there is non-difference between Brahman and individual souls because of the non-perception of difference between them, while in certain aspects difference (exists) due to the natural limitation of the individual soul even in a state of liberation. As Śrī-Śaṃkara-Bhagavatpāda has justly said: "O Lord! even when the (sense) of difference is destroyed, I (become) thine; thou dost not (become) mine; the wave belongs to the sea, never does the sea belong to the wave." The existence of the sense of "thine" even after the destruction of individuality (*jīvatva*) due to nescience, establishes the existence of difference in the latter. Otherwise it is not proper to say, "Lord, I am thine," at the time of ultimate identification (of individual self with Ultimate Reality). It may be concluded therefore, that it is not possible for the limited rivers to attain the illimitable and bejewelled ocean-hood; only the disappearance of their external characteristics indicates that they have reached the ocean (attained ocean-hood).'

Brahman is *advaya-jñāna-tattva*, because there is no other self-existent conscious or unconscious principle similar to it. The *jīva*, though a conscious principle similar to It, is not self-existent, because it is subordinate to Paramātman as the ultimate conscious principle. Everything else, like the phenomenal world, is also dependent on Paramātaman. The Ultimate Reality is *advaya* ('not two,' 'without a second') because Its *śaktis* are Its attributive adjuncts, and cannot exist outside their ultimate locus, that is Bhagavat.

Śaṃkara's basic theory is that omniscience, omnipotence etc., are not predicable of the Supreme Reality. It is after and through cosmic nescience that these qualities are attributed to Him. Since His essence is knowledge itself, it is only by a metaphor that He may be called all-knowing. Omniscience and omnipotence are therefore pseudo-real concepts.

The Bh.P. 1.2.11, however, states: *Brahm'eti Paramātam'eti Bhagavat iti śabdyate* (He is known as Brahman, Paramatman, and Bhagavat). Jīva Gosvāmin interprets this sentence to mean that 'by Brahman is termed pure consciousness which is other than the particular attributes characterized by the group of *śaktis*; Paramatman indicates consciousness conditioned by [*jīva-śakti* which is] a part of the *cit-śakti* and by the abundance of *māyā-śakti*; Bhagavat is the consciousness conditioned by the complete and perfect manifestation of all the *śaktis*.' Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism is concerned mainly

with Paramātman but more particularly with Bhagavat who is identified with Śrī-Kṛṣṇa.

Bhagavat is the ultimate reality and Brahman is the undifferentiated (*nirviśeṣa*) state of Bhagavat. Brahman is unqualified, but Bhagavat is infinitely qualified by infinite number of attributes. In Bhagavat all the *śaktis* are energized into a dynamic state, while in Brahman they remain in a potential quiescent state. Therefore, Brahman is not predicable as a 'knower,' though It is essentially knowledge; but Bhagavat being in possession of activated *śaktis* is omniscient, omnipotent etc. In between comes Paramātman, who is the inner-controller being possessed of ample *māyā-śakti* and a part of *cit-śakti*.

Jīva Gosvāmin has relied on Rāmānuja's interpretation of Br.S. from 1.1.2 to 1.1.12. However, he differs both from Rāmānuja and Madhva in his interpretation of *tat tvam asi* (That thou art). According to Jīva, *tat* is Brahman and *tvam* is *jīva*, but the word *asi* does not imply their identity having been used in a copulative sense indicating the bond of love between Him and the individual soul. *Tat tvam asi* is not a *mahā-vakya*, but is partial truth. The essential basis of the Veda is the *praṇava* or the mystic syllable *aum*, which has been elucidated in the Gāyatrī. Madhva had propounded the same view.

Caitanya affirmed the doctrine of *pariṇāma*, and explained *vivartta* as *dehe atma-buddhi* (illusory identification of the self with the body, *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, 1.7.116). But by *pariṇāma* Caitanya meant the *pariṇāma* of *śakti* and not of Brahman. This modification in the conception of *pariṇama* adequately answers the objection that if the doctrine of *vivartta* (in which the effect has a different kind of being than the cause as opposed to *pariṇāma* in which the effect has the same kind of being as the cause) is not accepted, Brahman will become *vikārī* or modified. It is due to the Lord's *acintya-śakti* that the modification takes place in His *śakti* and not in His essence. This theory, which may be called *śakti-pariṇāma-vāda*, is the most important contribution of Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism to Vedānta philosophy.

Bhagavat possesses three *śaktis*: 1. *svarūpā* also known as *antaraṁgā* or cit; 2. *taṭasthā* or *jīva*; and 3. *bahiraṁgā* or *māyā*.

The *svarūpā* constitutes the intrinsic energy of the Bhagavat and is inseparable from Him; indeed His essential nature is manifested through this *śakti* which is located in His very Self. Bhagavat being *saccidānanda*, *svarūpā-śakti* has three attributes corresponding to the three aspects: i. in the *sat* aspect it is *sandhinī-śakti*; ii. in the *cit* aspect it is *samvit-śakti*; and iii. in the *ānanda* aspect it is *hlādinī-śakti*. Of these, the qualities of the *sandhinī* devolves into *samvit*, and the latter's qualities into *hlādinī*, which is the ultimate and the principal *śakti*. Bhagavat bestows the *hlādinī-śakti* on His devotees, and she is then transformed into love (*prīti*), which again is enjoyed by Bhagavat. Thus the rapport between the *bhakta* (devotee) and Bhagavat (Lord) is established by the *hlādinī-śakti*. Śrī-Rādhikā or Rādhā is the manifestation of this *śakti* in her fullest amplitude.

The *bahiraṁgā* or *māyā-śakti* is also a *śakti* of Bhagavat, but she is always extrinsic and alien to Him, just the contrary to *antaraṁgā* or *svarūpā-śakti* which is His integral and intrinsic *śakti*. Like light and darkness, Bhagavat

and *māyā* cannot exist together. The definition of *māyā* taken from Bh.P. 2.9.33 is: 'Know that to be My (Bhagavat's) *māyā* which can be cognized without the cognition of the highest truth, but is not self-revealing, like lustre or darkness.' There are two kinds of *māyā*: compared to the lustre of reality and to total darkness she is respectively *jīva-māyā* or *nimitta-māyā*, and *guṇa-māyā* or *upādāna-māyā*. The phenomenal world has *māyā-śakti* both for its efficient cause and for its material cause, but its substratum is Reality.

The *jīva* is essentially pure consciousness, but he is overpowered by *māyā-śakti*, which is the cause of its transmigratory existence (*saṃsāra*), while *māyā* being an extraneous *śakti* of Bhagavat, He is superior to Her and unsullied by her influence. The *jīva* is neither *jaḍa* (insentient) nor *vikārī* (liable to transformation or deviation from its natural state), but is different from Bhagavat being under the influence of His *māyā-śakti*.

The *jīvas* are of two distinct types, *nitya-mukta* (freed souls) and *nitya-saṃsārī* (souls in eternal bondage). The former type includes men who are devoted to Bhagavat from eternity, while those belonging to the other type have turned their faces from Him also from the beginning of time. The *nitya-mukta-jīvas* are never influenced by *māyā*, and the grace of the Lord descends upon them in the shape of *svarūpa-śakti*. The *nitya-saṃsārīs* being without the protection of the Lord's grace, are overcome by *māyā*, for though the *jīvas* are essentially *cit*, they are atomic in size.

The salvation of a graceless transmigratory soul comes, when after travelling through myriad cycles of life and death, he comes into contact with a liberated soul, who alone can rescue him. Then the hitherto *saṃsārī jīva* turns his mind towards Kṛṣṇa, and gradually progresses along the pāth of devotion. Kṛṣṇa is also always eager to cast His power of blissful enjoyment (*hlādinī-śakti*) in the heart of His worshippers and salve their bruised souls to make them fit to be His devotees. The basic idea is that God is ever eager to redeem the lost souls who are engulfed in the snare of *māyā*. As soon as a *jīva* makes an effort to release himself. He showers His divine energy in the devotee. Then *māyā* is transformed into *vidyā* (knowledge), and burns the adjuncts of the *jīva*, which becomes the fuel, and are extinguished. Then comes *mukti* or complete immersion in the divine bliss of coming into contact with His attributes.

Mukti may be of five kinds, namely, *sālokya*, *sārṣṭya*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, and *sāyujya* explained above under Madhva's system. Of these, the *sāyujya-mukti* is almost like the *mokṣa* of *Advaita-vedānta*, but accordihg to the Vaiṣṇavas, a *jīva* never becomes really identical with the Lord; still a Vaiṣṇava attempts to avoid *sāyujya-mukti*. As for *mokṣa*, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has said (*Caitanya-cāritamrta*, 1.1.50-51): 'Verily, deceit is but another name for dark nescience and includes the desire for *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. But, of these the desire for *mokṣa* is the worst type of deceit which causes the disappearance of *Kṛṣṇā-bhakti* (devotion to Kṛṣṇa).' The other four types of *mukti* confer on the individuals the same enjoyment, but does not indicate that a *jīva* will ever share or enjoy coequal power with the Lord, or share

His power.

The Buddhist doctrine of impermanence implies a negative absolute on a substratum of vacuity, and the ultimate release is an indefinable *nirvāṇa*. The Advaita idea is of a Brahman, an ineffably positive absolute, but in which all features and action and energy cease, because in That they never existed, and are mere illusions created by the mind. Hence the ultimate release for the monist is an absolute identity with Brahman in an indefinable state. The Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas do not actually deny this monistic possibility of ultimate merger with Brahman, but they pine for a yet higher state of realization, a state of perpetual activated bliss. Even Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya himself could not explain this state beyond reciting the following verse to Sanātana Gosvāmin:

Madhuraṁ madhuraṁ vapur asya vibhor
Madhuraṁ madhuraṁ vadanaṁ madhuram
Madhu-gandhi madhu-smitam etad aho
Madhuraṁ madhuraṁ madhuraṁ madhuram[1]

A Vaiṣṇava can apprehend Kṛṣṇa, but then he fails to describe Him. A monist says, 'He is not this, He is not this.' A Vaiṣṇava says: 'He is Bliss, verily, He is Bliss.'

This is the central idea of Acintya-bhedābheda. After his journey through innumerable cycles of births and deaths, a *jīva* is at last released, not in a vacuum, nor indeed to be merged in an indefinable union with the Ultimate Reality, but to retain his identity and enjoy His bliss. The *jīva* still remains an atomic *cit*, because he still retains an atomic non-empirical ego.

ŚAIVA-VEDĀNTA

Philosophy of Śrikantha

An account of Śaiva religion and philosophy based on non-Vedic literature has been given above in Chapter XIII. Rāmānuja, as we have seen, reconciled the heterogenous Vaiṣṇava texts, both Sanskrit, and non Sanskrit with Vedānta, similarly Śrīkaṇṭha reconciled the Śaiva religious texts, called Āgamas, with Vedānta in his commentary on the Br.S., which was later elaborated by Appaya Dīkṣita (16th century AD) in his sub-commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's work. Śrīkaṇṭha's date is uncertain, but he may have been a junior contemporary of Rāmānuja. The SDS does not mention Śrīkaṇṭha, but as we have seen it does not mention Nimbārka either, though he must have flourished long before the 14th century AD when the SDS was written. Therefore, the silence of the SDS cannot be admitted as evidence regarding

[1]'Bliss, bliss indeed is Śrī-Kṛṣṇa (*vibhu*); bliss, bliss is His face, bliss, bliss is his fragrance, bliss, bliss is His smile; bliss, bliss, bliss, bliss.' *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-kirtana* (XCII) of Bilvamaṁgala or Līlāśuka, which was one of the two texts brought by Caitanya from south India. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kaviraja (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, 2.21.116-17) has quoted the Sanskrit original which he renders into beautiful Bengali verse, but if his description of Caitanya's instruction to Sanātāna is genuine, then it would be fair to assume that Caitanya had, on this occasion, recited the Sanskrit original.

the date of Śrīkaṇṭha.

We have seen above (p. 624) that Vācaspati in his sub-commentary on Br.S. 2.2.37 gives the names of four Śaiva sects. Śrīkaṇṭha apparently did not belong to any of them. His interpretation of the Br.S. is mainly based on the *Vāyavīya-saṃhitā* section of the *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa*.

According to Śaṃkara, those who perform Vedic sacrifices as *dharma* have no right to follow the path of knowledge, since there can be no reconciliation between these two paths (*jñāna-karma-samuccaya*). Śrīkaṇṭha (on Br.S. I.1.1) refutes this view, and states that Vedic duties must be performed for mental purification. He admits that if such performances do not purify the mind, then their mere performance does not entitle one to inquire into the nature of Brahman. This point is further discussed by Appaya Dikṣita in a partly successful attempt at reconciling the two views.

According to Śrīkaṇṭha, Śiva, the Supreme Lord, is describing as *ānanda*, because He is always full of bliss, and is self-contented. He enjoys His own bliss without any external aid. Śiva is called Śarva because all things are finally merged in Him. He is called Īśvara because He lords over all things. He is called Paśupati, which signifies that He is not only the Lord (*pati*) of all souls (*paśu*), but also of all that binds (*pāśa*) them.

Śrīkaṇṭha treats Br. S. 1.1.2 as a statement descrinidg the nature of Brahman. He regards the qualities of production, maintenance. and dissolution of all things as attributed to Brahman as the final determinant and causal aspect, both material and instrumental, by virtue of which the nature of Brahman as Īśvara can be inferred.

The Supreme Lord, according to Śrīkaṇṭha, is not pure consciousness, but is omniscient, eternally self-satisfied, and independent. That is, He always contains His *śakti* and possesses omnipotence. Since the *śakti* in Brahman is real, knowledge is as much essence (*svarūpa*) of Brahman, as Its power or predicate (*śakti-dharma*). The omniscience of Brahman consists in Its eternal, immediate, and faultless awareness of everything independently of external sense-organs, and this is possible by virtue of supreme Jñāna-śakti, called Umā or Cidambarā, associated with It. The expression *mana ānandam* as an epithet of Brahman refers to this Jñāna-śakti, and means the faculty by which the Lord as well as the liberated souls eternally enjoy the infinite joy of their beatified nature (*svarūp-ānand-ānubhava-sādhana*), which is no other than Śabda Brahman or Praṇava. Actually, Śrīkaṇṭha asserts (on Br. S. 4.4.22) the identity of Umā or the Supreme Power of Divine knowledge with the mystic Oṁkāra. It is obvious that in Śrīkaṇṭha's view divine omniscience is synonymous with the eternal self-illumination and self-revelation of the Supreme Being, for the 'All' which such omniscience is stated to comprehend and illuminate is not external to, but forms anintegral aspect of the Supreme Being.

Like the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas, Appaya Dīkṣita says that the Lord Himself is not transformed into the world-form, but that it is His *śakti* which manifests herself as the world. Brahman has within Itself *cit-śakti* (energy of

consciousness) and acit-sakti (energy of materiality) which form the matter of the universe. Śakti of Brahman being limitless, It can in and through these *śaktis* form the material cause of the universe. Brahman cannot exist without the universe which ever exists in It as Its power, just as fire cannot exist without heat nor a blue lotus without blueness. Universe too cannot exist without Brahman, just as an earthen jug cannot exist without clay.

The difference between Rāmānuja and Śrīkaṇṭha is that according to the former Brahman is a concrete universal having the entire materiality (*acit*) and the group of souls (*cit*) always associated with it and controlled directly by It as the limbs of a person are controlled by the person himself. According to Śrīkaṇṭha, there is no direct association between Īśvara, *cit*, and *acit*, but that the transformation is of *śakti*. Śrīkaṇṭha says (on Br. S. 2.1.18-19) that the Lord as contracted within Himself is the cause, while when by inner desire He expands Himself, He shows himself and the universe which is His effect. But in any case, He cannot remain without His *śakti*. Even though He is the material cause of the world, He in Himself remains transcendent to It, and it is only His *māyā* that works as an immanent cause of the production of the world. There is difference between the Lord and the souls and between Him and the material world, but neither are entirely different from though nor exactly identical with Him. Though the individual souls and the material world are emanations from His *śakti*, they may be regarded as His parts but He completely transcends both.

Śrīpati

Reference has been made above (p. 649.) to Śrīpati's commentary on the Br.S. Śrīpati belonged to the Vīraśaiva school, and he differs both from *pariṇāma-vāda* and *vivartta-vāda*. According to Śrīpati, though there is difference between the instrumental and the material cause, Śiva acts as both, since only His part is transformed into the world. Also the world is not false. Śrīpati also refutes Śaṃkara's view that Īśvara or *jīva* represents a being which is nothing else but Brahman as reflected through *māyā* or *avidyā*. His main idea is that the Lord is indistinguishable from His *śakti*.

The Lord is not exhausted in the creation of the material world, for His greater part is transcendent, *Jīva*, the individual soul, is *anādi* (beginningless), *aṇu* (atomic), tied to the snares of *māyā* (*māya-pāśa-baddha*), and caught in the frightful, endless, worthless cycle of transmigratory existence (*ghora-apāra-niḥsāra-saṃsāra*), which exposes the *jiva* to *tāpa-traya* (three kinds of afflictions), namely, *ādhyātmika* (spiritual or mental), *ādhidaivika* (caused by fate), and *ādhibhautika* (caused by elements, such as rain etc.). The *jīva's* self-conceit and egotism lead to desire, attachment, and anger resulting in happiness and misery. But he has understanding, can act independently, and realize Brahman.

Prof. S.N. Das Gupta calls Śrīpati's position 'pantheistic and idealistically realistic.'[1]

[1]S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., V, p. 186.

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Asoke Kumar Majumdar, M.A., D. Phil. born and brought up in an academic circle of oriental scholars, may be said to have inherited interest in ancient Indian history. Later, even while engaged in commercial ventures, he submitted his thesis on the Chaulykyas of Gujarat which attracted the attention of the late Dr. K. M. Munshi and he induced him to join the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. From 1954 he was associated with the editing of the *History & Culture of the Indian People* series of which he subsequently became the Assistant Editor. He served as the Director of the Bhavan's Delhi Kendra, and also as the Jt. Director (Academic) till his resignation in 1972. Dr. Majumdar's other works include *Chaulykyas of Gujarat* (1955), *Advent of Independence* (1963), *Bhakti Renaissance* (1964) Problem of Hindi (1966), *Caitanya : His Life and Doctrine* (1969), *Impact of Sankaracarya on Indian Thought* (1972) *Elements of Indian Cultures* (1972), and *Economic Background of the Epic Society* (1977). He passed away in June 1982 at Shantiniketan.

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